

# FREEDOM 50p

ANARCHIST MAGAZINE

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## PROFIT AND LOSS

IT IS bad luck for Marxist theory that when capitalism is riding high, there are no contradictions. Capital rules OK? And if the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, that is the way capitalism is meant to be.

Indeed, the Bible tells us that *'Unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath'* (Matthew XXV 21). If we let our imaginations run riot for a moment, we can see our Prime Minister kneeling by her bed and committing those sentiments (or should we say 'orders'?) to the Lord every night.

If there are contradictions it is that everything does not always go right for the righteous and the more righteous they are the less will they be able to see the consequences of their desire for abundance for themselves.

Surely it is not just coincidence that in these last two years of Thatcherism we have been visited by a series of the most awful man-made (or in this case, woman-made) disasters? Although perhaps we would like to, we cannot very well blame Armenian earthquake on the Bolshevik government of the blue-eyed Gorbachev,

but from the tragedy of the aptly named 'Herald of Free Enterprise' at Zeebrugge to the crashing of the Boeing 737 on the M1 last month, we can see the insidious drive for profit at any price as a reason for cutting corners, speeding up, turning a blind eye, piling on the pressure, slimming down the workforce, becoming efficient and competitive etc, in order to become more profitable.

### Criminal negligence

Probably, before the Zeebrugge disaster, few of us laymen and laywomen had ever seen diagrams of the cross-channel roll-on, roll-off ferries that have been built as a result of the competition between P&O, Sealink, Townsend-Thorenson, etc, but now we can see that the 'need' to pile on more trucks, cars, buses and passengers, and the 'necessity' to get across the Channel as many times a day as possible, has meant the building of large unstable craft which are so obviously top-heavy that it is almost unbelievable that they should have been granted licences to carry goods, let alone passengers. These vessels would be dodgy under the strictest supervision and regard for safety, but when, in order to get in

another crossing in the day, they save minutes by leaving harbour with the bow doors *open*, it must amount to criminal negligence — in the name of profit.

In the case of the Kings Cross disaster — the inferno in the busiest interchange Underground station in London — it was quite clearly the result of Mrs Thatcher's hatred of public transport (she never travels by train and has probably never travelled by public transport since her student days) and the constant demands she has made upon London Transport — and indeed, every public transport authority — to cut costs and to be 'viable' in terms of making a profit.

This has meant the cutting down on staff which has meant, for Londoners, the infuriating excuses of 'shortage of staff' (with three million unemployed!) and the cutting of trains, but, more important in this context, cutting down on cleaners and staff on the platforms, and a general lack of supervision. Result: general dirtiness and the accumulation of rubbish under escalators, just waiting for the lighted match or cigarette stub to make a bonfire. Add to that the virtual elimination of fire-drill, to the extent that

continued on page 4



The Piper Alpha oil rig, 6 July 1988. From *The Guardian*, who lifted it in turn from the Department of Energy report.



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TOTAL = £158.50

1988 TOTAL = £834.60

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TOTAL = £156.90

1988 TOTAL = £898.20

YOU are invited to a meeting of Free Information Network and Southern Anarchist Network.

The meeting is hosted by Solent Free Information Network and Portsmouth Anarchist Network.

Date: 18th March 1989

Place: Rivers Street Hall, Somerstown, Portsmouth

Time: 4.00pm - 8.00pm (meeting)  
8.00pm - 11.00pm (social)

As we are hoping for an informal atmosphere we have not set out an agenda, but would rather participants gave us details of points they want discussed, or ideas for workshops.

If you want creche facilities, or overnight accommodation, please let us know as soon as possible.

Please bring your ideas, your good vibes, artwork or literature to exchange or sell, food to share, musical instruments, anything you think will help to make the day more enjoyable and interesting. Above all bring yourselves.

As this circular goes out we're still at the planning stage, so for an update on what's happening or any queries, contact:

Solent FIN Box C or: PAN Box A,  
167 Fawcett Road,  
Southsea, HANTS,  
PO1 0DH.

Tel. (Telefin) 0705 731416.

GLASTONBURY Assembly Rooms  
Sunday 19 March 1989  
Stonehenge Campaign Meeting  
afternoon : discussion  
evening : acoustic music

## London Anarchist Forum

Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, WC1 (Behind Southampton Row, opposite Russell Square. Meetings start 8.00pm, Forum people usually in ground floor cafe beforehand).

- Feb 3 Ruan Bowden: **Anarchy: if not now, when?**  
Feb 10 Lib Ed Collective: **Education for Liberation**  
Feb 17 S.E. Parker, editor of *The Egoist*: **Equality, fact or fiction?**  
Feb 24 Peter Lumsden: **Anarchism in the Early Church? Elaine Pagels, Adam, Eve and the Serpent**  
Mar 3 David Dane: **Basic Ideas of Anarchism**  
Mar 10 Peter Neville: **What is Anarchism?**  
Mar 17 Open discussion

## Support supply teachers

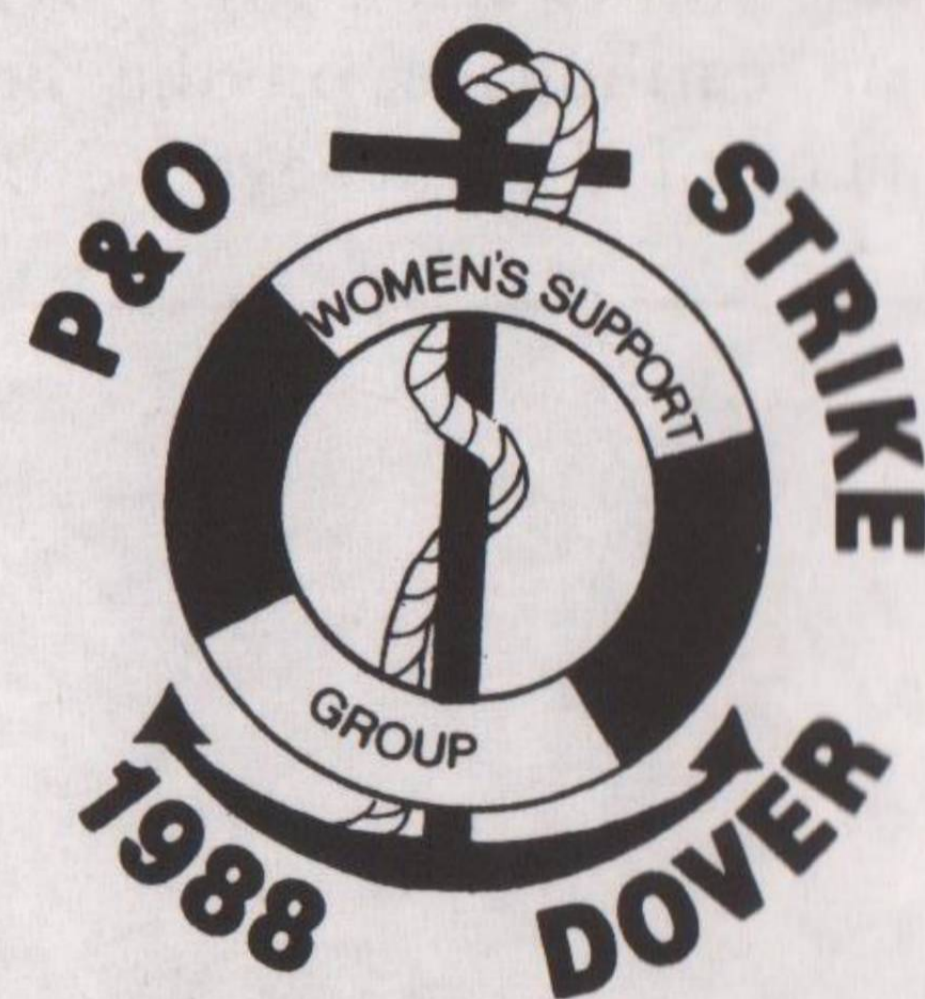
SUPPLY teachers in West Glamorgan have had a pay cut of 36%. Until last year they were paid, like supply teachers elsewhere, a daily fraction of £13,863 per annum (the top salary for teachers on the lowest grade). This has been reduced to a daily fraction of £8,859 per annum (the minimum salary for any full-time teacher).

The County Council is being taken before an industrial tribunal charged with sex discrimination, on the ground that most supply teachers are women. Contact Ioan Richard on (0792) 843 861.

## Lee House Centre

COMMUNIQUE from Stoke Newington: We have opened a squat centre at 6a Rectory Road, Stoke Newington, London N16, with an anarchist bookshop already open 11am-6pm Tuesday-Saturday. The building is large and we hope to have workshops, meetings and video evenings in the near future. The bookshop has all the best in the anarcho-literate world as well as posters, records and T-shirts from Sunrise Screenprint Workshop. We intend to have a vegan cafe open in the basement of Lee House by the end of January. Support, contributions, second-hand books and interest are all welcome!

Lee House Centre  
6a Rectory Road, Stoke Newington,  
London N16



## London ACF

Anarchist Communist Federation  
First Thursday of every month 8.30pm  
Marchmont Community Centre,  
Marchmont Street, London WC1.  
2 February: Art and Anarchism (slides)

## Leslie's

Turner's Road, London E14  
Now open Tuesdays and Thursdays  
6.00pm to 9.00pm and Saturdays  
1.00pm to 4.00pm.



# Multinationals go East

AS THE Eastern bloc countries open up to the West, they have to deal with the multinationals. Now that Macdonalds have opened burger bars in Moscow and Budapest, can we in the West go on being complacent about Eastern European problems?

Last year I spent a week in Hungary, staying in Budapest. Crossing the Hungarian border from Austria, one of the first things I saw was a hoarding advertising Shell petrol. On the way to the hotel the bus passed under a banner hung over the road, urging us to drink Coca-Cola. In the hotel restaurant on the first night, the Sky channel was showing on television. Next day in the centre of town I passed an Adidas shop, with a queue of people waiting outside.

The Hungarian economy is facing major problems, and the solution is seen in terms of bringing in Western money to help out. The centralised planned economy (state capitalism) is no longer seen as the only way. There is talk of a mixed economy, hand in hand with the talk of political liberalisation. There is even some more talk of changing the law to give a right of conscientious objection to conscription. How much of this is talk, and what direction Hungarian

society will take in practice, we can only guess.

Prices are very cheap by Western standards. To travel on the metro in Budapest costs only a couple of pence. Take a taxi and share it four ways, and you can cover some 6km for 20p – far less than a bar of chocolate in most West European countries. One result of such low prices is that one inevitably feels like a 'rich westerner', and without trying one can adopt the habits of spending with which tourists indulge themselves in the Third World. The country is wide open to tourism and the problems which result – the Third World today, Comecon tomorrow!

The need for economic reform is great, throughout the Warsaw Pact countries. Shortages in Poland and the USSR are best documented, but the small print shows up similar problems in Hungary. The list of goods prohibited for export from Hungary includes baby clothes, medicines and toilet paper!

The traditional cartoon character of the top-hatted capitalist villain is replaced by an equally unrealistic image of affluent westerners. We know better in the west than to accept either of these images, but in countries subjected to censorship,

where only the official view has been available for decades, it is not so easy to see the reality of the situation.

While governments East and West talk about increasing trade between their countries, and people applaud the peace dialogues which reduce the danger of annihilation, another danger is being overlooked. This is the danger of yet more countries opening themselves to exploitation by the multinationals, and the exploitative imposition of multinational (so-called) culture.

It may seem strange to contemplate, but there might come a time, and not so far into the future, when we Western radicals have to warn the Communist world about the dangers of multinational exploitation. Think what fun might result – animal liberationists from the UK picketing Muckdonalds in Moscow, Shell station pickets in Hungary, etc. A far-fetched idea, perhaps, but it's on the cards.

Martyn Lowe

## IN BRIEF

Addressing the Association of American Correspondents, His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh said a hunter who kills animals for fun is like a wife who has sex for love, and a butcher who slaughters for profit is like a prostitute.

WILDCAT

The Emperor must be given the credit for stopping the war.

