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FIFTY PENCE

"To allow any one man to dominate his fellows is contrary to the welfare of humanity, and not favourable to a beneficent future of the human race."

H.M. Hyndman

AND WHO 'RUNS' THE TORIES?

In the same week as the Tory chairman Chris Patten and that permanently sneering Minister of Employment, Michael Havard, were unveiling for the press the first of their anti-Labour Party nationwide poster campaign 'Who Runs the Labour Party', *The Sunday Times* (15th September) splashed across its front page "Greek tycoon gives secret £2 million to Tory Party". A week later the press reported another secret donation for the Tories, this time about £100,000 from a Hong Kong multi millionaire.

This has not been good propaganda for the Tories for a number of reasons. Both the Greek and the Chinese are stinking rich and are very much involved with the 'top people'. For instance, in August the Greek loaned his 400-foot yacht to Prince Charles and Di. His political association with the Colonels in Greece doesn't go down too well among some Tories. As to the Hong Kong man, he obviously has an interest in big business in the UK. His acquisitions include no less

than the very successful Felixtowe Docks. Perhaps with an eye to the future (with Hong Kong going to China in 1997) our Tory Hong Kong man is talking of settling in this country. He obviously has done very well in the colony, which has only just allowed the natives to have a vote — and in a Parliament of 60 seats, 20 are by the vote, 20 are appointees by the business tycoons, and 20 by the Governor. Long live British democracy!

Obviously anarchists have been pointing out for a long time that politics is corrupt, and the more established it is, the more corruption goes from top to bottom. However, corruption need not be just for money.

For instance, only last month there was a mini-scandal in the pharmaceutical industry as a result of a disclosure that four multinational drug companies have been 'entertaining' doctors "with golf, motor racing, boating and skiing trips

in an effort to boost drug sales" (*The Guardian*, 9th September). All harmless fun perhaps, but can the patients whose doctor was for instance offered, apart from hotel and all expenses plus of course a lecture and probably a generous supply of the firm's tablets free of charge and entertainment in the form "of scantily clad dancers at the gala dinner", be sure he would not be influenced to push multinational X's pills? This kind of sales publicity has been going on for so long that if it were not profitable one can be sure that the drugs firms would have found other ways of promoting their products.

But to come back to the politicians. What distinguishes Labour from the Tory Party is that the Labour Party declares the sources of its
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ELECTION FEVER? WHERE?

We are being told daily that the country is 'gripped' by the 'election fever'. That is by the media! We ordinary citizens are bored stiff by speculations that have been going on for most of the year as to when the Prime Minister would 'go to the country'. All the hack journalists were giving 'well-informed' reasons, first why the elections would take place in June, then as June came uncomfortably close, some said October, and now it's November, while others are hedging their bets and saying it won't be until next April or May!

In *Freedom* we stuck our necks out a long time ago suggesting 1992, and we have no reason to change our view, which is not based on any inside information direct from the man who will decide, or from any of his minions.

First of all we are of the opinion that politicians are much less concerned

with the well-being of their countrymen than with the feeling of power that comes with office. And apparently we are not alone in holding such views. Peter Hennessey, writing in *The Independent* (23rd September) on 'talented response to the business of good government' opens quoting a friend, "a leading British psychologist", who

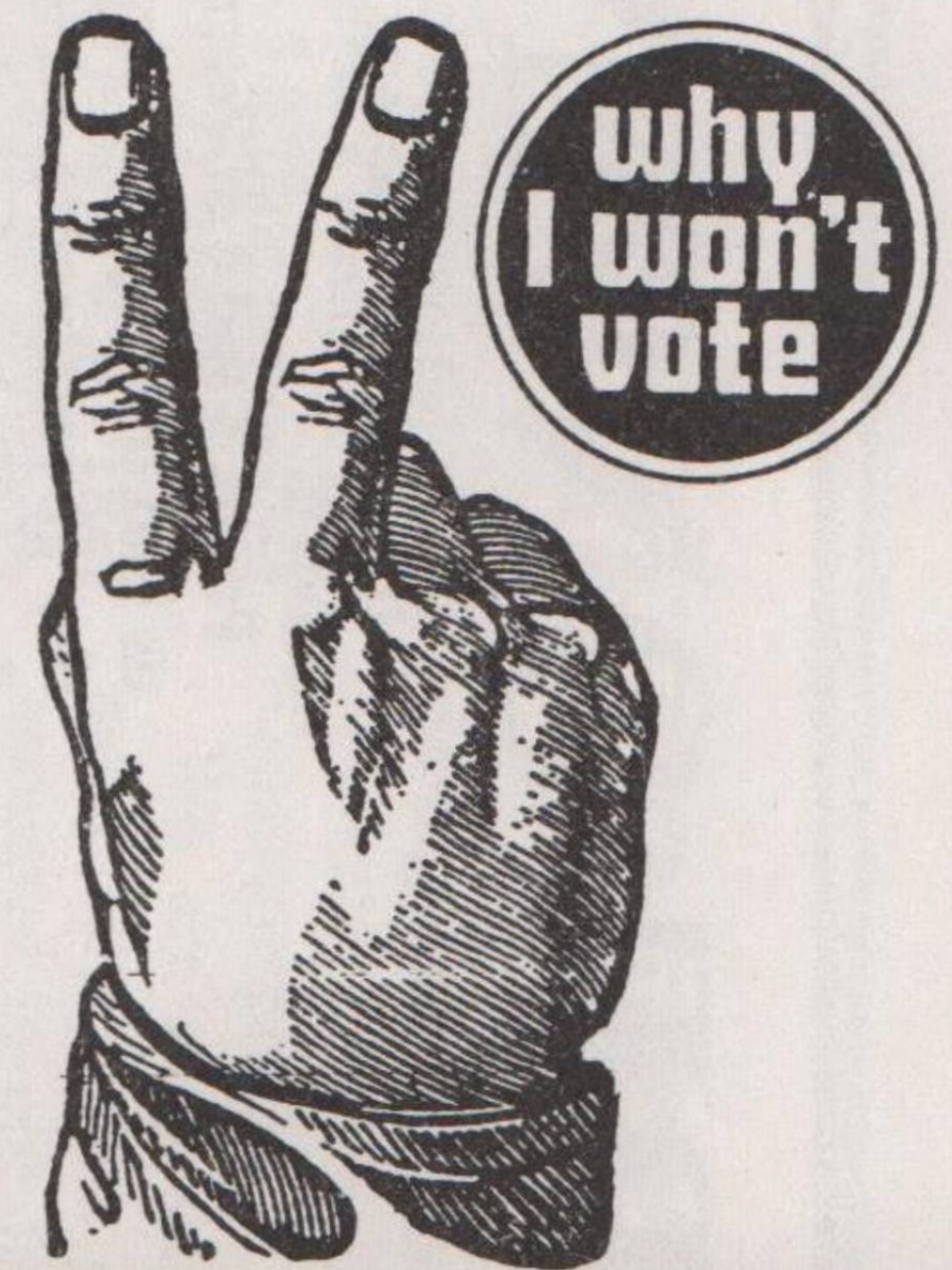
"subscribes to a thesis, as depressing as it is alarming, that there is something psychologically wrong with people who have a strong compulsion to wield power over others. It is a scientific version of the view attributed to a former Home Secretary, the late Gwilym Lloyd George, that: 'Politicians are like monkeys. The higher they climb up the tree, the more revolting are the parts they expose',"

Secondly, in our opinion, because it is only power that interests them, far from being daring with their policies, or in taking decisions, they always
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And Who 'Runs' the Tories?

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finance. Not only do the unions contribute something like 80% of the Labour Party's finance but also a large number of Labour Party MPs are financially sponsored by different unions, including Mr Kinnock himself. But these facts are all known and one should add that the Labour Party was the creation of the trades unions.

In the Freedom Press volume *The Impossibilities of Social Democracy* (142 pages, £2 post free inland) the author in his introduction points out that:

"It is quite obvious from the uninformed attacks on the unions as the tail that wags the dog that most critics do not realise that the Labour Party was started in 1906 with a group of trade unionists being elected to Parliament with the specific task of supporting organised labour by action in the political field, and though the Party is no longer 'a mere political expression of trade unionism' the fact remains that the unions through the political levy and the substantial donations they make to the Party's election fund and other special appeals, are the Party's main source of income. And who pays the piper must surely call the tune most of the time."

Chris Patten, the Tories' church-going 'good guy' chairman, shows how quickly a politician in charge of the vote-catching campaign can repeat all the usual lies of his predecessors with a big smile! He

justified the £2 million from the Greek and other large donations "on the grounds that they did not buy political influence as Labour's trade union cheques do". Indeed to "anyone who gives donations ... is happily supporting the Conservative Party. But they are not buying votes at our conference. They are not buying themselves 40% of the votes when it comes to the election of leaders". This was a reference to the trade union vote at Labour conferences.

What Mr Patten did not mention was that Tory policy is not decided at their annual conferences. All those middle aged, over-fed so-called delegates are there to applaud, but just as Tory funds are a secret so too are their policy decisions. But who in this acquisitive, confrontational society we live in is so stupid as to believe that while a trade union such as the TGWU, which is said to contribute £2 million a year in its political levy to the Labour Party, wants to influence policy, when a Greek multi-millionaire does like for the Tory Party coffers he asks for nothing but a smiling 'thank you' from Prime Minister Major at Number 10!

Even 'honest Patten' a few days later: "... made a rare admission that Party finances had been too secretive and that 'broadcasting

the base of financial support' was a priority for the 1990s." (*The Guardian*, 21st September)

Everything is going to happen once they have won the elections! He declared himself:

"... extremely keen over the next months and years to work harder to continue to broaden the base of financial support for the Conservative Party".

He called it a challenge for the 1990s, which would be helped by open consultation within the Party. But he said: 'I think the existing requirements for companies to publish their donations in their annual report and have a vote on them at shareholders' meetings are more than adequate in putting the spotlight on the financial relationship between companies and political parties.'

Needless to say the Labour Party spokesman MP Frank Dobson soon nailed that last Tory lie when he pointed out:

"that discourse applied only to public companies, not private ones or wealthy individuals like Mr Latsis, and that only the National Freight Company had put the issue to vote."

And for good measure he pointed to another lie when he said:

"Chris Patten's wrong. Labour's full accounts were public and audited. If Mr Patten would not do likewise, 'he's a humbug'."

But let's come down to basics. At one extreme you have the example of the Neapolitan ship-owner of the Lauro lines who years ago stood as deputy and gave away thousands of left foot shoes to the barefoot proles of Naples and promised them the equivalent number of right foot shoes if he won the elections! In the alleged British Democracy they limit what each candidate can spend on winning your vote, but no limit on what the parties can spend in putting across to the nation what they stand for. So in the civilised, democratic Britain no bribes of shoes but a bombardment of brainwashing propaganda as much as you can pay for, not to mention the fact that most of the media support the Tories anyway. After all, elections are decided by the 'floating voters' in marginal seats. And when the elections come the parties will concentrate their main resources, financial and otherwise, in those marginals. What this has to do with democracy is anybody's guess. Especially when one knows that the Labour Party's paymasters — the unions — will never match the Tories' international well-wishers.