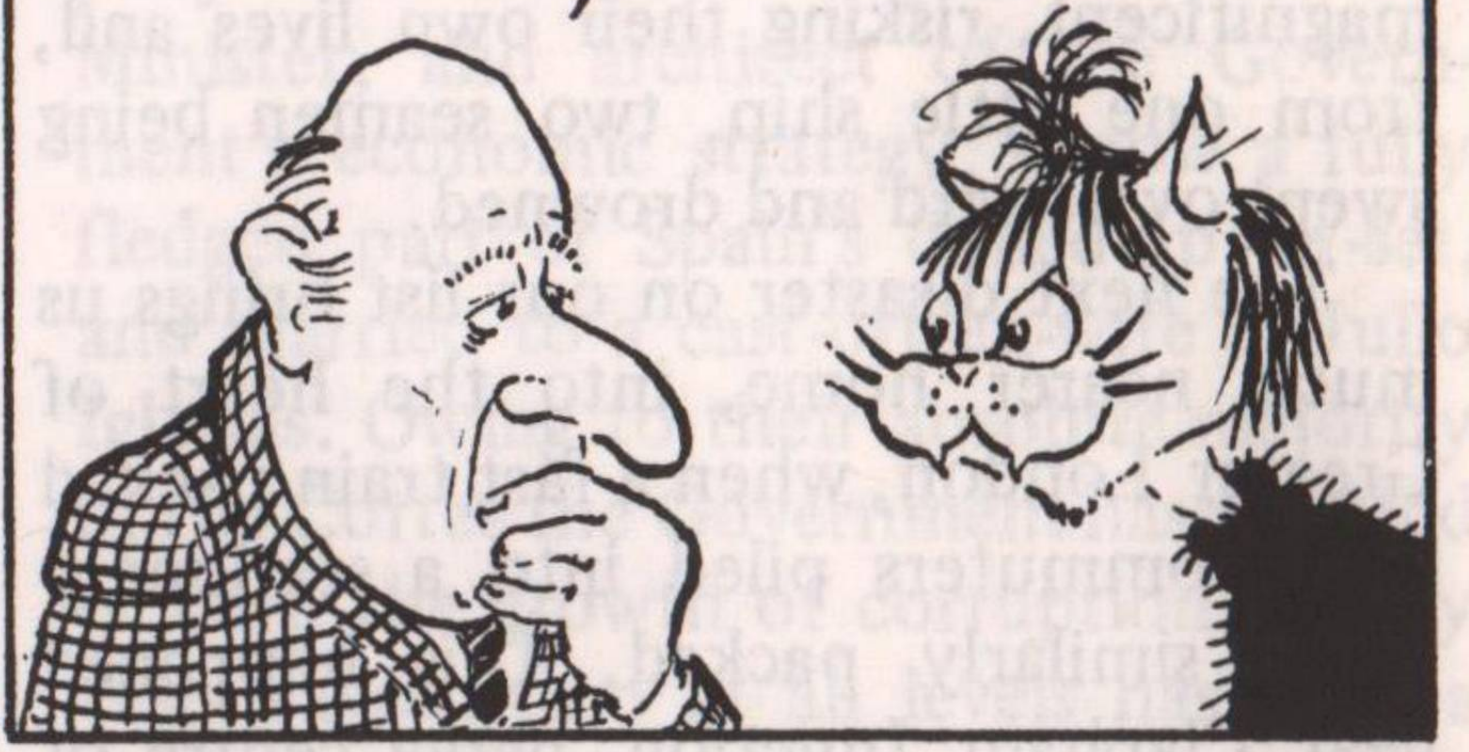


Yeah. After starting it, and keeping it going till he was defeated !!

He was in no position to stop it.



That is to say ... er ...



The old fellow never did us any harm.

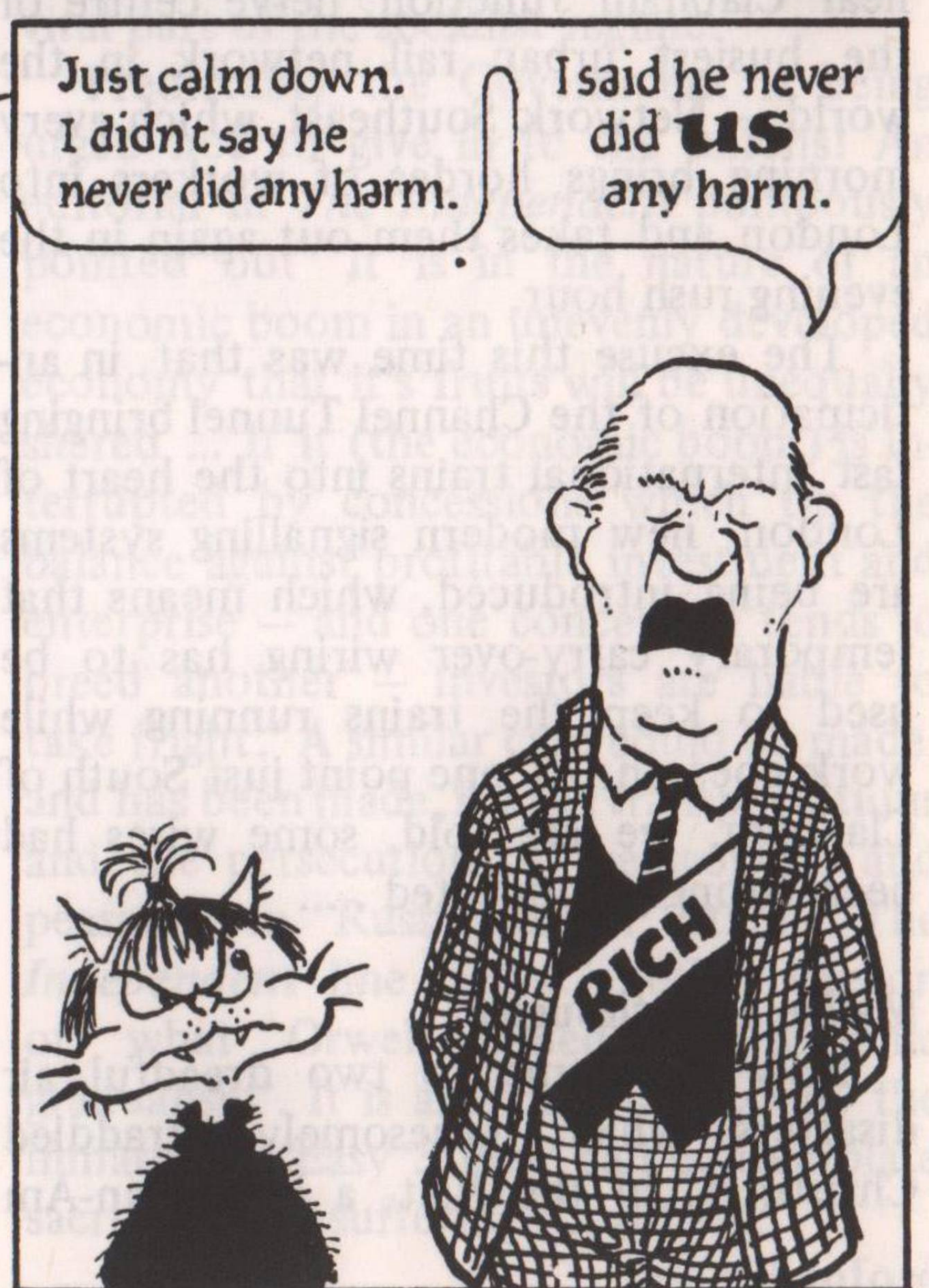


Never did any harm ???!!??\*?#? What about all the slaughtered dissidents? What about all the young men conscripted without hope of leave? What about all the massacred villages? What about all the prisoners of war starved and worked to death ??? What about. Steady on!



Just calm down. I didn't say he never did any harm.

I said he never did **US** any harm.





## PROFIT AND LOSS

continued from front page

most of the staff don't even know where the fire extinguishers are, and no plans exist at the nearest and appropriate fire stations, while at Kings Cross, nobody knew where they were! It is clear that a station like that was a disaster waiting to happen. And how many more like that are there on the London Transport network?

We are, supposedly, an island of seafarers, and it was therefore appropriate that our next disaster occurred in 'our own' North Sea, where 'we' have struck oil. The oil rig Alpha Piper, owned, as it happens by an American company, driven by the profit motive no less than the British government, blew up.

By a piece of inspired design, the crew's quarters were placed just above the most sensitive point in the whole complicated structure, with the result that when the explosion occurred, the crew were immediately blown all over the place. Some died instantly, others, terribly injured, managed to crawl to the side and throw themselves into the sea. As one said, 'You either stayed and died, or jumped and took the risk of drowning'. The fire drill had been minimal, the life-rafts were either out of place or impossible to reach, or already destroyed. Once again, fire drill was negligible, drilling oil was all that mattered.

Those who were saved were lifted out by helicopters and by nearby ships who could hardly get near the holocaust for the heat. As usual, the rescue teams were magnificent, risking their own lives and, from one little ship, two seamen being swept overboard and drowned.

The next disaster on our list brings us much nearer home, into the heart of Greater London, when a fast train packed with commuters piled into a stationary train, similarly packed. This happened near Clapham Junction, nerve centre of the busiest urban rail network in the world - Network Southeast, which every morning brings hordes of workers into London and takes them out again in the evening rush hour.

The excuse this time was that, in anticipation of the Channel Tunnel bringing fast international trains into the heart of London, new modern signalling systems are being introduced, which means that temporary carry-over wiring has to be used to keep the trains running while work goes on. At one point just South of Clapham, we are told, some wires had been wrongly connected .....

### Malice aforethought

Now we come to two dreadful air disasters which gruesomely straddled Christmas. In the first, a huge Pan-Am

plane exploded at 32,000 feet and landed (or, rather, the largest bits of it landed, many other bits being scattered over more than 100 square miles) on the little Scottish town of Lockerbie. It caused enormous damage, part of which was a row of small houses, which completely disappeared together with their occupants, of whom no remains have been found.

The cause of this was not human error, but malice aforethought, since it has now been established that the cause of the explosion was a bomb placed in the forward luggage hold. The passengers had been flying from Heathrow to New York for Christmas. Some of them had been American service personnel, the others were not. The bomb made no distinction but killed them all, and the crew, and the people of Lockerbie.

So far, no bunch of fanatics have claimed the credit for this atrocity. We do hope it will not be claimed by some more-anarchist-than-thou group, trying to prove their devotion to armed resistance.

In this case it seemed not to be due to technical negligence, but to the inefficiency of the security measures to which all air passengers have to subject themselves when going through airports.

In an inspired flash of journalistic derring-do, the *Daily Express* sent a reporter to Heathrow to get himself a job as a cleaner (a cleaner job than working in Fleet Street, you might say!). He found that with his false identity and false references it was ridiculously simple to get himself taken on, given overalls and a pass card, which enabled him to walk all over the tarmac, be put into a plane with a bucket and mop and was left unsupervised to clean the lavatories, the main cabin, the galley, even down into the luggage hold, and could have planted half-a-dozen bombs if he wished.

The *Daily Express* of course had a field day, the (privatised) cleaning firm was promptly dismissed and lost its contract and all those governing security at Heathrow were left with egg on their faces. Clearly, corners were being cut, and presumably cleaning contracts were dished out to the lowest bidders, who cut most corners.

Similar human error was responsible for the twin-engined Boeing 737 crash on the M1 motorway just after the New Year revelries. The plane was flying from London to Belfast when the port engine began to smoke and flames appeared. The pilot immediately reported this and the drill in this case was to shut down the engine and proceed on one engine. When pressing the control to shut down the faulty port engine, the *starboard* engine shut down, so the pilot was left with no power at all. He aimed for the nearest airport, East Midlands, and almost made it but instead crashed on the verge of the M1.

### Mutual Aid

Astonishingly, no cars were involved, but immediately the drivers and their passengers came streaming forward to help to get people out of the plane, as did also people from the nearby village of Kegworth. They were there in seconds, the firefighters from East Midlands, who had already been standing by, were there in a minute. Their first job was to spray the whole plane and everybody near it with foam, against it bursting into flame, which meant that the 'ordinary' people who had been the first arrivals were sprayed too.

Reporting a news film of it all in the *Guardian* the next day, TV critic Nancy Banks-Smith said 'They wore their foam like a medal!'

And so they should; for inexperienced lay persons to tackle a plane that might explode shows a complete lack of self-concern in a desire to save others. It manifested itself also at Zeebrugge, at Kings Cross, on the Clapham train, in Lockerbie, on the Piper Alpha, and in the earthquake in Armenia the 'ordinary' people did more to help each other than the trained forces of the state. It's called 'Mutual Aid' and people everywhere practice it all the time. But then, they live in society ...

Unhappily, they live everywhere under a profit system which, as we have seen, is a killer. Unhappily, the 'ordinary' people do not reap the profits, but they sure as hell stand the loss.

Philip Sansom

PS: I forgot to add that the engine failure on the Boeing has been found to be down to faulty wiring, like the Clapham crash. Boeing have called in all those planes and at the time of writing have found six more wrongly wired up. You'd think, wouldn't you that in view of what they cost, a few more days could be spent on safety and quality checks?





# Spanish Strikes

ONCE upon a time in Spain under Franco, there was a group of technocrats, mostly members of the Catholic 'freemasonry' Opus Dei, who sought to promote Christianity by seizing control of the economy for their own members. Yet the influence of Christianity has declined in Spain.