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Election Fever? Where?

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tend to err on the side of caution. And when you can remain in office for the full five years what reason is there to call an election at the end of four? Only one reason: that by calling an early election



The Observer, 15th September

you are bound to win, whereas waiting to the end of the five years you may lose.

Freedom's approach to the economic situation, without any inside information and without 'expertise' other than any that might come from a daily reading of the financial pages of the 'serious' press, convinced us more than a year ago that the recession was here to stay and could only get worse — the more so since similar problems were facing all the industrialised nations. Their problem is that potential production exceeds demand, in spite of car manufacturers slashing their prices and retailers offering interest-free twelve-months credit on everything from washing machines to cookers, television sets to videoscopes. And all the government's monthly

statistics 'doctored' in their favour, indicate that the recession has not 'bottomed out'. On the very day that the Chancellor Norman Lamont was declaring that the economy was really looking up the Balance of Payments figures for August showed an increase over July. And the same will be the case when the unemployment figures for August are announced.

Instead of denouncing the Ministers as liars, the capitalist press goes along with them. Again without 'inside information' our theory is that the millionaire press have wanted an early election and have been conducting a kind of psychological warfare to that end. Their campaign includes the polls which, after they are commissioned by them, are



The Sunday Times, 22nd September

obviously intended to work up 'election fever' — which they headline daily but know, as well as we do, does not exist. The general public, politically speaking, are apathetic, but they are not as stupid as the media and the politicians think they are. An example: as we go to press the

government has decided to postpone what the media refer to as the 'embarrassingly large' pay rises of top civil servants, judges and military until after the elections "to avoid the issue becoming a pre-election political football". Are we to believe that the electors will now forget all about this issue until after the elections? If they do, then they are as stupid as the media makes them out to be!

By the time this issue of *Freedom* appears, the Labour Party will have completed its week of deliberations and we are convinced that the delegates will have ignored the advice of the capitalist press and their polls to replace Mr Kinnock as leader and get another ten percentage points advantage over the Tories, and leader and policies will have been acclaimed, apart from the usual handful of old-fashioned socialists who are not concerned with the business in hand: winning power ... at the expense of socialism and principles.

When the elections come, yes there will be 'election fever' for a few days and then back into the capitalist groove, whoever wins, for no political Party can control the economy in this age of the multi-nationals, the banks, the insurance companies and the pension funds. And now even a whole number of public services, as a result of privatisation, are outside the control of government, and others are included in the government's privatisation programme. So what, in fact, can governments actually do to

influence, or direct, the economy out of the recession? Nothing!

The unemployed are costing £21,000 million a year to keep them without work. We desperately need houses and local authorities have billions of pounds from council house sales which they are



Today, 18th September

not allowed to use for house-building. The railways are starved of funds, and the public road transport is virtually non-existent in rural areas. And of course we need more medical and other care for the handicapped, the old and the sick.

Is it really more 'efficient' to spend £21 billion keeping people doing nothing than even borrowing a similar amount to give them the opportunity of creating this kind of 'wealth'? Or are we just a bunch of 'old-fashioned', 'impractical', 'idealistic' anarchists?



A Tiger's Tale

Once upon a time there was a deserted isle. But not for long. Wet and dripping, three tigers swam ashore, shook themselves dry and with roars of defiance bounded off into the usual interior jungle these places are prone to.

Not a lot later on, wet and dripping, three shipwrecked sailors swam ashore, shook themselves dry, and began to quarrel. It was all very natural.

The quarrellings subsided quite soon after the men heard the tigers roaring in the jungle. They had no weapons to deal with the predators so, using their superior brainpower, they began to devise strategies for coping with the menace.

The first man, a Social Democrat idealist from Crewe, declared at the outset his belief that all wild creatures could be tamed. "Tame the tigers", he argued, "and we'll have them in shafts working for us quicker than you can say 'striped horse'." Reasoned argument about the considerable problems involved in changing the stripes on tigers were of no avail. He was last seen by the other two disappearing into the jungle carrying half a coconut shell brimming with coconut milk.

Soon finding a tiger the man offered it a gift. Graciously the animal licked the shell dry. Whilst thus engaged the idealist from Crewe seized his opportunity and climbed upon its back. "Gee up, tiger", he commanded. His mount gee-d him up alright, and after a seemingly free ride through the air that proved of particular pleasure to an idealist he came down, as we all must, into the hospitable jaws of his mount. The grateful tiger, a literate beast, left an epitaph clawed into the bark of a nearby palm: "Not all that is tame stays tame".

The second man, a Communist political activist from Grimethorpe, doted on tigers. "Sleek, powerful creatures", he enthused. "Magnificent killing machines, lords of the jungle, efficient, deadly, nature's survivors. Of course, they lack a viable political ideology. I shall infiltrate, show them how to take over by a revolution, and democratise them".

Reasoned argument against politicising tigers proved useless. The remaining survivor saw his companion leave for the jungle clad in a striped blanket made from stitched palm leaves and smelling fragrantly of tiger dung cunningly smeared under his armpits to add verisimilitude to the ruse.

The tiger which eventually found him was completely taken in. Eyeing the striped stranger, it sniffed appreciatively. "Nice bit of goods", the brute ruminated. "Seems willing, might as well try my luck", whereupon it mounted what was mistakenly deemed to be a female tiger of the species. The subsequent rage (and disappointment) at being misled into an act of homosexual bestiality with a human being was frightful to behold.

After calming down and eating supper it too left an epitaph clawed upon a nearby palm: "Efficient survivors eat well". Perhaps it was the same tiger which had left the first one. Literacy to the point of aphorism isn't widespread among survivors.

The third man, an anarchist from Poole, stayed discreetly upon the seashore, catching and salting the odd fish and waiting for winter. The island was rather far to the north, he had observed. About

Christmas Eve the sole remaining castaway stepped cautiously into the jungle. A short while later he emerged bearing three magnificent skins taken off three frozen tigers.

Rolled in luxurious furs the anarchist went to sleep under the star-spattered violet sky. "Ho hum", he yawned before nodding off: "Live tigers on a deserted isle are no more use than chocolate teapots. But dead ..."

One moral of this story is that whilst not everything comes to him who just waits, it is more than likely to come to him who waits his time.

Trevor M. Artingsoll

People Without Power

Dear Editors,

I am delighted to learn (17th August) that 'Flett' is your correspondent's real name, as it is a good old Orcadian cognomen. There are literally thousands of them on these islands. However, from his general style I have decided he is definitely a man, even though he still seems remarkably coy about revealing his Christian (sorry, first!) name.

The trouble with his latest argument is that "people without power" have little desire to see the establishment of a society without government in their land. Take, for example, the recent events in Russia. The people who overthrew the coup leaders did not wish to see them replaced by no leaders. Some wanted the old leaders (Gorbachev & Co) back, other new leaders (Yeltsin & Co), while perhaps most wanted the setting up of a Western-style democracy, with 'freely' elected leaders. It is perhaps significant that the ending of the coup has been accompanied by renewed demands for independence from the Baltic republics and other parts of the Soviet Union, and it is good to see that both Flett and Steve Cullen apparently support self-determination for these nations, Croatia, and so on. But why not for Scotland?

Similarly the 'people without power' in Rumania and China now seem more oppressed than ever, following the toppling of Ceausescu, and the massacre of Tiananmen Square.

The vast majority of those who do not vote in local or general elections refrain not out of conviction but from sheer apathy. Ask the average powerless person in the street what he or she understands by anarchy, and they will reply not a society without leaders (which to them is inconceivable) but a condition of utter chaos, which we must at all costs strive to avoid. I ask Flett and Steve once again how they propose to set up an anarchist society or, in Flett's words, how are they going to acquire "the whole fucking bakery"?

John L. Broom

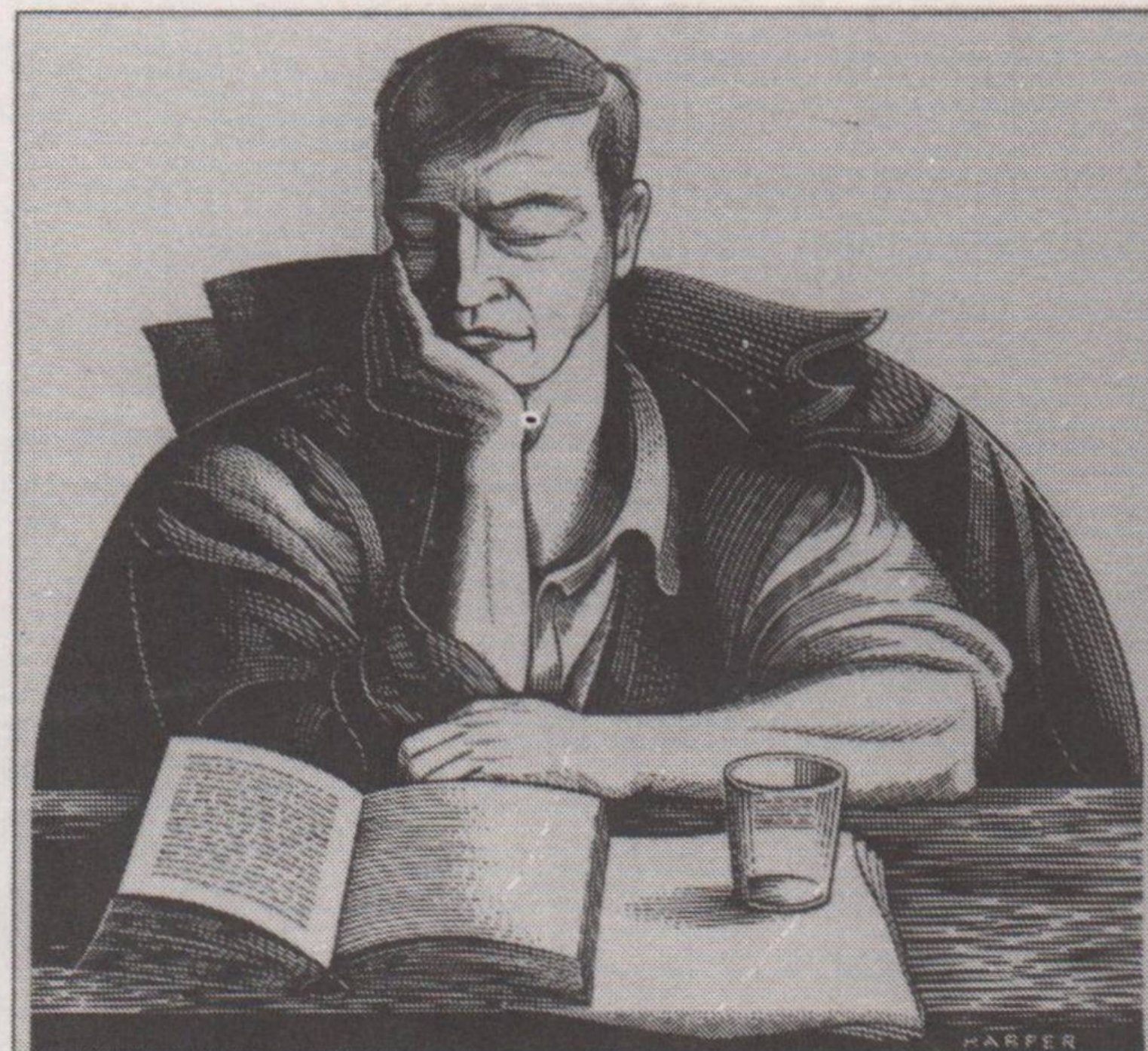
And Who 'Runs' the Tories?

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In the distant past — unknown to the young blue-eyed Tory chairman — the dirty tricks department of his Party, in league with the press, contributed to the defeating of the Labour Party at the 1924 elections by suggesting that the Party was involved in a Russian plot to foment revolution in this country (the Zinoviev letter). Of course it wasn't true — Ramsay MacDonald would not have said boo to a goose — but just as there are still those who accuse the Labour Party of being socialist (perish the thought!) throughout the 1930s they were accusing the Party of being financed by 'Moscow gold'.

Well, we have travelled a long way. Now blue-eyed Chris only accuses them of being union stooges. No more 'Moscow gold'. Indeed, Prime Minister Major is thinking how he can lend Moscow a billion or two.

It's the Tories who are campaigning with 'Athens and Hong Kong gold'! What's the country coming to Colonel?



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Do we want more roads?

In the pre-election offensive the powerful road lobby has told the parties what it wants — four key new roads at a cost of £4.5 billion compared with the DoT's present budget of £1.9 billion.

Surely we now know only too well that Parkinson's law applies to the roads as anywhere else. The more roads you have the more traffic you attract. And the more pollution.

We don't know who financed research by the University of Wales on rail transport but they have come up with findings to the effect that British Rail will "capitalise on its green credentials only by improving freight services". *The Guardian* report of 23rd September quotes the university warning British Rail that 'all out' stressing of the environmental benefits could backfire:

"... as much of the rail network's power comes from electricity generated by coal-burning plants."

To suggest that rail freight would not be more

"One-and-a-half million people are expected to take part in the act of worship known as the Frankfurt International Car Exhibition which opened a few days ago. There are 520,000 people who can't attend — the number of people killed on Germany's roads since 1953."

— *Die Tageszeitung*

environmentally beneficial if it were only because millions of tons of freight were taken off the roads would not appear to have occurred to the researching Professor and Doctor. And surely they also know that it is not all that difficult to render coal-fired power stations environmentally 'friendly', even with British coal. It's just a question of spending money on those initiatives rather than on so-called defence, or on protecting a couple of thousand people in the Falkland Islands, or keeping the Union Jack flying over Gibraltar.

The research referred to above is by a Professor

Schlegelmilch who "holds the British Rail Chair of Marketing" at Swansea, and senior lecturer Dr Diamantopoulos.

We are very suspicious people at *Freedom*, especially as the material for these two items appeared in one feature in *The Guardian* (23rd September).

After all, without the professor's research we would have thought that a train-load of 50 containers drawn by two electric or diesel locomotives would be more environmentally friendly pollutionwise and trafficwise than 50 lorries. But we may be wrong. For instance, did the professor even consider how many lives were lost on the roads as a result of accidents involving lorries?

Another Golden Handshake

Barry Feinberg, the former head of the American subsidiary of the electrical retailing group Dixons, received a £600,000 pay-off from the group according to its newly published annual report.

And another ex-Government Minister doing well

The Liberal Democrat Des Wilson, in his catalogue of ex-Ministers making a packet thanks to their connections when they were in the government, made no mention of one of the most successful among them: Mrs Thatcher.

She has been all over the world telling everybody how to run their economies and their governments, for which she has been paid handsomely. According to Sarah Helm in *The Independent* (3rd September), the present going rate for a Thatcher lecture in Japan is about £127,000 per appearance. Her sponsor was Nippon Telegraph and Telephone, one of the largest companies in the world.

The Lesser of Two Evils

In the 1920s and 1930s, Hitler was considered to be less of a threat to Britain, or, to be more exact, to Britain's rulers, than Stalin, with the result that the British government first ignored him and later appeased him.

In the 1980s, Iraq was considered to be less of a threat than Iran, with the result that the British government assisted in the arming and training of Saddam's forces and granted monetary aid.

This policy of taking one of two courses that are both evil anyway is commonly adopted by the churches. Both governments and churches disregard the fact that other options may be available.

On the BBC programme 'Question Time', a Bishop, when questioned about his (reluctant, of course) support for Desert Storm, excused himself by saying that that was the best he could do because we are living in an imperfect world — meaning, of course, that he did not see why he should try to be perfect when other people were not. In view of ex-Archbishop Runcie's statement that "goodness is not the same thing as Godliness", the almost overwhelming support, by the Bishops, for Desert Storm was not surprising.

Prior to World War Two, it seems the government looked to Hitler to counter the threat of a Communist Europe, weakening itself in the process so that it, too, would pose less of a threat to Britain. In the event, the result was a tragedy which solved nothing; the war to end all wars provided no lessons to those who rule us. Nor does Desert Storm appear to have solved anything.

The support for Hitler and Saddam was evil in itself, and the British governments of the day must be considered to have been evil. Pragmatism or expediency are only nicer ways of describing something that was evil.

The near-genocidal policies pursued by

British governments in the formation of the British Empire, belonging as it does to recent history, cannot support the seemingly widespread view, in this country at least, that the British have reason to rate themselves higher in humanitarianism than any other nationality. The fact that no apology, let alone recompense, has been forthcoming suggests that shamelessness is an important attribute in those who rule Britannia.

Some will say that we have come a long way since we almost wiped out the Aborigines, the Maoris, Red Indians and some African peoples, but Hiroshima and Dresden bear witness to the contrary. Hitler, evil though he was, only wanted to create his own Empire as we did. Hitler's concentration camps were not new to the British, who had made good use of them in the Boer War. Admittedly the British had no gas chambers, but thousands, including women and children, died from disease in the camps. One might ask which is the greater crime, gassing or neglect? Ten thousand dead or one hundred thousand dead? Who will choose when both are so unimaginably evil? How do you assess the relative suffering caused by Hitler's gas chambers, Dresden's fire-bombing, Hiroshima's radiation and British colonisation? By numbers? By the method of killing? By the supposed wickedness or subhumanity of the victims?

A third way must surely be found, and it must be a policy which is not evil in itself.

When the killing starts, there are no guarantees as to when it will end. Desert Storm was short and lethal, but the casualties both human and environmental remain. It was by no means the answer to a problem or the end of a story that has been going on for centuries, and is set to go on and on so long as governments are governments.

EFC

I recently saw a slot on the television news about the forming of a special police squad in Manchester in response to increased animal rights action. The fact that this made the national news was in itself surprising, but was soon explained by the quote they used from an unidentified activist that "it was a revolution, and people die in a war". Not only was this quoted by the reporter but it also appeared in print on the picture. So the story wasn't the ALF-busting cops forming up in Manchester but the 'dangerous cranks' feature. The quote could well have been invented but it's also not too difficult to find an angry person who can be used to discredit a movement or idea. The story told of increased economic sabotage and the threat of the death of those involved in animal exploitation.

Economic sabotage works without doubt, but to be more than only a release of emotion and of limited effect it must be linked with other things. The targeting of fur shops has caused the demise in many cities of the fur trade. But this economic loss through damage was fatal to the businesses because it was linked to a general slump in sales. Whether due to changes in fashion or beliefs, less people wanted fur coats. Bricks and paint hastened shops already on the decline to close, or persuaded department stores that fur departments weren't worth the bother having.

The bricking of high street butchers is a different

thing. As a long term vegan I find their displays repulsive. I can understand the urge, so if at night someone wants to put the window in, why not if that's what they feel. It's never been my thing, but I can understand the venting of anger and the buzz it gives people. But beyond that I could never see it achieving much. Sure you could financially ruin an individual butcher's shop given enough time, but then people would shop elsewhere. You could do all the butcher's shops then people would buy their dead animals in the supermarket. It's a question of supply and demand, and let's face it most people still want to eat meat. If a product is called for, and someone can make a profit, it will be supplied. I believe there is a declining trend in demand but not so great that, like the fur shops, a push will stop people profiting from supplying it. I'm not, however, arguing against such actions but only saying recognise it's not going to change the eating habits of the nation if that's the motivation — if it's not, then enjoy.

The more damaging tactic is attacks that injure

people, whether by design or accident. Accidents do happen, but that only makes it all the more important that all the angles should be looked at carefully. The media is only too pleased to pounce on the injured security guard or passer-by or the danger to firemen. And in the ensuing furore the results and the suffering of the animals, the motivation for the action, if ignored in the public mind. Of course if they can't get the 'violent ALF' angle they can always lie or just ignore the incident and deny it coverage. Perhaps there's no way to win, but giving them fuel can only be a bad move.

Public support is needed for certain aims to be achieved, a change in consumer habits will reduce the meat trade and vivisection, through the companies' reaction to the change in the market demands. The change in the immediate situation of an individual animal does not call for this support. If it did it would undoubtedly die waiting, so such actions as the liberation of animals need only aim to gain public sympathy and understanding as an extra, but it should still be recognised as an important extra in the long term.

So-called 'respectable' animal rights groups are trying to change attitudes and legislation so they will have to distance themselves publicly from the ALF's direct action. This is understandable as they see success depending on public support, though privately as individuals they may well sympathise with the actions. These groups are as important in the process of change, no single angle of attack on animal abuse and exploitation can succeed, only the effects of all angles will bring change.

What spurred me to write was the quote of the targeting of individuals in animal suffering. This

tactic I find stupid. I can understand the reason people feel it to be a good idea but find it disastrous. I'm not denying that certain individuals are directly responsible for horrific cruelty to animals, but bombing them? Shit, why not just drag the animals rights issue into the media circus and crucify it, you'd be doing it anyway. If public opinion is immaterial to you, fine, it must seem a good option, but still it only stops one individual's involvement. If that's the goal, well, success isn't too difficult. But does the individual exist whose removal will cause the destruction of the vast pharmaceutical empires and the end of experimentation? I can understand the reasons, even agree with and feel most of them, but still I feel it's a bad idea, and a waste of energy and time. The dangers are enormous, and it puts you into a whole new ball-game.

People contemplating this course of action should step back from themselves, their groups, and look at the situation around them. What the rest of the world thinks and does, this has to be understood, this is what you're up against and what your action and its target exist in. Ghetto existence can lead to the creation of the world views a million miles away from the reality of the public's views and demands and the issue causes leads to the danger of someone not realising how their action and the person they target exist and function in the wider world.