Now the P.S.O.E. (Socialist Party) has taken over not just the Government, but the administration in every sense — placing its own members like a sort of socialist freemasonry based on 'enchufismo' (favouritism). This has probably been done to promote socialism; Felipe Gonzalez once said that Spain needs 40 years of Francoism. Yet the spirit of socialism seems to be at a low ebb in the hands of the new socialist mandarins of the 1980s.

On the threshold of last December's 'General Strike' the Spanish Prime Minister Gonzalez, told the Spaniards that there had not been a General Strike in Europe for over 20 years. Very likely he had in mind the French General Strike of May 1968 which, together with the student unrest, ultimately brought down President DeGaulle. Gonzalez went on to say that in those same 20 years Argentina had had umpteen 'General Strikes', and he invited Spaniards to consider whether Europe or Argentina was the type of society upon which Spain should model itself.

Spaniards, like most British people, often refer to Europe as if they were outsiders. But, unlike most of us, they are determined to become fully European, and separate themselves from Africa, and Third World countries like Argentina.

As Spain takes over the presidency of the European Community where will this passion for Europe lead them? Laurie Lee has said the Spaniards are fast losing their identity. It seems Spain, which since the 17th Century has been a political underdog having little influence on the major events of Europe, is now becoming a cultural dogs breakfast.

In Seville, and the other big cities, the communal patios are being torn out, and replaced by multi-stories. Fishing villages, once the centres of anarchism, are now tourist ghettos. The Government is doing its utmost to stamp out the siesta. Traditional bars are being supplanted by 'Pubs', which are slick and vulgar, selling lager in pint pots. European Community directives have led to the olive groves being uprooted substituting sunflowers. Factory farming has taken over producing weird and wonderful creatures, but what they put on in weight they take out in taste. Gone are the days when chickens could be bought live in the markets of Southern Spain,

and killed and plucked on the counter. Even the 'churrerías' seem to be closing.

## General Strike

For all this, and Gonzalez taunt that the General Strike is now an un-European activity, a reported 90% of wage earners participated in the stoppage called for by the socialist UGT and the communist CCOO on 14 December, and backed by the minority federations such as the anarcho-syndicalist CNT. After the token General Strike Jose March, General Secretary of the CNT demanded that the CNT and other smaller union federations be involved in the negotiations with the Government.

Commentators on the strike described it as successful, and the Government has been shocked by the turnout. Low membership of the trade unions in Spain must mean a union takes pot-luck when it calls a strike. A national 'token' strike which results in a 90% stoppage, would be a massive achievement in a country with a well organised labour force. In Spain, with its shambling trade union set-up, and bitter political rivalries, it represents a minor miracle.

The union's demand was for: the implementation of a job creation program; recovery of lost purchasing power for pensioners and civil servants; unemployment benefit to be extended to about half of the unemployed; a rise in the minimum pension to equal the minimum wage, and the right of civil servants to collective bargaining.

After six years in office the Spanish Socialist Government, like Thatcher's Tories, has no real opposition. Now the demands of the unions seem to have polarised an ad-hoc opposition to the Government. This has happened before, during the anti-NATO campaign for example, and perhaps the current campaign will fizzle out like that one.

In principle the 'token strike' is usually condemned by anarchists because it tends to produce more bark than bite. The workers end up feeling better, but the bosses can easily adjust to the temporary disruption. Immediately after the strike it seemed that the Gonzalez Government had suffered a loss of confidence, but since the New Year Gonzalez is claiming the 'social accord which has marked the transition from Francoism is over'. This may mean that the pally politics between the Government and the unions is ended, together with the spirit of the Moncloa Pacts and agreed trade union restraint. Perhaps the Socialist Government is ready to take on the unions, as in Britain under Thatcher.

The timing is all important; the unions will try to push their advantage with further strikes in Spring. Gonzalez needs to hang on until June when Spain's term as President of the EC ends, and then he can call a General Election.

## Necessary Sacrifices

The issues for the Spanish working class are serious — the recession has hit them harder than elsewhere in Europe. A tough programme was put through by the Socialist Government, which Redondo, leader of the UGT unions, has described as a Government of the Left imposing the policies of the Right'. Now Spain still has the highest unemployment in Europe, and only one in three out of work are entitled to dole. My CNT contacts describe the system of health and social security as chaotic. Welfare benefits are less widely spread than in most of west Europe.

Against this the Socialist Government has been described by Antonio Gutierrez, General Secretary of the CCOO (communist unions) as having become 'a captive of a power, a sleek power giving themselves the air of ladies of pleasure, becoming the champions of the jet-set and the yuppies'. Almost everyday the Spanish press is full of scandals involving the ruling class. The Economics Minister, Carlos Solchaga, has kept his job despite allegations of insider dealing on the Madrid Stock Market. The Socialist appointed head of Spanish TV built up a huge wardrobe on her expense account, and bought Krugerrands with the company credit card. Miguel Boyer, ex-Minister, and architect of the Government's economic strategy, is now a fully fledged part of Spain's dolled-up jet-set, and married to a cast-off ex-wife of Julio Iglesias. Owing to their absolute majority in the Cortes the Government hasn't acted to curb the growth of corruption. In any case, favouritism at all levels has been a vital part of the socialist regime.

Predictably the Government is being urged not to give in to the unions! An editorial in *The Independent* pompously pointed out 'It is in the nature of an economic boom in an unevenly developed economy that its fruits will be unequally shared ... If it (the economic boom) is interrupted by concessions which tip the balance against profitable investment and enterprise — and one concession tends to breed another — investors are liable to take fright.' A similar case could be made, and has been made, for the transportations and the persecution of the workers and peasants in Russia under Stalin. The *Independent* line is just another version of what Orwell called 'catastrophic gradualism'. It is amazing how coolly the inmates of 'Easy Street' can contemplate sacrifices and suffering for others.

Brian Bamford



# Circular from Yugoslavia

IT WAS more than half a year ago that Janez Janša (an independent publicist, computer manager and peace activist), Ivan Borštner (an officer in the Yugoslav People's Army) and David Tasić (an editor of the weekly *Mladina*) were arrested, and it is already more than four months since these three persons, together with Franci Zavrl (the editor in chief of *Mladina*), were sentenced to prison sentences totalling almost eight years. The Committee for the Protection of Human Rights was founded immediately after the first arrests — since then it has been organising support activities and striving for basic human rights of the defendants. After the verdict had been declared, the four defendants were released from detention.

It very soon became clear to everybody that the Ljubljana Trial Against Four was not a sort of 'military spies affair', as had to be proved, but an absolutely political trial characterised by a great number of violations of law and constitution committed by police, intelligence services, investigators, prosecutors and judges during the detention, the investigation (in military prison) and the trial (at the military court of Ljubljana). Furthermore, the Committee is informed enough to declare that the procedures at the military court and therefore the verdict itself are illegal and against the law, as well as against the constitution. Doubts about the legality of procedures and the constitutionality of the corpus delicti (a secret military document) used against the defendants, were confirmed by a commission constituted, due to a great pressure of civil society, at the Slovene National Assembly. This Commission was established to investigate the legality of procedures taken by the military court and the background of the case, including the involvement and the role of the intelligence and counter-intelligence services as well as the police troops in the case. In mid-November 1988, the Commission declared that some parts of the military document are against the law. This was a reason why the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights appealed again to the executive bodies in Slovenia asking them to prevent the execution of the sentence (declared by the military court in Ljubljana and later confirmed at the supreme military court in Belgrade) until the final results of the Inquiry Commission at the Assembly of Slovenia are presented to the public.

At the beginning of November 1988, the defendants were called to present themselves at the prison near Ljubljana on November 21st to do their sentences.

In the very last days before this date, the responsible executive bodies of the Slovene State decided to meet the appeal of the Committee to delay the execution of the verdict. We have to underline at this point that there is, in this case, no legal ground to delay the execution, since none of the defendants has used the right of appeal for it on legal grounds (health, family, work, studies). But in a State in which the rule of law was officially declared to be a hostile, oppositionist idea, political decisions have a primacy over what is prescribed by the law. This is why Janez Janša, Franci Zavrl, Ivan Borštner and David Tasić are still free, and we have no idea how long this will last. Janez Janša has received a letter stating that delay is approved until 1 March 1989.

On 21 November the Committee organised a public meeting in front of the Slovene National Assembly in Ljubljana, at which more than 10,000 participated. This was the first clearly political meeting, with speakers coming from different political and semi-political organisations, expressing mainly the demands for the respect of human rights and civil liberties and preservation of the achieved democracy and sovereignty of the Slovene nation-state. In their view, these vital issues are linked with the proposed changes of the Yugoslav Constitution which were, at that time, about to be approved by the legislative bodies. They requested a referendum on which people could decide on the new constitution, direct elections of political representatives in the governmental and other decision-making bodies, and the freedom of political expression and organisation. In other words, speakers requested, with great approval of the people attending the meeting, the Communist League to withdraw from the monopoly position in the political system, and an open and pluralist political space guaranteed by a new democratic constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, drafted in a public debate respecting all the existing interests and ideas, and decided upon by referendum. The Communist League of Slovenia declined to send a speaker to this meeting.

There is still peace in this part of the world and we hope it will last. This depends, of course, on the way in which the present crisis is managed, i.e. the way in which a solution to the crisis is sought. There is a great popular enthusiasm for reforms of the rotten system and the people are ready to do their best to promote reformist ideas and to help to carry them through. Yet, we have to face a sad and dangerous fact that the

Communist Party is still, almost completely, controlling the state, monopolising political life and paralysing society. As it has no positive ideas and proposals for a betterment of the present situation, it has staked on provoking national emotions and even hatred among nations, nationalities and republics. In this way some local (republic) leaderships have succeeded in gaining popular support. This is obviously only a short-term and very explosive solution by which popular deprivation, misery, pain, hopes and fears, resulting from a deep economic, political and moral crisis, have been directed against primitively constructed enemy-images while the system which has created the crisis has remained intact. It is clear that no economic reform is possible without a reform of the political system. We are deeply convinced that a dissolution of the country (which would in the long run lead to the same result) can be avoided only by a thoroughgoing democratisation. This implies a public control over, and a people's say, in the state policy on the national as well as on the international level.

We express our deepest gratitude to all those who have shown their concern, hosting our representatives in their countries, visiting us in Ljubljana, spreading information or, by any other means, supporting and advising us or solidarising with our activity.

**Marko Hren and Tomaž Mastnak**  
**Committee for the Protection of Human Rights (CKZ), Kersnikova 4, 61000 Ljubljana, Yugoslavia**

## Rebel Voices

An IWW Anthology

Edited, with introductions, by  
**Joyce L. Kornbluh**



available shortly from  
Freedom Bookshop



# Prison in Yugoslavia and Britain

ON 29 December, the Home Secretary announced that, for the first time in three years, there were no remanded prisoners or convicts held in police station cells, adding that police cells should never be used for this purpose again. The National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NACRO) issued a statement on the same day, saying there is always a fall in the number of prisoners at the end of December, that the number of prisoners could be expected to set another record in 1989, and that there was no evidence that police cells would not be used for holding them. It is distressing to contemplate how many are in prison, but cheering to see that even a do-gooding establishment, NACRO, has come to recognise that a government promise of something is not evidence that it will happen.

And the cynics proved right. The happy state of no remand prisoners in police cells lasted for only one day.

Even at the end of December, Britain has more of its inhabitants in prison than any other country in Europe, meaning not just Western Europe but the entire continent (assuming that the published figures are all true, and that the military dictatorship of Turkey has most of its prisoners in Asia).

Published in this issue is the text of a circular letter from a Yugoslav group calling itself the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights: not by any means an anarchist group, but a democratic reformist group concerned for 'the rule of law'. Persons accustomed to think of Britain as more liberal in all respects than 'Iron Curtain' countries will be surprised to see how the rules for imprisonment work in Yugoslavia.

Some time in July last, the Ljubljana Four were sentenced to a total of eight years imprisonment and immediately released, as is evidently customary in that country, to sort out their affairs before

their incarceration. Later they were ordered to report to a local prison to begin their sentences on 21 November. They might have appealed against the date on the grounds of health, family, work or studies, but chose not to exercise this right. Nevertheless, the authorities acceded to the appeal of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights to delay execution of the sentences, pending the report of a Parliamentary Commission investigating the legality of the original proceedings.

*It is actually part of the complaint against the authorities that they acceded to the appeal, since there is no right in law to delay the start of a sentence, except on the grounds of health, family, work or studies. The 'rule of law' as a premise can lead to some very strange conclusions.*

In Britain, of course, anyone sentenced to prison goes to prison promptly. You may appeal against the legality of the proceedings, but from inside the nick. If the verdict is reversed on appeal after you have completed the sentence, hard luck.

Against that, persons on trial in Britain have legal rights not enjoyed by their counterparts in Yugoslavia, such as the right not to have their silence under interrogation regarded as incriminating (oops, sorry, that particular right is abolished; but doubtless there are better examples).

DR

## TONY EARNSHAW'S VIEW FROM THE BACK OF TOWN



*Dedicated to the Parliamentary System.*

*On a cross-channel ferry trip two white men severely beat up an asian man with a bottle, calling him a 'bloody Paki' while they were doing it. The asian man nearly lost his ear in the incident and was hospitalised for four days. All three men came from Rotherhithe, London. More specifically, they all came from Rotherhithe Police Station.*

*In November Portuguese Civil Guard policeman Antonio Antunes shot dead four colleagues, wounded a dozen others, and then shot himself on the parade ground in Lisbon.*

*Five Carabinieri policemen were found shot dead inside their barracks in a north-eastern Italian village in November.*

— Direct Action



# Examiners fail Psychology

IN THE last issue of *Freedom*, I discussed state education as a way of 'controlling the masses', while at the same time providing the means to perpetuate the economic system in an intensely competitive capitalist world.

Now I shall consider a dimension of current education procedure of which I have only recently become conscious myself — namely, the extent to which the school system fails to meet the declared guidelines/intentions of those who organise and control the process. Even in the terms of reference of the 'academics' themselves, instead of a system whereby an objective, erudite and committed intellectual elite marshal their forces to instruct the learners and then 'test' the results by a series of public examinations, one finds little 'bureaucracies' — handfuls of 'select' clusters of individuals who write the textbooks, manage teachers' bodies, control the examination boards, set up and mark the examination, and who perform all these functions in secrecy, so ensuring that students, parents and teachers are kept in ignorance of much of the procedure and have limited powers for tackling the authority of that bureaucracy.

The following details refer specifically to the teaching of psychology, currently for the Associated Examining Board at A and O/A levels (the latter to become GCSE for examination in June 1989) — to errors in examination papers, the secrecy the examining body demands about its own guidelines for the marking of the papers, the Board's failure to reply accurately to complaints from teachers, and its omission of these complaints from its own publication detailing 'letters to the Board'.

A 'specially written' textbook for GCSE psychology (to be discussed in some detail later) contains at least 60 inaccurate statements. Many of these errors are perpetuated in model questions and answers published by the Midland Examining Board (which, while 'not questioning the accuracy of the criticisms made of the textbook, argues that although the text is 'flawed', this can be said of *all* textbooks!). Letters complaining about these matters to associations of teachers concerned with psychology receive no response — which may be related to the fact that officials of that body are, in fact, also responsible for the textbook, for the setting of the papers and for the marking of them!

The nature of the system, of course, makes it impossible for the examining

boards to behave otherwise. From their point of view, within the system as it stands, imagine the chaos that would ensue if it were suddenly admitted that two of the questions set in the O/A paper were themselves inaccurate. Any student who had failed or performed poorly could insist that their paper be remarked. The existing administration would be unable to cope with this (quite justified!) demand.

Most people reading this article may not be 'into' psychology, and may certainly find it difficult to raise an interest in questions set by the AEB in this subject, but these points are *not* trivial. I am not, of course, suggesting that there is some 'deep conspiracy' to 'miseducate' the population about psychology. Rather I am showing how the very nature of the examination system engenders the likelihood that individuals, not too well informed in 'their own' subjects, can 'take over' an aspect of the educational process and become more interested in perpetuating their own positions (albeit *minor* positions!) in the structure, and guaranteeing the continued circulation of their texts, rather than being concerned with the advancement of learning.

It is true that O/A and GCSE psychology are structured at a very basic level, but it is of course vital that recommended textbooks (especially those 'written especially for the course!') and the wording of the questions in the examination papers should be accurate. Not only is this often *not* the case, but challenging the examiners fails to lead to a rectification.

In June 1987 the Psychology: Child Development paper contained two blatantly inaccurate questions. The first demanded: 'State the formula Binet developed for the calculation of IQ'. The examiners were looking for  $IQ = \text{Mental Age} \div \text{Chronological Age} \times 100$ . But this formula was *not* 'developed' by Binet — rather it was itself a development from the work of William Stern, who introduced the concept of 'mental quotient' in 1912. My complaint to the AEB regarding this question was ignored.

The other error on the paper was somewhat more serious. A question asked: 'What did Freud mean by the Oedipus and Electra Complexes? Explain how these are resolved or overcome.' In the mass of material published by Freud during his lifetime, he referred to the Electra Complex only three times —

on each occasion to disassociate himself from it: 'I do not see any advance or gain in the introduction of the term 'Electra Complex' and do not advocate its use.' (Freud, *The Psychogenesis of a Case of Homosexuality in a Woman*, standard edition Vol XVIII, page 55, n. 1). In fact the term originated not with Freud but with Jung, who introduced it in his *Theory of Psycho-Analysis* (1913). Freud rejected the term because it assumes an analogy between the girl's and boy's sexual development through the period of the 'castration complex'; he argued that while the boy child will hopefully resolve the Oedipus Complex, girls demolish it later and incompletely!

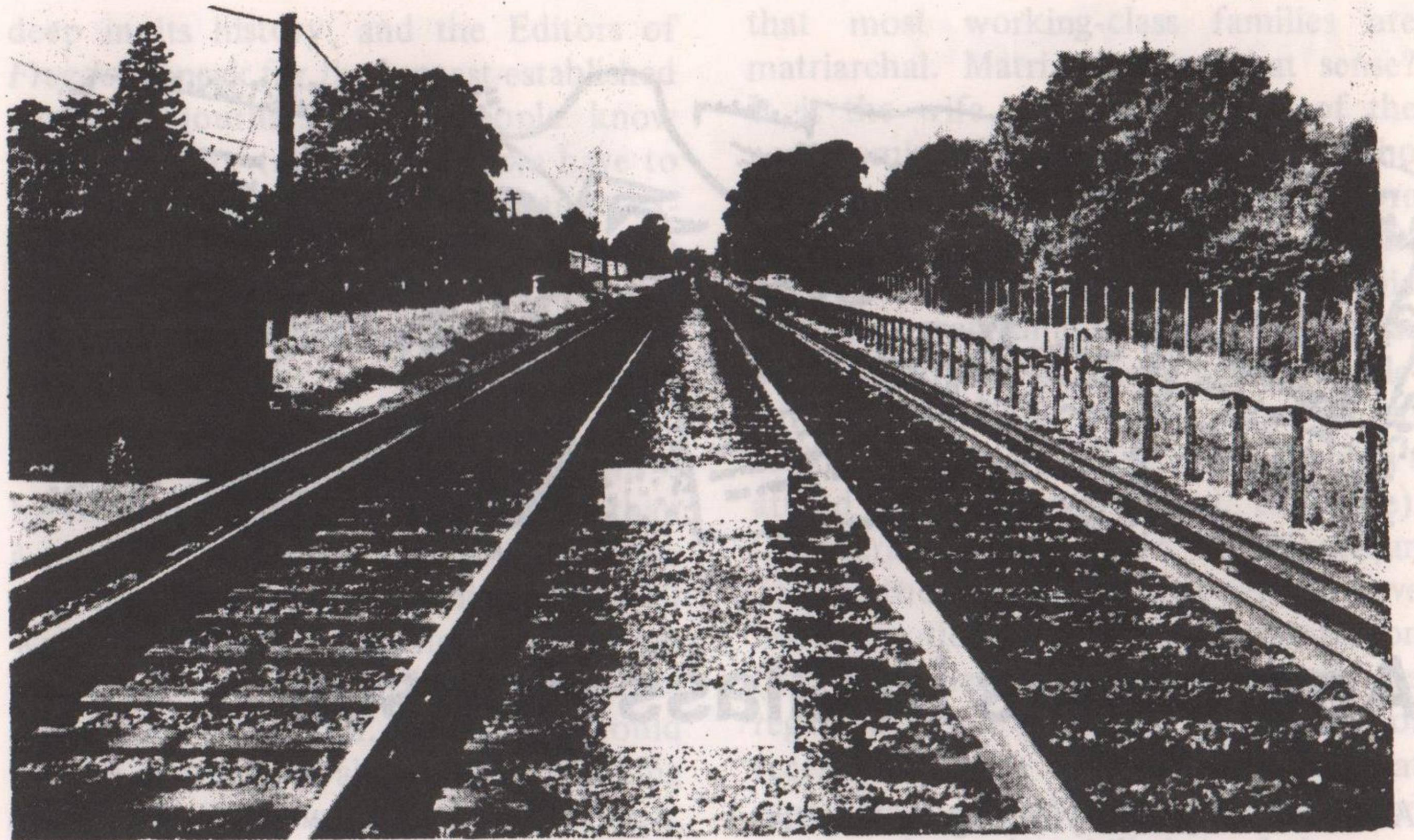
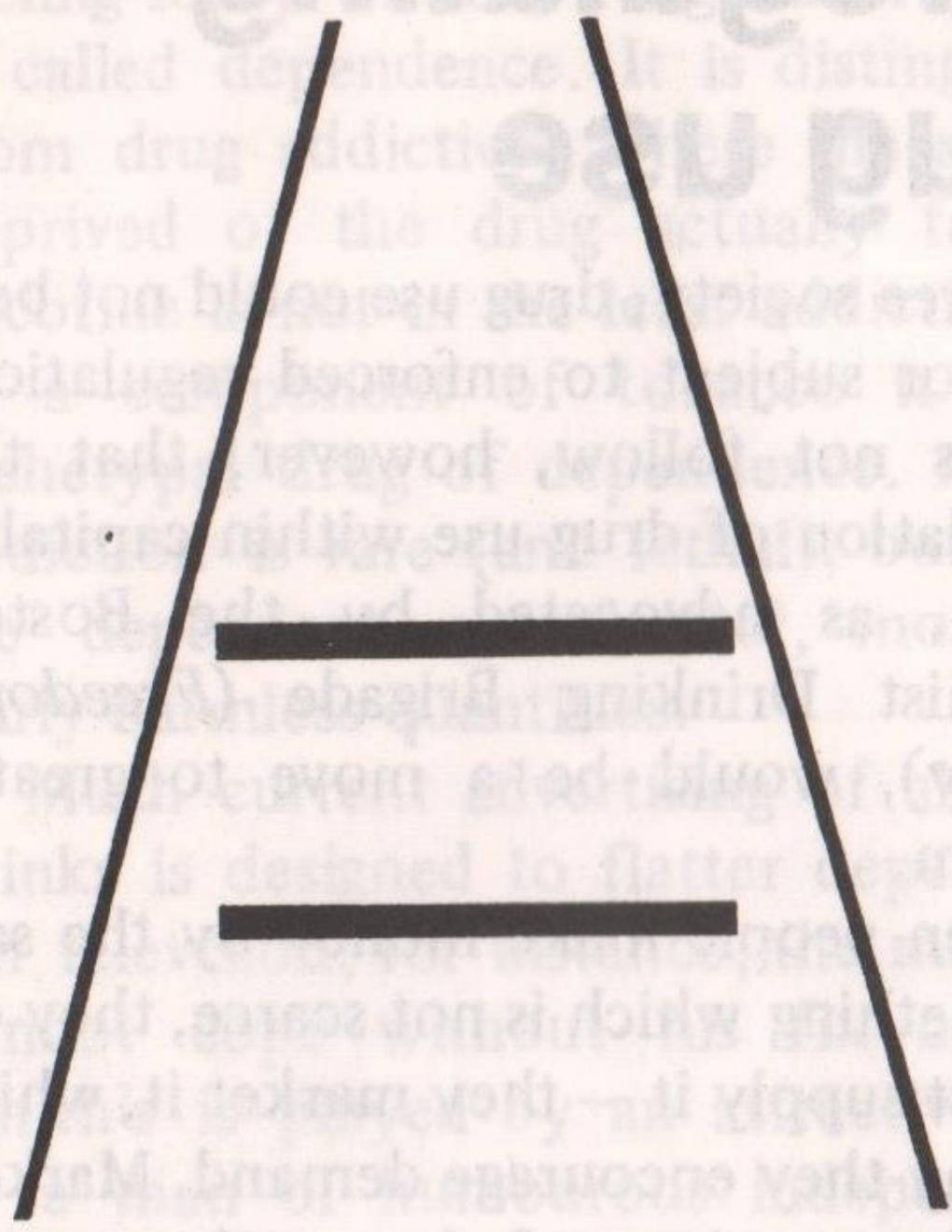
The confusion a question phrased like this could engender could easily cost marks; and the six marks offered could be the difference between a pass and a fail.