I'll admit my reaction to the bombing of the head of the German banking system's armour plated Mercedes by someone on a bicycle a couple of years ago wasn't one of horror and condemnation, far from it. But I recognise that I hold a minority view. If a few animal rights activists want to move into the Baader Meinhoff league, then they should recognise the consequences to themselves and what they believe in. Can they handle the full force of the state machine's anger, and will the movement survive the repression and the backlash?

Flett

Unfair Comment

Thought afore Malice

Various Tory MPs are declaiming about the inadequacy of the Dutch conceptions of justice following the freeing — by a higher court — of alleged IRA activists after the murder of visiting Australians. They (the MPs) do not question that the evidence before the trial judge had been contradictory and unsatisfactory, but they feel that the Dutch courts should therefore have ensured there was other evidence, which would have made certain of a satisfactory conviction.

So soon after the Maguire, the Birmingham Six and Guildford Four cases, such statements from parliamentarians have a sinister ring. If the MPs concerned do not mean that scientific evidence should have been manufactured, or confessions extracted as they were by the British police in the '70s, then they would be wise to express themselves with somewhat more care. As it is, that is the clear implication of their words.

The murders were, of course, vile — indeed, even the IRA says so, though it excuses the matter by saying that these were killed in mistake for soldiers. While anarchists believe that the Six County statelet is a peculiarly obnoxious residue from the days of imperialism, and many of us would have some sympathy, despite its state nature, with the essentials of Irish Republicanism, we would all reject as specious this excuse, would all be critical of a method of political struggle that depends on such murders.

But that said, the methods used against the IRA, to say nothing of the reign of terror that existed in Northern Ireland for years before the IRA's revival in '69 (and Ulster Unionists, up to and including the last Speaker of Stormont, used to boast openly of having taken part in lynchings, hoping thereby to terrorise Catholics into staying away from the polls, or into emigrating) was yet more vile.

Politicians in this country who have never deplored our own country's record in Ireland, or the injustices performed to perpetuate the Six County memorial to that record, envince a high moral tone when they talk about the crimes of the IRA. They do not criticise patent injustice, when it is a matter of people falsely imprisoned for long years, because they are accused of being in the IRA; and they do apparently expect the Dutch to apologise when the latter — after diligent search — cannot find sufficient evidence to convict alleged murderers.

So there's to be another Labour party witch-hunt on the Left. "So what?" I hear someone cry. "Why would anyone who claims to be a socialist want to be in the Labour Party?" "Why should anarchists bother about a minor squabble between two different sorts of authoritarian socialists?"

Experience, however, shows: that all campaigns in which anarchists engage involve a large number of left Labourists;

that whenever such campaigns win any influence the Labour leadership will build a Trotskyist bogeyman as a means to discredit the campaign; that the expulsions from Labour will hit not merely those who belong to such groups, but many ordinary campaigners;

that many people active in such campaigns will be persuaded — by their fear of being associated with the Trotskyists — to give up campaigning.

So it is reasonable to suppose that the real target of the witch-hunt is not the hardline Leninist group, about whom anarchists may well be no less critical than the Transport House spokespersons, but the various single issue campaigns where people begin to try and act directly to affect their own lives and where they may well learn the anarchist case from experience.

Those with memories of former witch-hunts will remember talking to people dropping out of one or other single issue campaign under the impact of the purge, and will have heard, probably from many different people, the phrase "well, say what you like, the Labour party is not a Trotskyist party". Since this is frequently said when one has not even mentioned Trotskyists or the Labour Party, it testifies to the success of Transport House in getting over the message, equating the campaign with Trotskyism, i.e. with Leninist Party organisation.

Obviously we have a need to carry the case that such campaigns do not depend on Trotskyist tactics, are not generally speaking centralised in a Leninist way, do not use such tactics (though they may pose transitional demands, they do not do so in a conscious effort to deceive). But as well as this, there is a case for challenging another part of the comment.

Keir Hardie — who was by no means without faults, as reference to what our forerunners were saying during his lifetime will show — was, during his leadership of the Labour Party, not merely a member of the same international as Lenin and Trotsky, but like them he opposed the leadership of that international because its opposition to war was inadequate. He corresponded with them. He met them on friendly terms. It is most unlikely that Kinnoch (like Gaitskell, Wilson and Callaghan before him) would have been considered eligible to join even the right wing of that international, since the international was founded on a minimal (if purely lip service) commitment to the defence of the working class's class conditions, a class line that the Labour right has consistently disowned.

So no, the Labour Party is not a Trotskyist party and never was. But Trotsky personally, and Trotsky's conception of a socialist party, was seen by the founding leader of the Labour Party as consistent with comradeship. The present leaders of the Labour Party, and their concept of the party, would not have so been.

LO

Waiting for the Bus

Wake up, Bert, the bus might be here any minute ... I was just thinking about the way the Thatchers and Majors and Hurds go on and on about the rule of law ... Well, what's so strange about that? ... Well, Daisy, it's scandalous rather than funny, but the government itself is not subject to the rule of law. Trades Unions can have their money confiscated by the law courts, but when the government decides to introduce a poll tax, they can't be taken to court. Hitler's anti-Jewish laws couldn't have been passed if the German judiciary could have challenged them ... So all this talk of law and order is a load of ... Bollocks ... I see the Tories are in the lead again, Bert ... You mean Major's Tories, I suppose ... What else? ... Well, there's Kinnoch's Tories and Steel's Tories, don't forget ... Sometimes I don't know if you're being serious ... Deadly serious, Daisy. Never fall for all that Democrap nonsense. They are all determined to keep Trident whatever we might say about it. They were all, in Majorie Thompson's words, "obscenely enthusiastic" about prosecuting the Gulf war. They were all obscenely enthusiastic about prosecuting the anti-poll tax protesters ... But they were breaking the law ... So were the East Europeans and the Russians when they took to the streets, and our Tories praised them for it ... But they didn't use the army against the poll tax protesters ... The army would soon have been called out if the police lost control. The Tories aren't a bunch of bloody pacifists ... In the paper it says that about half of the increase in AIDS is down to Africans that come over here ... Yes, and while the authorities have been busy warning heteros, the rate of VD in gays has been going up again. So in trying to avoid a backlash against gays, they are now faced with the danger of a backlash against blacks. Funny thing, Daisy, the Terence Higgins Trust is now admitting that targeting the heteros gave the gays false confidence ... Do you think we should

refuse aid to the Russians until they have changed to a market economy ... the editor of *The Observer* says we shouldn't refuse it because that would be the language of a bank manager ... But I thought market economics was the language of bankers ... You'd better see the editor about that, Daisy. And, while you're at it, ask him for our 70p back for writing such crap ... He says the Americans gave plenty of aid to Germany after the war, so we should do the same for Russia ... He forgets that the Americans were in control of Germany to make sure the money was used for the benefit of the USA ... You were right about Colonel Oliver North, Bert. He's got off scot free ... I wonder what they will do about the CIA. Maybe they'll disband it and create another assassination outfit under a new name, the AIC perhaps ... I read in the paper that the US still owes Nicaragua \$17 billion compensation for military aggression carried out years ago. They still haven't complied with the World Court judgement made back in 1986 ... If the UN was set up like the World Court, the US wouldn't have got away with Desert Storm. It's just another bit of proof that economics is just another branch of politics ... What is politics then, Bert? ... A gap between wars ... You seem to think everything is a big con ... Everything to do with governments is ... tell me, what is a Class II (i) BSc Hons in Data Processing ... It's the latest method for counting centipedes — you count their legs and, with the aid of a calculator, divide by one hundred. It doesn't solve the housing problem, but it keeps lecturers in work ... That nice Simon Hughes has come up with a solution to the pollution problem — tax cars off the road. He makes it sound so simple ... The only simple thing about it is Simon. So we end up with only rich people driving cars. Maybe he isn't so simple, though, because he'll be able to afford one ... We'll never see him on this bus, Bert ...

EFC

Genesis versus The Royal Academy

It is given to few people to touch the hem of genius and kiss the robe of God, but this week in a racing double the Town and his round-eyed frau, in a first-past-the-post, found that they were backing the first and second favourites in a fly-away win.

Over the long years I have lost too much money to cheerful bookmakers and dipsomaniac publicans to believe or care, but I was willing to dip into the Holy Water and bend the knee to gaze upon the reincarnation of the Almighty, or goose a genius as worthy of a paragraph in that autobiography that will never be typed.

This week the Royal Academy informed an uninformed world that their latest major exhibition is, like their last twenty five, the greatest art exhibition that has ever been mounted south of Potters Bar, and we of the Fourth Estate and card-carrying freeloaders took our place at the press desk to sign in and give thanks for the bump on the Mercury Communications presentation, major all-talking, all-singing, in glorious technicolour Pop Art exhibition.

It is written that the 250 works on display were the creations of artists from as far afield as New York, California, Chicago, London, Paris, Düsseldorf, Rome and Milan, yet one feels that a Chelsea dustman could make the same claim with his collection.

In 1957 Richard Hamilton wanted a Pop Art exhibition which should be "Popular, Young, Witty, Sexy, Gimmicky, Glamorous, Big Business", and this 1991 Royal Academy exhibition — with the exception of 'Big Business' — fails on all counts with the other also-rans. In 1960 Claes Oldenburg crawled out of the Big Apple to declaim that the art should be "heavy and coarse and blunt and sweet and stupid as life itself", and the answer to all that is that any work of creativity should be no more than that a man or woman be honest with themselves. Pop Art was a giggle for the swinging sixties and, like cleaned up punk music, a hype for the dealers once they had found a market for it. It gave pleasure because it was simplistic, demanded no mental effort, was two dimensional, and was run off in bright flat primary colours. It is a parasitical art form in that it is no more than the doppelganger of a mass commercial sub-culture which, in its turn, was the paid product of highly paid

bright people hired to work on products to hawk to a lower class that in the main they despised. Smash the shell of the American adult comic and the American super-marketing packaging and in time's drifting space all that is left is the simpering giggle and the sour smell of long spilt wine. Dare I protest too much? Nay, for I have enjoyed it over the years as I have enjoyed the interiors of back street catholic churches, Soho pornographic shop wares and fairgrounds for the same two dimensions and the same bright colours and a culture that demands nothing of the viewer. It is called Pop Art but, like nearly all the paint-slapping abstract 'paintings', it was only a work of art if the perpetrators told you so. As Queen Victoria said to Albert: "It gives pleasure and amuses, but it does not go very deep into one". To me the test is simply this that almost any of the work on display, if taken out of the galleries of the Royal Academy or of any art gallery, would cease to be a work of art but simply revert, like Oscar Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray*, back to its original carrion.