I raised the Freud question with the Board, citing and referring to several of the texts. The Chief Examiner replied: 'Freud did make brief reference to the Electra Complex in his original *New Introductory Lectures* (1933) but the Board agrees with you that it is less well formulated than the Oedipus Complex. This was taken into account when the question was marked.' The *several* sources I had cited were ignored by the Chief Examiner, who instead refers to a 1933 edition text which any interested person can easily check, and which does not make any reference to the Electra Complex! This cavalier approach to a legitimate criticism is rather frightening, especially when one remembers that examination papers are marked by reference to marking schemes which 'are confidential to the Board and should be destroyed at the end of the marking period' (*Notes for Assistant Examiners*, AEB, June 1987). Neither students nor teachers ever have the opportunity to look at the marking schemes used to assess their work of the previous year (or even two years)!

Following each examination period, the Standing Joint Committee of the AEB publishes a small document, *Comments and Replies*, purportedly the 'criticisms' made by lecturers and students and the Board's responses. The June 1987 edition makes no reference to my points, nor to their own inaccurate reply.

Even more disturbing is the certainty that problems of this kind will continue. The recently published textbook to which I have already referred and billed





The Ponzo illusion. Which horizontal bar is the longer? Does the illusion persist if you turn the page upside down?

From Richard Gregory, *Eye and Brain: the psychology of seeing*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson (1st ed 1966, now in 3rd ed) £6.95

as being especially written for GCSE psychology is *Psychology: An Introduction* (Longman, 1987). One of the authors, Nicky Heyes, is described on the cover as 'currently a Chief Examiner for GCSE psychology', which, together with its prominence on the recommended reading lists published by GCSE boards, ensures it will be widely used by students and teachers alike. It should be remembered that the majority of those teaching 'lower level' psychology courses, like GCSE, do not themselves have qualifications in this specific area and they therefore accept a textbook as a reliable source.

The book contains a multitude of errors — some of which are apparently spilling off onto GCSE 'Specimen Papers'. The sections on Freud are especially bad (it is difficult to believe that the author made any use of Freud's books). In addition to several times asserting that Freud invented the Electra Complex, the text claims that, according to Freud, the human mind is like an iceberg — there is the *conscious* mind, the *unconscious* mind and 'buried below those, Freud thought, was a deeper layer of the mind, which never came to consciousness: the *subconscious*. It was this part of the human psyche which kept those buried conflicts and traumas which had been laid down in earlier life.' (page 203). In his earlier work, Freud used the term 'subconscious' (as did other contemporaries) as a designation for what is scarcely conscious, rather as he would later define the 'pre-conscious'. He *never* used the term to refer to a 'deeper layer'. In his later work, Freud rejected the term completely because he considered it meaningless (see his *Question of Lay Analysis*, 1926) and objected to its use. Nowhere does Freud suggest that there are layers of mind 'deeper' than the unconscious, as the GCSE textbook does *repeatedly* (pages 104-105, 203-204, 305, 309, 315, 406). This can only cause

confusion for teachers and students alike.

Still with the textbook and its handling of Freud: *Cathexis* is defined as the psychoanalytic technique whereby all the client's 'buried emotional trauma would come to the surface, allowing the individual to re-live them' and as 'a process of working through these traumas'. In fact, for Freud, cathexis is the investment of an object or idea with sexual energy or libido, rather as an electric charge may 'flow' into an object. Other errors are that *thanatos* and *libido* are posed as opposites, instead of *eros* and *thanatos*; *ego* is used as a synonym for *conscious mind* — whereas Freud emphasised that 'large portions of the ego can remain permanently unconscious'. Likewise it is claimed that the *super-ego* is all unconscious whereas our defence mechanisms are often conscious. It is erroneously asserted that Freud never met 'Little Hans', although he met the 'funny little fellow' both during and outside treatment, describing the former in his account of the case.

There are also serious errors in the discussion of the work of Richard Gregory. An early chapter deals with perception and refers to Gregory's attempt to explain visual illusions. Discussing the Ponzo illusion (see illustration) we are told: 'Gregory (1963) argues that this illusion happens because we are using our unconscious knowledge of depth cues, and thinking that the top line is further away because it is higher up'. This statement totally misrepresents Gregory's point of view — indeed he has repeatedly argued that this *cannot* be the explanation of the effect because, as any reader can see, the illusion remains when the diagram is inverted. The explanation is to be found, according to Gregory, in the mental models constructed from everyday experience, such as receding railway tracks.

Again this is no peripheral point. Ominously, however, this mistaken reportage has already spilled over into the construction of questions for future examination. The Midlands Examining Board has produced Specimen Question Papers (1988), on page 4 of which students are asked to explain the Ponzo illusion. The model answer provided tells us that 'height in plane' is acceptable!

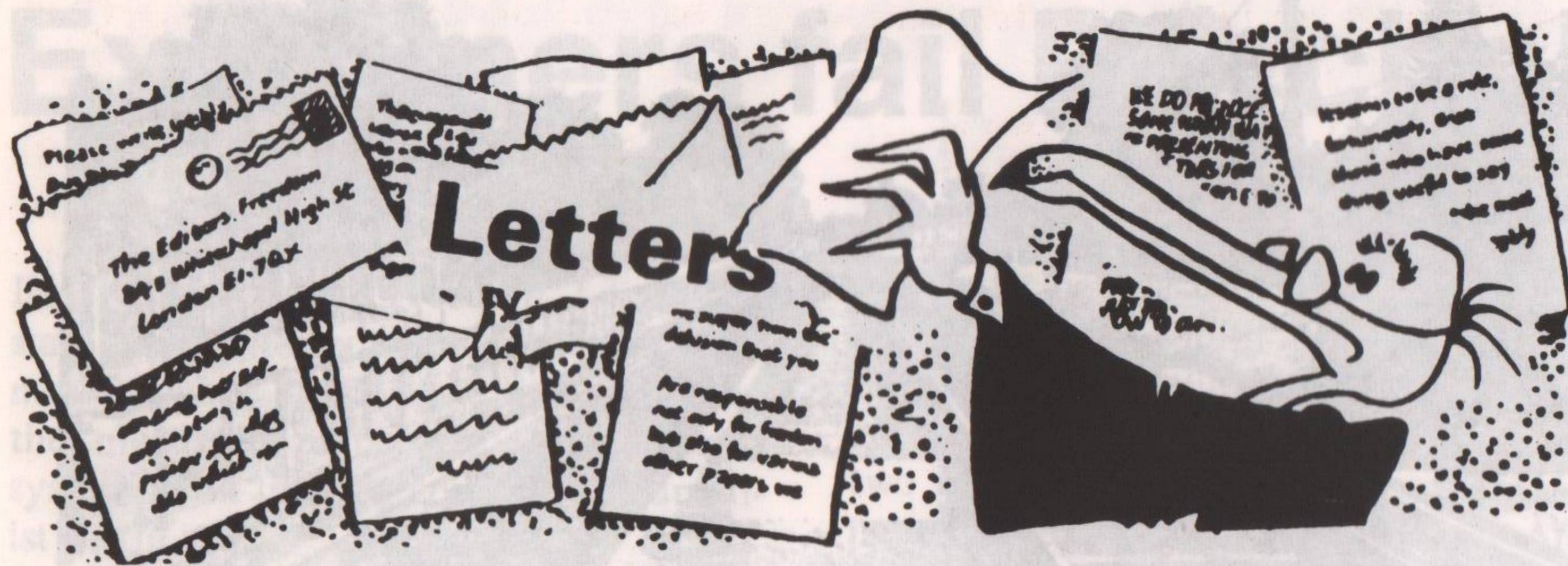
I raised the textbook errors and the Specimen Paper error with the Board; it replied that my objections to the book are not reasonable 'because of the number of errors in all other comparable texts'. No mention was elicited from them regarding their model answer, presumably originating from the same source.

Even more than in the case of Freud, students today are encouraged to read texts for themselves. Given, however, the views of the 'examiners', lecturers such as myself cannot avoid feeling at times that one may be placing students at a positive disadvantage by getting them to read the originals.

The implications of all this must be the concern of *all* who are involved in the teaching and learning of *all* subjects. Libertarians have long appreciated that little real learning takes place in the school situation, and have long realised that most 'official' learning functions to perpetuate and justify an unjust society. Perhaps I am doing no more than exposing my own naivety when I admit that what I have personally found the most frightening aspect of all this is the determination of those 'in power' to say and do nothing — hoping the 'criticisms' will 'go away'. The fate of many students who have been marked erroneously is of little importance compared to the sheltered status of the 'examiners'. They, like us, are the products of the system we allow them to perpetuate.

Bob Potter





## Anarchists in Glass Houses

ALL of nearly five years ago a secretive duo tried to hoodwink some London Anarchists into distributing a paper satirical of them, which suggested a named person merited imprisonment. The edition was put in a rubbish bin by incensed individuals who had given time and money (the rest of your story is fiction).

Now, at the very moment when it might reasonably be expected there would be some comment about to what extent *Freedom's* editors are compromised by association with Nicolas Walter following his apparent confirmation of allegations in the *Sunday Times*, the 'Logo' incident is given as an excuse for his blast-off about anarchists 'in glass houses' who have 'compromised' by working for a living actually in capitalist firms, in which he manages to work in a phrase about my 'reckless libels'. The allegations about him are not by me.

I worked in the print (Walter typically mentions only the right wing papers printed by the various firms for whom I worked); even after *Freedom* switched to a pacifist line, it had as editors an FOC of the *Daily Mail*, and John Lawrence (FOC Reuters) tried to push the paper among print chapels before he was forced to retire from work. Has *Freedom* altered so much that this would be regarded as 'compromise'?

M. L. Berneri in *War Commentary* described as 'shameful' the action of the Communist Party who denounced Trotskyists in industry with the hope of getting them sacked. But this is clearly the intention of the present editors with anarchists, apparently picked at random, as targets. Anarchists, not to mention the Committee of 100 and animal rights campaigners, will be concerned if personal details can be thus made available, to be picked up by the Economic League, or passed on to Walter to discuss as 'general knowledge on the Left . . . readily deducible' with security chiefs, if what he says to the *Sunday Times* was correctly printed.

Christie does not work for the organ of the Russian Communist Party but for a British commercial firm giving a digest of Russian news keeping out propaganda, not employing known Communist Party members, possibly intentionally for this very reason. Walter must know this: his sly intention is obvious.

Ruff is writing a book with a Russian; not a Stalinist though, unlike Walter's pal Richard Kisch, who, also to show the absurdity of the anarchists, wrote a totally imaginary interview ascribed to me. One would like to hope for the safety of past and present readers of *Freedom* that the *Sunday Times* letter from Walter is also imaginary.

Bennett (like many anarchists) was working with (not for) Labour Party types, for Irish prisoners; this may be criticised, but not by people having access to many archives, having tea with Tory MPs specialising on getting accused people to trial.

A. Meltzer

[Our comrade seems to have missed the significance of the 'glasshouses' in the title of NW's article (January). The reference is to an old English proverb, 'People in glass houses shouldn't throw stones', meaning that it is unwise to denounce anyone for doing what one does oneself. Walter criticises nobody for making compromises with the system since, as he points out, it is practically impossible to survive without making compromises. The comrades he names have in common that they denounced others for making compromises, and sooner or later found themselves doing the same sort of thing.

Before he fell out with the *Freedom* Press Group some twenty years ago, Albert Meltzer was one of *Freedom's* most valuable contributors. We welcome his letter, angry as it is, because the fact that he bothers to write offers a hope that a damaging feud may yet be replaced by a robust, but comradely, disagreement. Eds.]

## Deregulating drug use

IN A free society, drug use could not be a crime or subject to enforced regulation. It does not follow, however, that the deregulation of drug use within capitalist society, as advocated by the Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade (*Freedom*, January), would be a move to greater freedom.

When people make money by the sale of something which is not scarce, they do not just supply it — they market it, which is to say they encourage demand. Marketing of one class of drugs, the mood-enhancers, is most effectively done by inducing dependence — not increasing freedom of choice, but diminishing it.

In December 1988, a self-publicist, already notorious for outrageous statements, announced that British eggs cause food poisoning. The egg producers issued denials — but they would, wouldn't they? The egg-buying public, not convinced either way, erred on the safe side and there was a catastrophic fall in egg sales.

In the 1950s a group of research physicians announced their finding that cigarettes cause lung cancer. The tobacco companies denied it. The cigarette-buying public, not convinced either way, erred on the risky side and cigarette sales stayed at the same level for years.

The reason for different responses to dubitable danger in the cases of cigarettes and eggs is that cigarettes incorporate a mood-enhancing drug and eggs do not.

A simple model of mood biochemistry is that there are pain-producing substances (for prodding the organism into life-serving activities like seeking food and avoiding danger) and pleasure-producing substances (for restoring equilibrium when the pain-producers have done their job). When things go wrong you get a surplus of pain-producers and feel lousy. When things go unexpectedly well you get a surplus of pleasure-producers and experience euphoria. When things are ordinarily okay, the mixture tends to equilibrium.