All the aged were there, wearing their medals and, hosted by George Melly in his eggshell blue suit and red shirt, we spoke of 'the old days', but the doyen of the minute was Peter Blake. A gentle, pleasant man, short and neat bearded, he is at the best a second-rate painter, but like the Russian piss artist who staggered up the steps of the Winter Palace in 1917 to become a hero of the Russian Revolution, Pete made his pratfall onto history's bandwagon with his cover for the Beatles record and though I am literally sick with envy I wish him well. For a brief time Pete took to the wild woods looking for fairies, but after a few camera takes decided that bare-footed through the eleven o'clock grass was not for him and he is now firmly entrenched in London's skid row for the art galleries that broken men and women

sneeringly refer to as Cork Street, W1. It is in Cork Street that Peter Blake also fills two walls of the Waddington Gallery, while along Cork Street one can hear the whining voices of art dealers screaming at their A Level Arts



"Have you seen my can of beer, love?"

"It popped, so I sold it to The Royal Academy Pop Art Exhibition for £50,000."

wives to rummage in the gallery cellars to "for God's sake see if we have a 'Peter Blake' while the market is hot".

As Pete moves with his cloud of acolytes, one can only bite the lip and wish him well as they pass with shame hanging heads the last 'finest masterpiece of the twentieth century'. Hockney's 'A Bigger Splash' and Wesselmann's rhubarb, his 1968 collage 'Bathtub Collage No 2'. For the Town and gentle frau it is the road to Damascus as they make their pilgrimage to the Anthony d'Offay Gallery in a Bond Street side street. There

within this gallery, strictly for the thinking type, is the work of the American James Turrell who has been hailed by Dorment of *The Daily Telegraph*, in a four-column title, as "The greatest artist of the 21st century" and, should doubt arise, Dorment cries that Turrell is "rather like the Creator in the book of Genesis, this is what he makes us see". Turrell's work "would not be out of place in a church" for "reflections on life and death, on God and the universe are never far from one's thoughts in front of a work by Turrell". Turrell has played tiptoe with Tibetan Buddhism and in 1978 he bought his own extinct volcano with a view to studying morning, noon and night as a single package. "Let there be light" commanded God, and Turrell bounces up the d'Offay Gallery electric light bill by switching the lights on and off in the name of 'art'. But for me Turrell's masterpiece is his 'Dark Space: Red and Green', wherein one entered a totally black tiny angled room where in that pitch black room one felt one's way by feeling the invisible wall. In that all-pervading darkness I found I was handling a human body and I asked the darkness "What do we do?", and the bodiless voice said "We wait here for ten minutes and a tiny pin-prick of light will form on the brain" and I felt my way out of that cloak of all-pervading darkness having thanked the disembodied voice knowing that I am old, I am old, for I 'wear the bottoms of my trousers rolled', for I remember that I went through the same act about 25 years ago in Bob Cobbing's Better Books in the Charing Cross Road and Bob, literally, used chicken wire and chicken feathers and chicken shit and never consulted God or Colonel Sanders. What depressed me with Turrell's exhibition is 'your actual art' in that he has a small group of models he has made for ziggurats, pyramids and stupas for the purpose of playing peek-a-boo with God and in fairness they look like aluminium table jellies. I walked through Cork Street and passed half a dozen well-tailored art dealers standing and laughing on the pavement and X, with his coat fashionably draped over one shoulder, gave me 'the look' as I passed and from the group came the voice saying: "The doctor told us we were becoming alcoholics", and the laughter drifted into the Cork Street galleries. Oh God.

Arthur Moyses

[What follows is a response to the contributions of John L. Broom and Steve Cullen on nationalism and anarchism.]

Nations and nationalism, as we know them, are not thought to be ancient in origin. E.J. Hobsbawm in his recent book *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* says: "Nations ... are not as Bagehot thought, 'as old as history'. The modern sense of the word is no older than the eighteenth century."

This view is accepted by Benedict Anderson who in his sympathetic analysis of nationalism *Imagined Communities* (1983) seems to argue that nationalism evolved out of the decline of religion in the West, the development of the printing press, and the consequent growing importance of native and vernacular languages in print. The anarcho-syndicalist writer Rudolf Rocker in his *Nationalism and Culture* upholds this notion of a secular religion, claiming that "... nationalism was evolved into a political religion, for the purpose of replacing individual conceptions of right and wrong by the notion about right as preached by the national state, such as expressed by the sentence: 'my country right or wrong'."

It is curious to consider as Anderson has said: "The objective modernity of nations to the historian's eye compared with their subjective antiquity in the eyes of the nationalists."

In 1962, Ignazio Silone rewrote *School for Dictators*, a satirical study in which he claimed to offer "a critique of the Fascist and Nazi ideologies" and to try to "expose their falsification of history and to define the social factors which facilitate totalitarian enterprises in the present age". One character in the book laments what he considers are the impossible barriers to setting up a totalitarian regime in the USA: "No matter how clever it is, a propaganda campaign can't succeed unless it has some link with reality. But in America we lack traditions. Our history begins with the Declaration of Independence in the year 1776. So our brief history is all liberal ... the United States is a creation of the liberal epoch, a recent creation. In such circumstances you can't invent a nation tradition."

But the character representing Silone's view reassures him

Nationalism: a twentieth century religion?

that for some time Italian historians had been arguing about the period in which the origin of their nation should be set. Some even wanted to go back as far as 1300 and Dante. Yet nobody, not even a Fascist historian — and with the Fascists in power there was no lack of Fascist historians — dared assert that Italian history went back to classical antiquity. But this didn't stop Mussolini from inflating the historical nonsense about Italy's Roman tradition until he made it the central myth of Fascist ideology, exploiting it for the titles, symbols and rites of the party organisation and the Fascist state.

The British monarchy

In this country journalistic talk of a '1,000 year old tradition' of British Royal ceremonial is almost as absurd as Mussolini's attempt to link the Italian Fascist State to Roman antiquity. While it is true the monarchy, and some of its ceremonies, are genuine, thus antique, and that in the sixteenth century and seventeenth century lavish royal ceremony did abound in England, it has not had a continuous tradition. According to Hobsbawm, it had to be reinvented in the late nineteenth century.

What is the function of an invented tradition? It is argued that the modern nation state needs a set of symbols, such as the British royal Christmas broadcast (instituted in 1932), in order to bind together the diverse elements of which it is formed. David Carradine, in his essay on ritual and the British monarchy, has argued that despite the rise of educational standards which has taken place, it has not undermined the public liking for "the secular magic of the monarchy". And

Ian Gilmour observed in 1969: "Modern societies still need myth and ritual. A monarch and his family supply it."

This is not new. The anthropologist Frazer once stated that the maintaining of public order and the state's authority has always been essentially based on the superstitious images that the masses form of it. Without a grasp of such images much of history would be beyond us — wars, the concentration camps, the existence of parasitical social classes, and the relationship between colonies and imperial powers, would all remain incomprehensible to us.

Raising the kilt

Fantasy and myth are no strangers to present-day Scottish nationalism either. Attempts were made to cobble together ancient links with antiquity by two Scottish highlanders in the nineteenth century. In what the historian Hugh Trevor-Roper calls a bold piece of forgery, James Macpherson and the Rev John Macpherson tried to place the Irish-speaking Celts in Scotland four centuries before their historical arrival; explaining away the genuine native literature of the Irish as having been stolen by the unscrupulous Irish from the innocent Scots; rewriting Irish ballads into a Scottish 'epic' and setting the scene for the discovery of a 'Celtic Homer'; and, according to Trevor-Roper, welding "a chain of error in Scottish history". This fabricated version had it that the Celtic people were not just invaders from Ireland in the fifth century, but the ancient Caledonians who resisted the Roman armies. An old legend convincingly refuted by Thomas Innes in 1729.

Trevor-Roper argues that the creation of an independent

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A Structured Anarchism

by John Griffin
Freedom Press, £1.00

What Then Must We Do?

by Leo Tolstoy
Green Books, £8.95

When I say that John Griffin's book is well conceived but poorly executed, I can't help feeling uncomfortable. As anarchists we are by nature sympathetic to the layman and hostile to the expert. Mr Griffin does not claim to be an expert, and says in his introduction that he is not an academic. But his shortcomings are serious!

Mr Griffin sets out to correct what he sees as the "weak and unsystematic" focus of libertarians in the realm of sociology, psychology and economics, and goes on to produce a booklet which shows a shallowness of vision and lack of rigour. Inevitably in a short booklet the result was bound to be a bit of a patchwork quilt, but as a theoretical overview it is decidedly messy.

He refers to the grand theorists — Marx, Durkheim and Weber — as the 'founding fathers' of much of what passes for modern sociology. His favourite sociologist being Durkheim, who he says avoids the "chimera of class", and stresses how a "society's culture tended to reproduce itself as new members became 'socialised' through their family, friends, work experience, etc." He adds that anarchists would accept Durkheim's ideas on socialisation.

Most people would, I suggest, accept the weak implication of Durkheim's case for socialisation — 'society in man' — in that people generally adopt the customs and habits of their nearest and dearest and the rules of the surrounding society. I dare say that if we were to spend enough time among a tribe of cannibals we may be seduced into absorbing some of their customs.

But the extreme Durkheimian model implies that human beings are just cultural dopes excreted by society. It offers a conservative view of society as a functioning body. Thus all the anatomical details of a society are justified by their very existence — the government is the brain; the workers are the

hands of society; the unemployables are the equivalent of the useless human appendix, and so on. The social divisions of labour are the same as those which apply to the limbs and anatomical details of organisms. Religion is just an example of a society worshipping itself. The acts of individuals, even in cases like suicide, are not really free but are merely the 'social currents' of a society expressing themselves through the individual.

A Libertarian Sociology

Mr Griffin says the merit of Durkheim is that he evades a class analysis of society, yet the disciples of Durkheim have developed what has been called the 'functionalist theory of class'. This is not a conflict model of class, like that of the Marxists, but an attempt to justify the class system as it stands with its existing division of labour. It suggests that a society rewards people in proportion to their usefulness to the society. Thus the low paid get what society decides they deserve because they have relatively less worth to society.

It is an interesting view, but not one most anarchists would want to be associated with.

As every aspect of Durkheim's sociology tends to justify the status quo, it can describe a society but it cannot easily explain social change in societies. It is also legalistic sociology in that it looks for social laws which determine human action.

Possibly worse than Mr Griffin's strange taste in sociologists is his neglect of those in the field who do have a claim to be libertarian. Since Harold Garfinkle wrote his *Studies in Ethnomethodology* in 1967, there has been a 'libertarian' school of sociology, which seeks to discover how members construct societies, called the ethnomethodologists. Ethnomethodology has been called the study of peoples' methods — how people act within society, not how society makes them act.

Thus the libertarian sociologist doesn't, like Mr Griffin, just see society as a constraint upon members but looks at how people construct social relationships in real life situations. In this sense 'class' is a social

category to which people may claim to belong, just as race or ethnicity is a category, just as gender or sex is a category. Indeed, Wyndham Lewis says "men and women like nothing so much as being 'classified' ... there is no surer way to their hearts than to invent a new 'class' for them. To be good, a deceived husband, an artist, a one-legged man, at once lands an individual in some aggregation or class, and adversity or good fortune both drop him in the midst of the strangest bedfellows."

Of course, to successfully belong to a 'class' one must have the required qualities, be it one-leggedness or whatever. In this sense Mr Griffin is unwise to dismiss social class as outmoded. Right now even the 'breast is best' pressure groups may have more political clout than the TUC and the British working class, but I wouldn't want to exclude social class as a category from my analysis either as a sociologist or an anarchist.

Even when he tackles market economics Mr Griffin gives a sympathetic mention to the 'right wing' economists Milton Friedman and F.A. Hayek, but overlooks the radical libertarian philosopher of political economy Robert Nozick. When it comes to social psychology Mr Griffin invokes Freud, Reich, Fromm, and the sub-conscious mind weighed down, he says, by internalised authoritarian urges. Alas, Mr Griffin's solution to the power-hunger of our minds seems to be therapy and the psycho-analysts' couch.

What to do?

Really I much prefer Tolstoy's way of coping with sociology, political economy and the scientific method in his re-published book *What Then Must We Do?* His approach is one of derision — an account of how the new social sciences seek to 'con' people into an acceptance of the world as it is.

Tolstoy says history records three great ideological deceptions on humanity which serve to justify the powers that be:

1. First the theological justification that some people are called — "some to command, others to obey, some to live sumptuously,

others to live in want." Thus the powerful are called by God to rule and be rich.

2. Then came the state-philosophic justification that the state with its institutions and property rights is the historic form of society.

3. Now we have the scientific theory that says the other two are nonsense. "For the study of the laws of human society there is only one method ... only sociology, based on biology ... can give us the laws of the life of humanity ... human society is an organism formed ... subject to all the laws of the evolution of organisms. If some people command and others obey, if some live in opulence and others in want, this occurs not by the will of God ... but because in societies, as in organisms, a division of labour occurs which is necessary for the life of the whole: some people in society perform the muscular work, others the brain work."

This last great excuse for the rich and powerful is provided in the teachings of Comte, Herbert Spencer and Durkheim and is, according to Tolstoy, the doctrine of our times. On this doctrine of the cushy life at the top live all the statesmen, tycoons, high civil servants, the artists and men of science — Tolstoy does not spare himself and the pampered members of his own profession. He calls all this the "sham labour of the wealthy classes".

This sociological excuse for power and privilege owes a lot to Darwin and his theory of evolution. The theory of evolution, says Tolstoy, "asserts that in infinite time anything you please may originate from anything you please". Social Darwinism proposes the 'survival of the fittest' and, argues Tolstoy, the two 'unstable theories' interacted on each other resulting in the view "that men are not to blame for the existing evil in human societies, but that the existing order is just the one that ought to exist".

What then is this evil? In Tolstoy's day there were 50,000 people living in extreme poverty in the slums of Moscow. His account of these, based on his work on a government census, ought to be compulsory reading for all social workers and those students studying social administration. Yet Ronald Sampson in his introduction tells us that "the first fifteen chapters of the book were immediately suppressed by the Russian censorship". How is it, Tolstoy asks, that whereas all basic wealth results from the toil of peasants in the village, all the flour, corn, pulses, flax, hemp, wool, horses, cattle, pigs, poultry, eggs, etc., passes out of the hands of the producers, through those of the landowners, dealers, officials and middlemen, and ends up in the hands of the wealthy? Today, of course, it is the third world peasant who is being squeezed by the industrial economies of the world.

Tolstoy considered this robbery of the peasants was the prime cause of poverty, rather than the wage slavery of factory workers. D.H. Lawrence accused Tolstoy of a perverse love of the peasant, and Tolstoy himself says that the two men who had had most influence on his were peasants, not intellectuals. But his main argument rests on the belief that one can't change society before one has improved human nature.

Given this, it is curious that recently Jimmy Reid, one of yesterday's communists, writing in *The Observer* should accuse Tolstoy and the nineteenth century Russian anarchist intellectuals of influencing Lenin and producing the Russian regime which followed him. For Mr Reid, Tolstoy and not Marx is to blame for the Bolshevik blight of the twentieth century. Clearly Mr Reid, now a jumped-up journalist who was in the British Communist Party for many years, cannot have read Tolstoy properly in the original and is probably basing his judgement on a misunderstanding of Orwell's criticism in his essay *Tolstoy, Lear and the Fool*. It makes you wonder how well Reid knew Lenin as well,

(continued on page 7)

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE USSR?

I was surprised at the sparse coverage given in the current issue of *Freedom* (21st September) to recent events in the Soviet Union. A casual reader of that issue might almost have thought that anarchists in some way approve of Yeltsin. The following points seem to me to be salient.

Firstly, whatever the differences between Marxist-Leninists and anarchists, the ultimate aim is the same — the creation of a stateless society. The rift between the two groups is caused by differing views about the method most appropriate to achieving that aim. Nevertheless, however much anarchists may loathe social structures built on Marxist-Leninist principles — and the opposition runs deep — they should at least give Marxist-Leninists credit for noble theoretical aims.

By contrast, surely both Marxists and anarchists would agree that capitalism is a thoroughly brutal system, in which the only aim is for the capitalist to grow richer at the expense of the worker. Whilst anarchists would argue that Marxist-Leninism in practice shares many of the worst features of capitalism — and indeed have so argued since the First International and before — a fundamental difference between capitalism and Marxist-Leninism is that the former is entirely devoid of any noble aspirations.

Prior to August, two great bulwarks existed against the erroneously-called 'free market' capitalism, the Soviet Union and China. Now that the former Soviet system has collapsed, only China remains to seriously oppose Western capitalism.

In my view, Boris Yeltsin has demonstrated precisely the characteristics of a successful

capitalist. He is courageous, ruthless and manipulative. Far from being fired by noble ideas, I believe that he is concerned overwhelmingly with self-aggrandisement. He has consistently out-manoeuvred Gorbachev and the latter's ill-conceived 'reforms' in a manner entirely reminiscent of a shrewd and successful Western businessman.

Those Soviet people who follow Yeltsin have been sold a dream. The dream is that capitalism will solve their undoubted problems, and organs such as the Voice of America and the BBC World Service have much to do with substantial sectors of Soviet society believing in this phantasm.

In my view, the problems of Soviet society will increase dramatically if, as now seems likely, capitalism rises again, and if justice prevails history will judge Gorbachev a fool and Yeltsin a knave.

The global consequences are likely to be horrific. The West has lost no time in trying to chip away at the last stronghold of communism — China — and I predict that enormous pressure will now be brought to bear on that country in order to destroy its economic base. Other small outposts such as Cuba can then be picked off at leisure. Unbridled capitalism in the Soviet Union will bring with it social and ecological catastrophe, far worse than anything known under Marxist-Leninism.

There are still unanswered questions. Did the Western powers in general and the US in particular have anything to do with the failure of the Moscow coup? We may never know, but I for one suggest that they did. Certainly the Western powers have been making every

effort to destroy the Soviet economy ever since 1917: I would be surprised if the failure of the coup was due entirely to internal factors. Incidentally, Marxist-Leninists can claim, with some justification, that their system has never really been given an honest trial because of the crippling financial burden of an arms race devised and perpetuated by Western powers in order both to cripple the Soviet economy and to create enormous wealth for certain Western capitalists.

Very few ordinary Soviet citizens who have backed Yeltsin can imagine what life is really like under Western capitalism, but as the coming years unfold, they will no doubt have cause to remember some of Marx's more astute observations.

I do not believe that the Marxist-Leninists in the Soviet Union will simply stay silent. Sooner or later they will surely re-group, and civil war will then probably be inevitable.

Anarchists should ask themselves this: if life was bad for Soviet citizens under Marxist-Leninism, will it not be much worse under Western-style capitalism?

Steve

[The 'space coverage' referred to by the writer can simply be explained by the fact that we have no direct information as to what is happening in the Soviet Union and, like him, we must rely on what the capitalist press has to say, and they are more concerned with 'personalities' than with the people. However, to suggest that we are anti-Soviet Union and pro the West is just nonsense. He should buy himself a copy of Marie Louise Berneri's *Neither East Nor West* (Freedom Press, 192 pages, £4.50) and *World War — Cold War selections 1939-1950* (Freedom Press, 422 pages, £6.95), to see that even in wartime we didn't go soft on either Churchill and Roosevelt or Stalin! - Editors.]

Angles on Anarchism

Angles on Anarchism

by George Walford

Calabria Press, 66 pages, £2 (post free inland from Freedom Press)

What happens at anarchist meetings, often enough, is that someone rehearses a particular argument for the anarchist case, and other anarchists present pick holes in the

argument, pointing out errors of fact or reasoning. This is enjoyable because anarchists in general enjoy arguments, and instructive because it helps you to avoid looking silly when arguing the case with non-anarchists. It does no harm, when among comrades, to think 'I shall not have to say that again'.

George Walford is a genial, erudite and witty picker of holes and pointer-out of errors, in speech at the London Anarchist Forum and elsewhere, and in writing in publications including *Freedom* and *The Raven*, and especially his own *Ideological Commentary*, a delightful read with a pompous title.

Angles on Anarchism is a collection of short pieces originally published as articles and letters in various periodicals (including one article from *Ideological Commentary* by Peter Cadogan). Lucidly written and neatly argued, the book asks all sorts of awkward questions of those whose arguments are over-simplified.

If anarchism is a movement of the poor and oppressed, what were wealthy aristocrats like Michael Bakunin doing as anarchists? If our foraging ancestors were natural anarchists, did anarchy produce the state? If what keeps the anarchist movement small is that the bosses prevent the case from being heard, why do not more people agree with the anarchist case when they hear it? Is there a real difference between anarchism and the 'socialism' of the SPGB?

In the last essay of the book, Walford allows his standards of fairness to slip. Earlier this year, he wrote an article for *Freedom* about Max Stirner's *The Ego and His Own* (not *The Ego and Its Own* because he refers to a 1982 Chicago edition, not the 1982 Rebel Press edition for which the title of the translation was altered). The points he made were deftly answered by Sid Parker in the following edition of *Freedom*. Here, he recasts his article to take account of Parker's answers and attack Stirner from an entirely different angle. These new points are equally answerable but there is a no chance to answer them (since this is a book not a series) and Walford forces a win by default.

The book would be quite unsuitable for publication by Freedom Press or any other anarchist propaganda group. Anarchist

Romanticism - 2

I would like to reply to Ernest F. Crosswell's view on the nature of romanticism and women and their roles in our society.

Firstly, on the topic of romanticism I question the balance of his definition which appears to me to be very negative. Surely he can see that it is possible for beauty and utility to co-exist.

It is impossible to convincingly blame all the world's ills past, present and future on romanticism. Admittedly dictators of the past and present have used rhetoric to achieve their aims, just as art was employed as propaganda by Napoleon when he appointed David as his minister of art and used his paintings to promote those now familiar romantic images of Napoleon. Likewise the music of Wagner was used by Hitler to manipulate the masses, but because these art forms were used as a tool does not mean that all art is evil. If Ernest feels that it is then I am sorry for him as he is cutting himself off from the wealth of expression and beauty that art has to offer.