Mood-enhancing drugs interfere with brain chemistry to increase the relative abundance of pleasure-producers. They have an obvious therapeutic use in cases of dysfunction like depressive illness. More often they are used as recreational drugs to produce euphoria. But by far their most frequent use is to maintain a feeling of ordinary well-being, in people who feel lousy without them — these are people in whom the production of pleasure-producers has decreased (or pain-producers increased) to compensate for the habitual input of mood-enhancing drugs.



In medical parlance, this state of feeling lousy without a regular drug input is called dependence. It is distinguished from drug addiction, where the sufferer deprived of the drug actually falls ill. Nicotine is not in the least addictive, but as a component of tobacco it is the archetypal drug of dependence. Alcohol addiction is rare (and lethal), but many are dependent on alcohol, mostly in fairly harmless quantities.

Much current advertising of alcoholic drinks is designed to flatter dependents. On television, for instance, the man who cannot cope without his fix of John Smith's is played by an attractive actor as a man of humorous independence. A few years ago, before the British state became alarmed at the cost of alcohol dependence to the state, advertising was unregulated and we were subject to the plain lies that alcohol was good for us, made us strong, improved our performance, and rendered us attractive. The intention was to increase the number of dependents and the amounts on which they were dependent.

With illegal drugs another ploy is used to the same end of increasing dealers' profits. Cannabis is occasionally laced with cocaine or heroin, without the buyer's knowledge, to encourage transfer to a more lucrative drug.

The best argument for decriminalisation of currently illegal drugs is that it would enable them to be regulated. Unregulated capitalism might conceivably improve some commodities (though I cannot think of an example offhand). But the Boston Anarchists Drinking Brigade's contention that it would improve the quality of mood-enhancing drugs is preposterous.

Donald Rooum

## State controlled medicine

IN TWO vigorous contributions to *Freedom* (December 1988 and January 1989) the Anarchist Communist Federation have supported the imposition by the state of compulsory payments for medical services. The Editors of *Freedom*, in an unsigned piece in the December issue, have added their voice, describing the present system, under which the coercive powers of the state can be brought to bear on anybody managing to avoid making their medical payments, as 'a step in the right direction'.

Anarchists supporting compulsion by the state? What is going on here?

Had these views come from neophytes it would have been easy to think that they did not understand what anarchism stands for, but the ACF forms a substantial part of the movement, rooted

deep in its history, and the Editors of *Freedom* speak for the longest-established anarchist journal. These people know what they are talking about; we have to take what they say as an authentic expression of anarchist ideas. And they are saying that we ought to be deprived of a freedom enjoyed until quite recent times, the freedom not to pay for medical services.

The only way to make sense of this is by recognising anarchism to be more than a mindless, one-eyed, tunnel-vision drive for immediate freedom in disregard of all wider issues. Where medical services are concerned the way to freedom goes via acceptance of control. Ideally this would be self-control by all concerned; failing that, control by an external agency; even, under present circumstances, the state. To reject this would be to say that the ACF and the Editors of *Freedom* do not understand anarchism and that, to use another man's phrase, is absurd.

George Walford

## Patriarchy

AS AN old man who is becoming increasingly scared of venturing out alone in the dark, I think I appreciate the reason why some women feel threatened by men, especially if they have had bad experiences.

I do not consider myself 'paranoid' and I do not think it useful or fair for any man to call women 'paranoid', though I am prepared to listen if they are criticised by their own sex.

The disproportionate participation of men to women in *Freedom* circles should give cause for alarm.

Peter Neville's article 'Patriarchy', in December 1988 *Freedom*, cries out for criticism — but I hope I can leave it to our women if there are any left!

EC

PETER Neville (*Freedom*, December 1988) says that feminists are wrong to broaden the definition of patriarchy beyond the concept of 'the domination over the family by the oldest male'.

I believe feminists are quite justified in referring to male dominance in general as patriarchy. For one thing, language is dynamic, and I see no reason why we should be restricted to the idioms and semantics of ancient Greece. Language also can reflect ideology; if no word exists for a concept, that doesn't mean that the concept doesn't exist.

Secondly, many feminists believe that the basis for understanding women's position in the workforce is indeed women's position in the family, i.e. women's subservient position socially is an extension of their widespread oppression within the family.

I would be interested to know of the 'sociological evidence' which indicates

that most working-class families are matriarchal. Matriarchal in what sense? It is the wife who makes most of the compromises in the marriage and who suffers from more mental illness. More than 40% of the workforce is female, yet women are concentrated in low paid and often part-time work, often because of what is seen as their 'principal role' within the home (though there is no biological reason why men shouldn't attend to housework and childcare). On average, women earn no more than 75% of the male wage. They tend to have less promotion prospects, less unionisation (therefore less job security) and are regarded as expendable in times of recession. There is also evidence that many 'women's jobs' are undervalued and are regarded as less skilled simply because women do them.

Women's economic dependency on men is at the heart of their oppression. Almost from the moment they are born they are socialised (read 'conditioned') into dependency, under-achievement and other negative male definitions of womanhood.

Of course many wives 'continue to demand that the male should be the major provider'. And many people of both sexes continue to call for their own exploitation and oppression in the form of government.

Johnny Yen

## Divide and rule

PHILIP Sansom's article 'Divide and Rule' was very good. Thatcher's targets include not only organisations set up by Labour regimes but also such things as London Transport, set up by the Conservative Lord Ashfield fifty years ago, and Wages Councils which were set up by Liberals eighty years ago.

Unlike George Walford, I do not find this whittling down of the (vaguely) beneficial aspects of the state a good thing. I cannot afford private medicine. Few can. The abolition of wages councils has made capitalist sweatshop owners rub their hands with glee. When the private bus companies return to London there may be, as well as lower wages, a return to the 1920s practice of passengers being ordered off so that the bus can do a u-turn and pick up a larger number of passengers waiting to go the other way.

What worries me is the lack of clear, vigorous opposition to Thatcherism. Could it be that the extra-parliamentary opposition, who were so active five years ago, have given up — or nearly so? I hope they are not nursing their grievances and anger in order to shower them on a milder regime than Thatcher's, which must one day come.

H. I. Jones



# Million Dead

WHILST agreeing with the main thrust of Eddie May's letter (*Freedom*, December), I do not think he has considered who has been best served by the maintenance of the status quo in the Gulf with the conclusion of the Iran-Iraq war.

I'm the last person to play apologist for the excesses of Islamic fundamentalism, but it is the Moslem equivalent of liberation theology. Khomeini represented a threat not just to Saddam Hussein (an equally obnoxious tyrant) and the Gulf states, but to the Western interests that backed them to the hilt during the Gulf war.

Obviously it would be best of everyone in the Middle East was an anarchist, but it is not better that the region be free from Western imperialism and exploitation rather than mortgaged up to the hilt to French arms dealers like Iraq? Let's see world resources in the hands of those that produce them — not rich city bankers who speculate with the lives of the millions they keep in poverty.

P. N. Rogers

# Troops Out!

AS YOU'RE probably well aware, this year is the twentieth anniversary of British troops going into Northern Ireland. It is also the twentieth anniversary of the mass shootings on Bloody Sunday.

As anarchists it's very easy for us to pass off the Troops Out Movement, by saying we want troops out of everywhere, and this would be true. But, when it comes to the troubles in Palestine, South Africa and Nicaragua, many of us are quick to actively oppose the Israeli and South African governments and the American backing for the Contras and we wouldn't give the troops out of everywhere argument so quickly then.

The situation is that Northern Ireland is the most local place where there is mass resistance, troops on the streets, unjust courts, etc., and as many of the troops over there could come from our own neighbourhoods, I feel even more that we should be actively opposing British imperialism just across the water.

Many of the new toys that British police get hold of have been tried and tested on people in Northern Ireland, and the British state is using Northern Ireland as an excuse to start imposing censorship.

Apart from just after the catastrophe at Enniskillen, the majority of British people normally favour the withdrawal of British troops from the north of Ireland.

Many anarchists support the ANC, the PLO and the Sandinistas, but I don't know of many that support the IRA, and I don't think that's a bad thing. However,

the Troops Out Movement (TOM) is a movement which anarchists could become involved in without any contradictory dilemmas.

I'm sure all anarchists support the Maguire Seven, the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four, and so we should oppose exported British racism against the Irish people as well.

It is true that many of the people in TOM have sympathies with the IRA, Sinn Fein and Marxist ideas — indeed many groups on the left seem to find it a good recruiting ground — but until anarchists, greens, etc., get involved then Northern Ireland will always be seen as an isolated issue dealt with only by authoritarian left-wing groups.

By the time you read this, the anniversary of Bloody Sunday will be over, and violence in Northern Ireland will have escalated. Don't forget that the very State which oppressed you is responsible for that devastation. Get involved in TOM and let people know that for as long as States exist, such conflicts will arise and such oppression will continue.

The address for the **Troops Out Movement** is **PO Box 353, London NW 5**. Write to them and find out if you have a local group already, and if you don't, then set one up or incorporate the campaign into your anarchist group.

Barrie

# South Africa

I'M writing from South Africa. Hope it will reach you. With this letter there are also a few newspapers. *The Weekly Mail* (who are at this moment being banned for criticising the government far too much for their liking) and *The New Nation* who have been banned before for the same reason. The government believes that if you criticise them, then you endanger 'law and order'. The only thing you do is putting their plans in to control the whole country in danger. They are out to destroy every little bit of opposition.

They use the media, which they control, to get their racist ideals to work. The whole idea of the reforms in this country is to better apartheid. I believe that you can't reform apartheid, it's the same as to fire a nuclear bomb and to fire another bigger one to make the first bomb disappear.

My own ideas are as follows: I'm anti-racist, anti-sexist and so on. In short, I'm anti every oppression. That is what the nazism or nazis are against. It's funny if you look at it, their methods are all the same. Human rights are seen as an evil and activists are projected on TV as monsters. If they label you as a ANC 'terrorist' or as a commie, then they can do anything with you and nobody will question it.

Enough of that. I would like to contact

a few people in your country. The band Crass (I know they broke up), addresses of anarchist groups or individuals who like to write.

I'm sorry about this short and confusing letter, but there is so much wrong that's going on in this country. I just don't know where to begin. If someone wants to visit, they would be welcome to do so.

David

[With our usual caution, we refrain from publishing our correspondent's address. Comrades who wish to communicate with him, please write to 'David (South Africa)' c/o *Freedom Magazine*.]

JUST a note about the brief review of John Caldwell's *Come Dungeons Dark* by M H in the *Freedom* for January 1989. There are two points I would like to make.

First M H states that the first two-thirds of the book is based on Aldred's autobiography. This is not the case. The book is divided into three 'books' and it might be useful to list them, as the review gives no idea of the contents:

*Book 1*: 'The Herald of Revolt' — an account of Aldred's evolution towards anti-parliamentary socialism from boy-preacher through freethought and state socialism to anarchism.

*Book 2*: 'The Steelbound Coffin' — the story of war resistance during the First World War and Aldred's active part in this.

*Book 3*: 'The Red Evangel' — covering the post-1918 period, including the formation and early years of the Antiparliamentary Communist Federation, the campaigns for free speech and for Spain in the Thirties, and the publishing activities of the Bakunin and Strickland Presses (along with much else).

Of these three books only the first (or approximately 100 pp out of 300) draws on Aldred's earlier autobiographical work — and even this section has additional information from a variety of sources. The content of the second book — war resistance in the First World War — was never the subject of an autobiographical work by Aldred. This book is based on Caldwell's original research, largely in the files of *The Tribunal* and *The Spur*, but also in other sources like T. H. Ellison's manuscript *Diary and Letters*, a source not previously used, to the best of my knowledge, by researchers. Book 3, as M H notes, is based on Caldwell's own personal experience of the movement. Finally, it should be observed, all three books contain the accumulated insight and wisdom of older Glasgow comrades who have passed on information to Caldwell.