My spirits can soar when I see some of the works of, say, Hundert Wasser or Van Gogh, just as the elegant rhetoric of Lawrence can fill me with appreciation of his art. Life without art is mere existence and to write it all off just because some of it is used in a detrimental manner seems to be like freezing in the winter because of only being able to see fire as a destructive force.

However, if Ernest truly wishes to live in a cold, grey place then that is his decision. A matter of personal choice maybe, but I really have to take issue with him on his statements on the nature of women. It is here that his cold grey place of residence degenerates into the dark ages.

As a woman I take exception to being thought of merely as a bearer of children; to suggest that "the woman's life is full" from the

moment she has a baby is grossly insulting. I am myself a mother and many of my friends have children, but I have yet to meet a woman who has felt that her life has been fulfilled by having a baby.

Giving birth is, of course, a beautiful experience and feeling your unborn child move in your womb is wonderful, but things must be kept in balance; the sickness, tiredness and irritability of pregnancy is not too hot. During the birth itself the woman is subjected to extremities of pain that I think it must be difficult for a man to even imagine; but come on Ernest, at least make the effort. Your analogy of a rabbit coming out of a magician's hat is repulsive. Not only does it imply that the woman is merely a prop for the man but it also undermines the whole process of labour — it is extremely hard work, not a mere conjuring trick.

Also, as a woman I strongly object to a man telling me what "a woman's purpose" is. He implies that after having a child a woman has no need for meditation, etc., so is the logic behind this 'I have given birth therefore I am'?

Ernest's final paragraph makes me wonder if he lives in the same world as me at all — or is it just that as a woman I am incapable of thinking too deeply about things of a more abstract nature?

However, he says that "through chasing flights of fancy" men build a "dogma to be fought over on some bloody battlefield". Has he forgotten the Falklands and Mrs Thatcher? Surely she proved that women are just as capable as men in terms of ruthlessness. The reasons that they are in the minority in the aggressive dictator stakes are social and cultural rather than biological. It is not because they are serenely fulfilled by motherhood but because they are not often allowed to be in positions of power.

Finally, I would like to refer to Ernest's Shakespearian quote on all the world being a stage, which Ernest himself believes to be accurate; however, I and many other women now refuse to accept the role that Ernest and other men like him have cast us in for generations. We are women, biologically capable of producing children, but there is far more to being a woman than that.

Eileen

propaganda must either answer the awkward questions or ignore them, not leave them hanging. Nevertheless, I unhesitatingly recommend the book to those who are already convinced anarchists. It is a splendid example of how to argue carefully without being dull, and it makes us think about what we think.

DR

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How Sociology Justifies Injustice

(continued from page 6)

because in four articles written by Lenin in 1911 on Tolstoy, he described the Tolstoyan moral approach as reactionary and utopian. But truth and accuracy never was a strong point for the Marxists.

Current history suggests that Tolstoy will survive Mr Reid's feeble diatribes, as I suppose will anarchism generally. However unrealistic and utopian Tolstoy's rejection of state power appears, as Mr Sampson says, the tried and tested alternatives — capitalism and communism — are full of intolerable contradictions.

Brian Bamford

Nationalism: a twentieth century religion?

(continued from page 5)

Highland tradition and the implantation of that new tradition, with its outward badges, on the whole Scottish nation, was the work of the later eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. He claims the symbol of Scottish nationalism — the short kilt or tartan philibeg — was invented in Lancashire by an Englishman after the Act of Union in 1707, and that the different 'clan tartans' were an even later invention.

The fashion for the short kilt caught on after 1780, when it was adopted by the Scottish urban middle classes. Reasons for this are thought to be the influence of the Romantic movement and the cult of the noble savage, and the formation of the Highland regiments by the British government.

Peculiarities of dress have often featured historically in social and political movements. The peasant revolts around Beauvais in the twelfth century were called the jacquerie because of the jacque, the jacket, which then distinguished the peasants from the nobles and the priests. Centuries later the Jacobins were called the sans-culottes because they wore long trousers, instead of the aristocratic knee-length culottes. In Sweden, under Gustav III in the nineteenth century, there were two parties in violent opposition: the caps (for Russia) and the hats (for France). All these garments were the everyday dress of the people who formed the movements concerned. But the origin of the Fascist blackshirt was different. At one time the blackshirt in Italy was worn by certain workers because black didn't show the dirt. But neither Mussolini nor those who formed the first fasci had ever worn a blackshirt for reasons of economy. The political uniform was there to disguise the social origins of the movement.

It seems to have been rather similar with the promotion of the kilt by what Trevor-Roper calls the "Anglicised Scottish peers, improving gentry, well-educated Edinburgh lawyers

and prudent merchants of Aberdeen — men who were not constrained by poverty and who would never have to skip over rocks and bogs or lie all night in the hills." Like the Fascist blackshirt, the kilt's importance ceased to be practical or economic, and had become politically symbolic. The small kilt had come to be bound up with national identity.

Federal solution

The anarchist Bakunin distinguished between what he called the 'patriotism of the people' and 'political patriotism'. The 'people's patriotism' is, I suppose, what Orwell at the end of *Homage to Catalonia* said he experienced on landing at Folkestone — a sense of relief on being home in a land where he knew the milk would be on the doorstep and the newspaper in the door. But 'political patriotism' invokes for Bakunin the 'love of State' which reduces human beings to mere vessels of the Nation State.

In this sense nationalism has become, in the twentieth century, a kind of secular religion. Man's attempt to produce a national god in his own image has shown him (and her) willing to make supreme sacrifices and face death on behalf of the Nation State. It's as if, as the poet Heine said of the Germans, people prefer to be lashed with their own whip rather than with a foreign one.

It seems to me that in this century both the nationalists and

the Marxists offer their own versions of centralist solutions. Our world and that of our parents seems to have seen-sawed between these two forms of political madness. The centralists models benefit the professional politicians and the legions of officials who serve them, that 'monstrous bureaucracy' as Proudhon called it.

It is doubtful if the ordinary people of small nations profit much from their imagined national independence. In 1946 Rudolf Rocker asked: "... who would maintain that the situation of the Polish people was more enviable under the rule of Pilsudski and the 'colonels' than under the rule of Russia, Prussia or Austria? Who would claim that Hungary enjoyed greater freedom under Horthy than under the Hapsburg dynasty? Did national sovereignty of Yugoslavia and other Balkan states give their peoples more freedom and greater extension of their rights and liberties? ... quite often rule by compatriots has proven worse than the foreign yoke."

The decentralist answer of Bakunin, Proudhon, Rocker and other libertarians to centralism and the nation state has traditionally been that of federalism. Today some academic theorists are putting forward the vision of Europe as a 'Federation of Regions' rather than a Europe of sovereign nation states — or a Fortress Europe. Long ago Rudolf Rocker called for "a federation of European peoples", a Europe free from the arbitrary power of monopolistic groups and state bureaucracy. A Europe based on co-operative collaboration which will make the production of economic assets equally accessible to all and secure to all the members of the various groups a worthwhile life, without limiting their freedom.

It is curious that, at the end of a century of tumult produced by the various centralist creeds with their authoritarian hierarchies, the anarchist argument for federalism should become vital to the current constitutional debate. True it has come about more by luck than any good management on our part, but perhaps now we can claim, as the Marxists are forever claiming, that history is on our side.

Brian Bamford

NATIONALISM & CULTURE

by Rudolf Rocker

592 pages — hardback — £16.00
from Freedom Press (post free inland)

MORE ON ANARCHISM & NATIONALISM

1

Dear Freedom,
I have been reading with interest the articles and correspondence on the issue of 'Anarchism and Nationalism'. I wish, in particular, to support the views expressed by Flett in a letter in the issue of 10th August 1991 concerning history as the "continuous struggle of those without power to survive in a semi-decent manner". This struggle takes many forms and wears many colours, one of them being 'nationalism'. For anarchists, the question at all times in history is how to align oneself with this struggle and to participate in it meaningfully and in a way (to paraphrase Flett's words) that increases the autonomy of the individual and not that of those in control.

With this notion in mind I find many flaws in the 'Peace Package' outlined by Peter Cadogan in an article on page 4 of the same issue.

To quote from Peter's piece, "the agreed removal of all armed men from the streets of Northern Ireland, which simply means the condition we enjoy in the rest of the UK", must have alarmed the many anti-poll tax demonstrators, miners, black people and others who regularly face the state-in-arms on British streets. Changes in the deployment of troops may be part of the way the state changes its control over us; it can never be a route to peace, in Ireland or anywhere.

Certainly, referring to point 2 of the 'Peace Package', the notion of the "Other Northern Ireland Talks" is inviting but is seriously flawed by earlier references to "a new leadership" and "inspired by a new visionary leadership". This sounds a bit like the pious hope that when Molyneux, Paisley and Hume step aside, younger and more realistic men (and its always men in these cases!) will come to the fore and sort us all out. This is the very crux of the matter in political terms, and teaches the vexed question of why 'people power' hasn't taken off here. Brutally put, the 'people' are divided on strictly sectarian lines in a way that historically and currently satisfies the British and Irish states whose purpose is

Ernie drops his gun!

Dear Editors,
When I asked Flett (Letters, 21st September) where he would get a gun from to join one armed group against another — suggesting the DSS as an (im)possible source — I was trying to make a pacifist point; nothing else was on my mind.

As an ex-government hired killer and, worse, a volunteer, I am ever trying to make the case for pacifism. Maybe it is guilt that fuels my efforts. Anyway, I see pacifism as being fundamental to anarchism, and I feel confident that I can defend my case with logical argument. Since my killer days, I have had to change everything about myself except my name. Flett may rest assured that I am in no position to preach down to anybody. If my letters appear 'sharp', it is, I think, in an effort to keep them short for editorial reasons.

Re the Yugoslav tragedy, I am, like Flett, sympathetic to the underdog, but the underdog for me is not one of the opposing warring factions, but the women and children caught up in the crossfire.

Ernie Crosswell

to manage and massage the problem, not solve it.

Points 3 and 4 of Peter's package takes us into the hopes expressed by many in the governments concerned that the Supra-Nation centred on Brussels will flatten the whole dung-heap out. The notion that a massively centralised super-state, and this is what the EC is becoming daily, will somehow be able to subsume and transcend the problem does not hold up well when you look at Yugoslavia and the USSR at present. I fear we will see Irish/Gael and British/Planter trampled under by the Euro-homogeneity developing around us. And we'll be worse off for that!

Also in point 3 is the only directly political move in the 'Peace Package', requiring the amendment of Articles 2

and 3 of the Republic of Ireland's Constitution, in which claims are made on the Six Counties. In narrow diplomatic terms this is a non-starter without something like a "declaration of intent to withdraw" and/or an amnesty for political prisoners. Otherwise, and again in narrow diplomatic terms, it looks like the former colonial power telling the Irish ruling elite that the revision of Irish colonial history already under way must be taken to the limit and Partition, as the Provos say, must be 'copperfastened'.