Second, I am at a loss to understand M H's claim that the book is 'clumsily



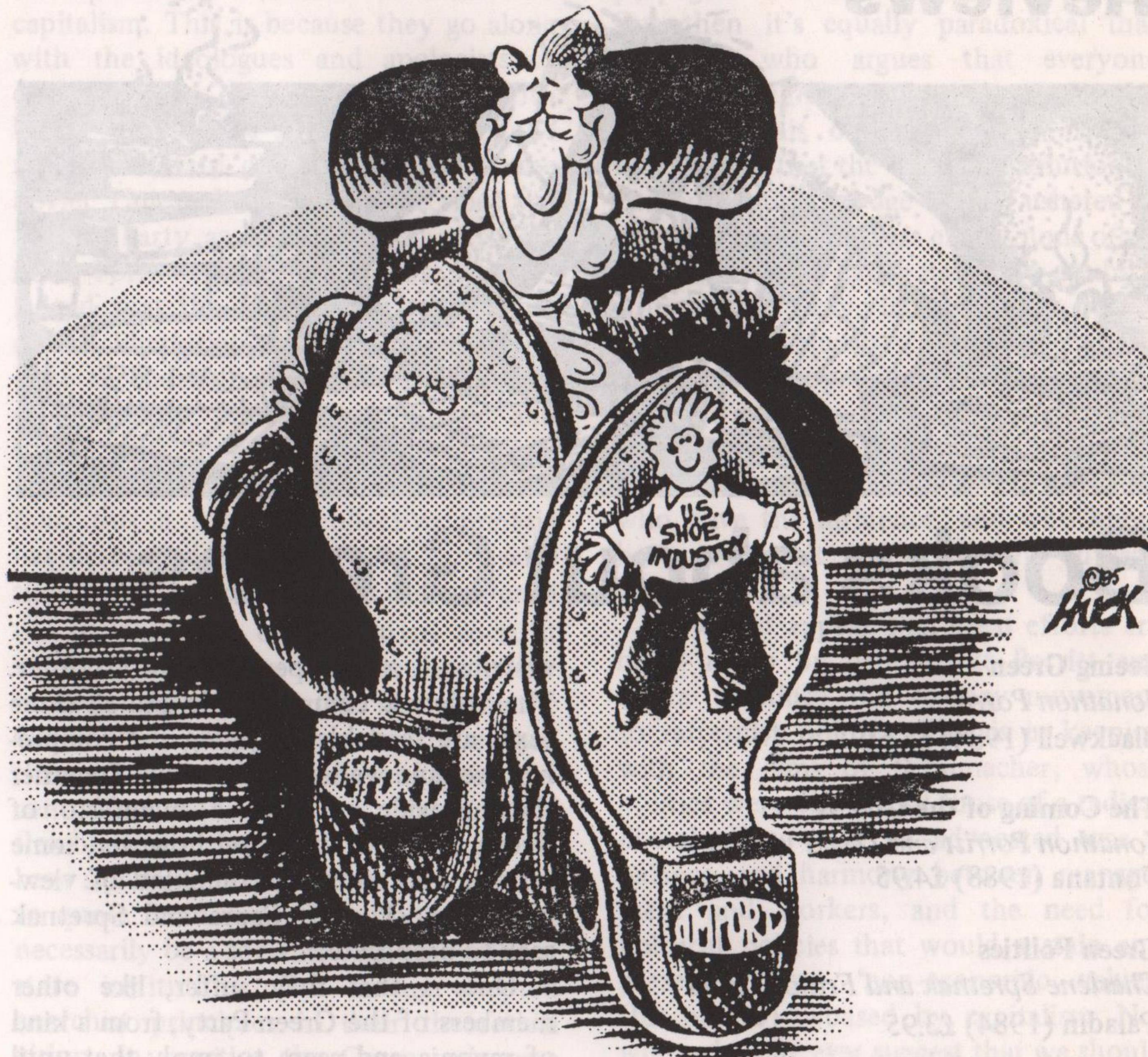
written' — especially as he makes no attempt to substantiate the charge. Editing down from the larger volumes was a difficult task, and it can be argued that some continuity has been lost in the process. However, the book is clearly structured around the themes announced in book and chapter headings. It is true that the book is not in any sense an academic treatise, nor is it intended to be. It is in fact that increasingly rare specimen, the work of the gifted self-taught socialist who can get his ideas across in a vivid and direct way that many comrades would do well to emulate. Labelling the book 'clumsily written' gives the would-be reader a completely misleading idea of what to expect, though anyone who gets as far as opening the book will soon be delighted to find that Caldwell's prose style is lucid, fluent and often witty. Comments on the book already passed on to me have been along the lines of 'riveting' and 'couldn't put it down'.

It is a pity the review was so brief and couldn't have dealt with more substantive matters — the issues raised by Aldred's life and ideas.

Bob Jones



Guy Alfred Aldred



### Bye! American

Gary Huck and Mike Konopacki

Charles H. Kerr £5.50

IN THE United States, papers generally do not employ staff cartoonists, but obtain their cartoons by subscribing to syndicates. Huck and Konopacki are political cartoonists in the slick, American newspaper style, who supply trade union publications. Starting their own syndicate, Huck/Konopacki Labor Cartoons, in 1983 with 'a handful' of clients, by 1987 they had 110 subscribers. This book displays about 150 specimens of their thought-provoking work.

For forty years, and increasingly during the Reagan era, American trade unions have been losing numbers and influence through what Thatcherite economists call 'de-industrialisation'. Our old Nigerian comrade Mani Obahiagbon called it 'exporting the proletariat', and Huck and Konopacki call it 'runaway shops'. The title *Bye! American* (a pun on the advertising slogan 'Buy American') refers to the same phenomenon: American-owned firms closing their plants in America, and setting up factories in third-world countries where wages are much less, and often workers are prevented from organising by military dictatorships.

In a sense, the American trade union movement has been pushed back to square one. The working class, now employed more in the service sector than in the

factories where the unions had their strength, is largely non-unionised; and while the workers are not poor by world standards, they are getting poorer as the rich get richer. Many Huck/Konopacki cartoons simply advocate the benefits of organising, in the manner of IWW cartoons from 70 or 80 years ago.

The export of manufacturing jobs leads modern unions to call for import restrictions; one cartoon shows a little man labelled 'US shoe industry' squashed flat under a shoe marked 'IMPORT'. It also gives rise to suggestions (not so much in the cartoons as in the half dozen short essays by trade unionists), that the unions should use their funds to support unions in the countries where the jobs have gone, and their dwindling political muscle to press for denial of trade benefits to countries where unions are prohibited.

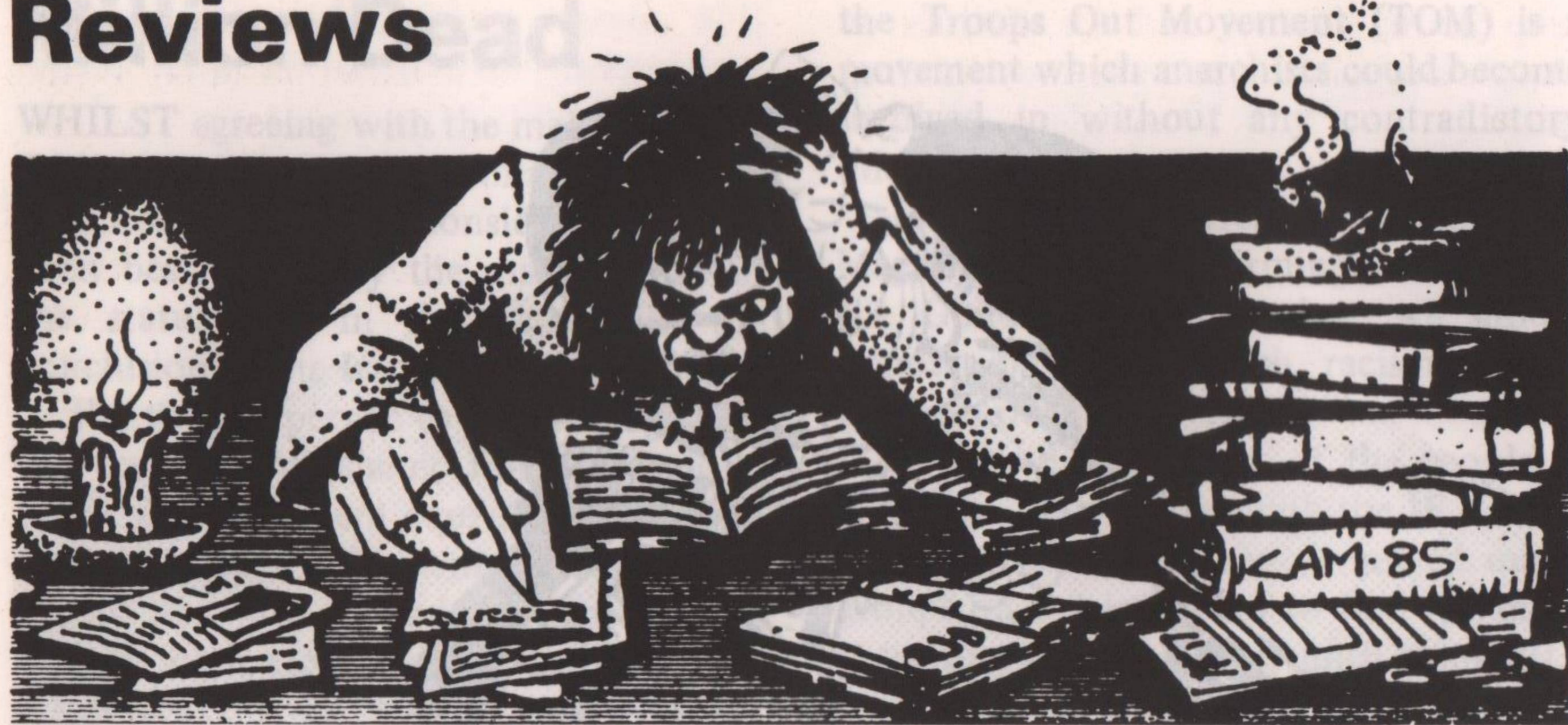
Many of the cartoons deal with news items of obvious interest to the subscribing editors, such as a proposed law to enable firms to test their employees for drugs, and a picketing striker killed by a strike-breaking bus. But Huck and Konopacki are not mere servants of their clients. They are implacably against the arms race, for instance, even though more armaments does mean more manufacturing jobs.

Entertaining and incisive, this large book works out cheaper, for some reason, than many American imports of lesser value. Well worth collecting.

DR



# Reviews



## Books about Greens

### Seeing Green

Jonathon Porritt

Blackwell (1984) £5.50

### The Coming of the Greens

Jonathon Porritt and David Winner

Fontana (1988) £4.95

### Green Politics

Charlene Spretnak and Fritjof Capra

Paladin (1984) £3.95

IT IS an occupational hazard among intellectuals, regardless of their politics, to lose touch with the realities of everyday life. Intellectuals are also prone to look upon themselves as 'originals', and to assume or to kid themselves that their own ideas are new and original. Often they expound such thought with prophetic fervour. Hegel, Marx and Freud were all intellectuals. In a modest way so too are those two doyens of the Green Party, Fritjof Capra and Jonathon Porritt — although hardly of the same intellectual calibre as the aforementioned triumvirate. For in their recent accounts of 'Green Politics' both Capra and Porritt write about holistic philosophy, about ecology, about participatory democracy and decentralised politics, and about feminism and anti-militarism as if all these were something new. The Green Party, we are led to believe, has introduced us to 'a new vision of reality' and has given us an entirely new dimension to politics. As an 'anti-party Party' (whatever that is) it seeks to be the 'political voice' for all the various 'citizens' movements which have recently emerged — feminism, the peace and anti-nuclear campaigns, the ecology movement, animal rights, and the development movement. The Green Party it is suggested is the 'conduit' between these movements and the state, situated neither to the Right nor to the Left, but somewhere in the 'front' (haven't there been other parties claiming to do just this — up front?). The Party calls for an ecologically sustainable, decentralised and equitable economic

system — a co-operative world order. The vision is commendable and all three texts are readable, engaging and comprehensive, and well worth reading. Together they provide us with a manifesto of Green politics. There are, however, some serious limitations to the kind of viewpoint that Porritt, Capra and Spretnak seek to propagate.

One is that they suffer, like other members of the Green Party, from a kind of myopia and seem to imply that until dear old Schumacher arrived on the scene nobody had ever discussed the social and ecological costs of industrial capitalism. That Murray Bookchin was reporting in detail on the environmental and health costs of pesticides, food additives, chemicalised agriculture, urbanisation and nuclear energy in the early 1960s and that anarchist writers from Proudhon onwards have been critical of large-scale industry, seems largely to have gone unnoticed by the 'greens'. Critiques of the Mechanistic philosophy of the Enlightenment, along with its dualistic metaphysics, are of course nothing new. They predate even Proudhon. Capra's suggestion that 'holistic' philosophy is a 'new paradigm' indicates a woeful ignorance of the Western intellectual tradition, which ever since Hegel and Darwin has been in the process of dispensing with the mechanistic paradigm. A 'new dialogue' with nature emerged with the discoveries of evolutionary biology and thermodynamics in the 19th century, and this was given philosophical expression in the writings of Dewey, Smuts, Whitehead and Mead more than fifty years ago. Process philosophy and 'holism' indeed is implicit not only in the writings of Reclus and Kropotkin and the early naturalists, but also in the work of Humboldt whose pioneering study *Cosmos* appeared in the middle of the last century.