It is to the Provos that Peter is actually looking when he refers to hopes generated by New Consensus, the Peace Train and Families Against Intimidation and Terror. A central element to the thinking behind and activities of these

groups is 'Provo bashing', and in this way they are easily duped and played off by the governments, political parties and the church. The recent 'sanctuary' saga in Newry Cathedral clearly illustrated that when push comes to shove the Church calls the shots and lines up, not with the people but with the state against the Provos.

None of them — the state, the Church or the Provos — offer a route to freedom and justice in Ireland. And so we are back to some of the more interesting and challenging notions hinted at in Peter's article: that the real empowerment of the people in Northern Ireland is what counts, that regional relationships in Ireland and Britain in a massively decentralised Europe offer some possible freedom-enhancing structures, that the

key to the future lies in stopping the killing and that what we need is not leaders but insight, imagination and vision.

I would personally add that the challenge remains for anarchists in Ireland to develop and promote anti-imperialist thought and action delivered non-violently. In this I feel I am echoing Flett's words that "I support people struggling to try to achieve a better life, but not always what they see as the way of doing it".

I end by saying that I found all the articles and letters on Ireland and on 'Anarchism and Nationalism' extremely interesting and I hope the discussions continue and widen.

Dave Duggan

2

Dear Freedom,

I wonder if you'd allow me to make a belated reply to John L. Broom's criticisms (in the 10th August issue of *Freedom*) of my article 'Anarchism and the Problem of Nationalism'.

John raises a large number of points, but I will try to deal with them as concisely as possible. First, he says that my article was "almost entirely negative". Presumably by that he means that I didn't support his view of nationalism, but I don't think that it is negative to raise doubts and questions about anything. One has to question existing theories and ideas before new proposals can be put forward. Secondly, he accuses me of failing to answer his original questions posed in response to Flett. Actually, I wasn't trying to do that, I was just exploring some aspects of nationalism. However, I will answer them at the end of this letter.

His other points are more particular. He argues that Scotland is not two nations (Highland/Gaelic, Lowland/English-speaking) but one. His 'evidence' here is that if Scotland was invaded tomorrow than all Scots would join together to fight the invader. If that is his yardstick for measuring nationhood, then there is a very strong case for saying that there is a British nation, for Scots and English, along with Irish and Welsh troops, fought together in huge numbers in the last two world wars; not to mention in Britain's numerous imperial wars. Furthermore, his example is historically flawed. Take the events of 1745, when Scots were

found on both sides; and Scots troops have often been to the forefront in opposing England's will on Scotland, the Black Watch being a good example. One more historical point here, as the battle of Bannockburn was fought in 1314 I doubt if there were many Protestants, or liberal, civic, Scots there.

John also states that I confuse "nationalism (can be good or bad) with imperialism (always bad)". I don't, but it's often difficult to draw the dividing line — just look at the Serb/Croat situation at the moment. Also, I'm not accusing John of anything here, that is just the sort of statement that intelligent members of groups like the National Front and Third Position make.

John says that he is puzzled by my references to Protestant Action being an example of unpalatable Scottish nationalism. Of course, he's quite right in saying that Cormack's mob were against Home Rule. However, the successes of Protestant Action in Edinburgh were not something that could have been repeated in England (even given West Lancashire protestantism); Protestant Action was a particularly Scottish manifestation of nationalism in the shape of hostility to Irish (and Irish-descent) immigrants. Another example could be the breakaway group of British Union of Fascists (about 150 strong) who left that movement in the mid-1930s, eventually joining the nascent SNP. The now defunct 'Seed of the Gael' might be mentioned in this context; or, further afield, the paramilitary parading of Meibion Glyndwr in Abergele back in July 1989.

Finally, John starts getting uppity about my statement that people who have an

unconditional loyalty to an idea external to themselves are ready-made cannon-fodder for the next, in this case, nationalist tub-thumper who comes along. Instead, John announces that he is a pacifist, atheist, republican, who would never have fought for Scotland against English invaders. Good for him, but I don't think there are many nationalists around who would recognise John as one; and doesn't his statement highlight just how hard it is to define a nation. Certainly, his Scotland isn't anything that the Rangers supporters I saw at an Ian Paisley rally in the High Street back in the early-1980s would recognise.

Now for my answers to John's direct questions:

1. Yes, I'm in favour of independence for small countries and regions, on the basis that the break up of large states is a good thing — what's good for large states may be good for small ones. I'm in favour of independence for Scotland (the flag is very pretty), and independence for every Scot.
2. I'm in favour of self-determination for peoples as a step towards

self-determination for individuals.

3. No, I don't think anarchism is a practical possibility in the near future, but I think that the more people that are educated to love freedom and learn to be free themselves the better — and that is the kind of work that papers like *Freedom*, and individual anarchists, can always do.

4. I don't want another five years of Tory rule over Scotland, but I'm not stupid enough to think that a Labour Scotland would be much better. John should remember that Labour is, in effect, the establishment party in Scotland, and Scotland still has some of the worst housing, poorest health, and highest emigration of its skilled workers of any country in western Europe.

Finally, can I turn to the issue of being 'negative'. When I finished my article with a challenge to John to give us his socialist view of nationalism I was expecting that he would be 'positive' enough to write an article for *Freedom*. It's easy enough to write a critical letter, let's have something more than that.

Steve Cullen

News from Angel Alley

Freedom Press Bookshop will be closed on Saturday 19th October when we shall be at the Anarchist Book Fair in the large Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn, from 10am-6pm. Freedom Press will have a large display of Freedom Press titles as well as Black Rose and other titles distributed by us. All for sale. We will also have some special book bargains for the occasion. Don't miss it!

As we go to press, we can assure *Raven* readers that *The Raven* number 15 has been printed and is with the binders. Subscribers' copies will be dispatched in the second week of October.

Solidarity with Vic Williams

Dear Freedom,
Thank you for drawing attention to Vic Williams' imprisonment for opposing the Gulf War.

Your readers can write to Vic at: C Block, MCTC, Bere Church Hall Camp, Colchester, Essex CO2 9NU. Please publish this address as widely as possible and encourage people to send letters and postcards.

Martyn Everett
Saffron Walden

A Plea from Bruno Manser

At the final session of the July 1991 ATOES Conference, Bruno Manser, a saintly Swiss who has been living among the indigenous forest dwelling Penan peoples for seven years, told of the horrific and systematic extermination process which is in force with the destruction of the Sarawak rainforest. One Mutang Tuo was quoted: "We are now like fish in the pool of a drying-out riverbed".

He told us that the chief despoilers are the Japanese who are cutting the rainforest indiscriminately and leaving unwanted trunks behind to rot in the water. The forest becomes fax paper which is exported worldwide. Is it not barbaric to put people through such suffering and death, just so that we can use Japanese fax paper?

There are two facts about fax paper which add to the heinousness:

1. Fax paper cannot be recycled.
2. A fax message will fade away unless filed in darkness, which has caused the general practice of photocopying each message received.

It means more trees down. How can such

a proposition hold water today? Is high technology really unable to find a material appropriate to the environmentally uncertain times we are living through?

Bruno Manser urged us to examine our lives, and spoke of the "duty to be aware" of what we buy and consume, and of the types of wood we take for granted in our homes. Even the ubiquitous aluminium cans littered about can be traced back to the rainforests.

He spoke in the language of deep ecology, and stressed that it is now only a deep ecological understanding which will save the rainforests, the forest peoples, and the ecosystem. He has resonance with Gary Snyder who, in an essay *The Practice of the Wild* (1990) says: "The Penan people must put their bodies in the road to protest at logging trucks in their own homeland and then go to jail as criminals".

Bruno Manser made the up-to-date position heart-rending, and he received the highest volume of applause. However, when leaflets were distributed there were few takers.

Rodney Althcley
London Rainforest Group
9 Cazenove Road, London N16 6PA
Tel: 081-806 1561

Thanks to a generous friend of Freedom Press we have lashed out with a half-page advertisement in *The New Statesman & Society* and a quarter-page in *The Tribune*. We shall be interested to hear from readers who have seen either of these advertisements and what they thought of them and any comments they may have heard from friends.

And our warm thanks to readers who have contributed to our funds. Increased postal charges are adding another £500 a year to our *Freedom* postages, so spare us a thought when you have a spare bob or two!

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MEETINGS

SHUT DOWN HEYFORD

On Saturday 26th October there is to be a mass blockade of USAF Upper Heyford. This action is called by Swords into Ploughshares and is being organised by Stop the War Machine, with the backing of CND.

The themes of the blockade are:

- Opposition to US and British military intervention around the world.
- Opposition to new nuclear weapons.
- People power can change things.

Even though Heyford is to become a stand-by base, its devastating military capacity will not be lost, and hardened missile bunkers are currently being built at the base – likely storage for NATO's new generation of Tactical Air to Surface Missiles.

The planning group is encouraging people to form into affinity groups for the day, and is offering the following for the late summer and early autumn:

- Speaker meetings on Upper Heyford, non-violent direct action and the blockade.
- Non-violence training sessions – for established groups or people wanting to form a group.

Contact: 155 Adnitt Road, Northampton NN1 4NH, or tel: 0604 39583

A women's action is being planned for the day. Leaflets available on request. Help with planning welcome. Contact: Anne Harrison, WRCND, Unit G, Arno's Castle Trading Estate, Junction Road, Bristol 4.

FREEDOM fortnightly

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Anarchist Forum

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

1991-92 SEASON OF MEETINGS

4th October - 'Freedom and Freedom Press' (a discussion with some Freedom Press comrades)

11th October - 'Feminism and the Origin of Social Work' (speaker Peter Neville)

18th October - General discussion

25th October - 'Art, Culture and Society: A Life of Riley' (speaker Michael Murray)

1st November - 'The Left-Green Network in the USA' (speaker Mark Newnes)

8th November - General discussion

15th November - 'The Importance of Small Groups' (speaker Peter Cadogan)

22nd November - General discussion

29th November - To be announced (speaker Julay Arici)

6th December 1991 - 'The Clandestine Press in Europe during the Nazi Occupation – from (its origin in) Belgium in the First World War to (its use in) Poland during the days of the illegal Solidarity' (speaker Martyn Lowe)

13th December - General discussion

10th January - 'The Role of Prison in an Anarchist Society – the prison as a sanctuary' (speaker Peter Lumsden)

17th January - General discussion

24th January - 'Anarchism: Genesis, the Prophets, the Law, Ritual, Progression, Magic, the Light' (speaker Peter Neville)

We are still booking speakers or topics for 1992. The dates free are from 31st January to 20th March and 17th April to 10th July 1992. If anyone, especially comrades from abroad, would like to give a talk or lead a discussion, please make contact giving their names and proposed subjects and a few alternative dates so we can fill in slots. Friday is the only night available as the centre is booked up by classes on other nights.

Anyone interested should contact Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (Tel: 081-847 0203, but not too early in the morning please).

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