Secondly, and linked with this myopia and lack of any historical sense, both Capra and Porritt seem to think — like Skolimowski and Roszak before them — that 'green politics' is simply a rediscovery

of 'old wisdom'. It's nothing of the sort. It is quite erroneous to equate ecology (and the libertarian socialism that accompanies it) with the visions of Black Elk, or with the religious tenets of Buddhism, Christianity, Gnosticism or Hinduism. Although the philosophy of Lao Tze and tribal religions generally express a cosmological attitude which implies a sense of 'oneness', 'equality' and 'reciprocity' between humans and nature, these are quite different from the hierarchic and mystical cosmologies of the other religious systems, which are profoundly anti-ecological. Porritt pleads that he does not want to sound too mystical, and that there is a need 'to re-assert the unity of humankind and nature without necessarily relying in quasi-religious concepts' — a sentiment echoing my own published thoughts. But he can't help offering a sustained diatribe against materialism (falsely equated with the productivist perspective of the Enlightenment) and pleads for 'spiritual commitment' and for the acceptance of some kind of 'supernatural' or 'mystical' dimension to life. 'Supernatural', 'spiritual' — the very terms express an antipathy to the organic naturalistic perspective of ecology. Porritt appears to see nothing between gross bourgeois materialism of the narrowest kind, writing as if Darwin had never been born, and ye antique mysticism. The choice we are presented with is that between mechanism and mysticism. The aesthetic and scientific perspective of *real* ecology is neither: the relationship between humans and nature is neither one of opposition and dominion nor one of spiritual unity, but rather it is organic and symbiotic. Porritt would do well to read the writings of Bookchin more closely — though perhaps with a little more critical insight than he has applied to Capra and Schumacher — for they will offer him a dialectical philosophy that is more in tune with the science of ecology than are the religious musings of Schumacher, Skolimowski and Roszak, who are all looking for some religion to replace moribund Christianity. [Bookchin's thoughts on so-called 'deep ecology' were clearly expressed in a recent issue of *The Raven* (1/3).] Spretnak and Capra are even more religiously inclined than Porritt. They bewail the 'spiritual impoverishment' of contemporary societies, and like many eco-feminists hark back to the myth of Gaia or to the pre-Christian mother-goddess cults. That such cults still flourish in India and historically are intrinsically associated with agrarian theocratic states — thus co-existing as ideologies with both slavery and patriarchy — is hardly mentioned let alone explored. Our 'oneness' with the natural world can be felt and accepted without recourse to



some transcendental 'spirit', however conceptualised.

Finally, none of these writers seem able to extricate themselves from the party political system. They all have the liberal reformist view that the state is some kind of neutral debating society which makes decisions for the benefit of all. It thus simply needs opening-up to the views of the Greens at the 'grassroots'. It will then pass legislation to curb the awful social and environmental effects of the present system. It is of course not like this. The state consists of repressive institutions — both ideological and coercive — whose primary purpose is to support and protect the owners of capital and the capitalist system more generally. Whenever this is under threat, as in the miners' strike, its true function becomes all too apparent. Most of the major decisions that effect our lives — the deployment of missiles or the investment of the wealth that the working people generate — take place outside the halls of Westminster. Parliament simply acts as a sounding board, serving to legitimate class rule. Although the three books are all supposedly concerned with the 'politics of ecology' there is very little real political analysis in any of them. There is, believe it or not, no discussion at all of capitalism, economic imperialism — the maraudings of the Pentagon in its support of American capital gets no mention — or of state repression. What discussion there is, on 'green economics', is rather confused and vacillating, for the Greens are clearly unable to decide whether or not to support 'private property'. There are two problems. One is their tendency to equate industrialism and capitalism (as if the latter were simply some form of technology) or to see industrialism as the villain of the piece. But most of the ecological and social problems of the Third World have little to do with industry per se — they may relate to sweat shops or bonded agricultural labour — they have everything to do with a capitalist system which is geared to profits and which is inherently exploitative at the periphery. Third World poverty, political repression and racism, and human exploitation are hardly discussed in any of the books. Porritt and Winner discuss 'development' but seem to see this in terms of charity organisations like Oxfam and aid programmes. The social and ecological implications of the Third World being a 'net exporter of capital' (what a way to describe exploitation?) is broached but never explored, and there is an avoidance of any real analysis of the economic system — capitalism — that is primarily responsible for both the widespread poverty and starvation in the world and the spread of environmental destruction.

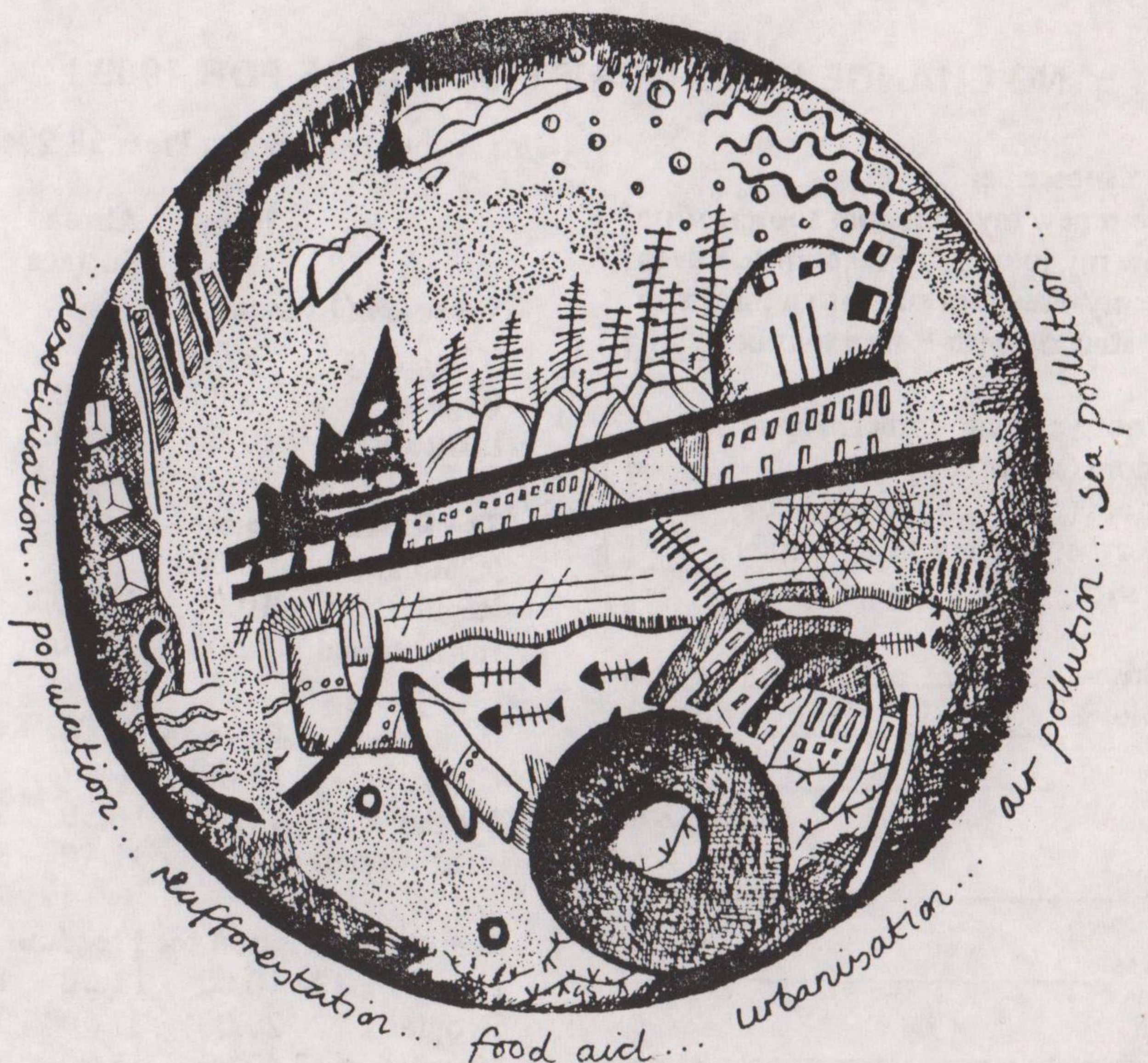
The other problem is that these 'Green' intellectuals have no clear

conception of a socialist alternative to capitalism. This is because they go along with the ideologues and apologists of capitalism in equating socialism with Marxism and state socialism or with the system of state capitalism found in the Soviet Union. Porritt even describes the Labour Party as the 'heartland of socialism!' Porritt in his earlier book acknowledged that the 'true greens' were those radical libertarian environmentalists who were the heirs to the anarchist tradition of Kropotkin, Thoreau and Godwin, and still accepts that there is a 'green line' within the socialist tradition. But other than this a form of collective amnesia has descended over the Green Party who simply fail to acknowledge the existence of an anarchist or libertarian socialist tradition which long ago articulated some of the basic principles that now guide the Green Party. But the anarchists realised that a society that was 'ecological, decentralised, equitable, and comprised of flexible institutions, one in which people have significant control over their lives' — to quote from one of the books — must necessarily be a socialist one, and without state institutions. But having adopted anarchist principles in their theoretical vision, in practice the Greens advocate party politics. Porritt accuses Michael Allaby of writing 'humbug' when the latter writer suggests that ecologists should not be concerned with power, and reckons that all anarchists are living in an unreal world. Porritt the realist — and on television a keen supporter of the monarchy — suggests paradoxically that the Greens only seek power in order to relinquish it, and get involved in national politics because they don't believe in it — elections having only an educative or

propaganda value. It's all very strange. But then it's equally paradoxical that someone who argues that everyone should be empowered to determine the course of his or her own life should suggest also that the coming revolution to the post-industrial age will be ushered in for us by a middle-class elite — none other than the Green Party itself. No doubt it will whittle away, like the state of the authoritarian Marxists, in due time. We all know what happens to such parties when they get into power. All the intellectuals too. Porritt dedicates his latest study (co-authored with Winner) — 'To all those who have the influence, and who know how to use it wisely for the future.' Enough said.

It would appear that great efforts are being made by people like Porritt and Capra to hinge the ecology movement to reformist politics. This is in keeping with the aims of Schumacher, whose politics were essentially those of a radical liberal. For what he advocated was a balance and harmony between management and workers, and the need for political policies that would sustain and preserve those 'non-economic values' (his phrase) debased by capitalism. Nowhere does he ever suggest that we should put an end to the system that fosters the nuclear weaponry, that creates the pollution, that 'ravishes nature' and 'mutilates man' (his phrase). Rather he pleads only for the re-affirmation of religious values to counter-balance the effects of the capitalist system. The Green Party is the political expression of Schumacher's vision: it hardly presents a challenge let alone a threat to capitalism, or to the state structures which support it.

Brian Morris





# Vested Interest in what?

NO DOUBT by the time this appears, the diseased poultry saga will have been swept under the carpet, covered by the ineffectual Ministry of Agriculture gobbledegook, or people will have begun to question seriously the way agriculture is run. As a recent commentator on the scene observed, Nye Bevan said that the Labour Government had done such a good job on farmers' finances that they could now afford to pay their subscriptions to the Conservative Party.

I also recall that when the National Health Service was started by Bevan I wrote and asked why alternative forms of medicine were not included. He replied that the British Medical Association (the main doctors' union) would only work the system on their own terms, which excluded any other forms of treatment. This was of course ignoring the model of community health in the Peckham Health Centre, which before the War was an example of preventative medicine that surely showed the way forward in involving people in an interest in their own health.

Parallel with BMA influence on the Health Ministry is the influence of the National Farmers' Union in the Ministry of Agriculture. The Labour Government's very, very feeble attempt to deal with the anomaly of land ownership has left us with the situation that farmers can do anything they like on the land, which gives them and their chemical company suppliers the right to make vast profits and leave the rest of the community to deal with the consequences. The authorities have plenty of teeth when dealing with the poor and unemployed, but are virtually toothless when dealing

with big business. The fact that salmonella has been found in animal feed processing plants and nothing done about it is an example.

Apart from the fact that they have turned cattle into processed food and animal waste consumers instead of being herbivores (the best and cheapest way of producing milk), the whole sensible practice of crop rotation has been destroyed. The results of not trying to reproduce in agricultural practice roughly what happens in nature are now beginning to show.

When highly soluble substances are put on the soil there is one unknown factor - the rainfall. Soil structure when it is high in organic matter acts like a sponge and controls the moisture. The effect of chemical fertilizers is to reduce organic content, so a large amount of chemical fertilizer and other chemicals produces no crops at all in the form of profits in the pockets of chemical manufacturers.

The question of inspecting the operations of large companies is a farce. I worked on a farm once where the visit of the inspector was notified in advance, so all the dodgy machinery was taken to the area where the old machinery was dumped, and brought back into use when he had gone.

There is no reason why poultry should not be kept in better conditions, except of course the artificially high price of land and the difficulties and expense of fencing. And the whole farce of the 'market economy' which is only allowed to operate when it is in the interests of the marketeers, who are subsidised is they are big enough, to influence the politicians in control.

Alan Albon

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