

# FREE OM 50p

ANARCHIST MAGAZINE

Volume 50 Number 6 June 1989 50p



Students unveil a plaster Statue of Liberty in Tiananmen Square, watched by about 100,000 people, on 30 May

## CHINESE PEOPLE FEEL THEIR OWN STRENGTH

BEFORE the massacre of 4 June, whilst the Chinese Communist leaders sought to reassert their authority by less unpleasant means, the Chinese people provided us, for a few significant weeks, with a useful object lesson in libertarian self management. On 18 May four old men used their influence and power to try and change the lives of over 1,000,000,000 people for the worse. They decided that too many people were voicing dangerous criticisms of their 'right' to govern and that it was time to use the ultimate sanction and call out the troops.

To give the old men their due, the time they chose — the early hours of the morning — was cleverly selected. In Beijing, as in most of China, virtually everything shuts down by 7 o'clock and 9 o'clock is a late night. At two or three in the morning next to no-one is on the streets and the troops should have been able to move in unobstructed. However, the old men seriously underestimated the strength of the opposition they would meet. When you travel around China you pick up a strong feeling of people enjoying the small freedoms that they have gained over the last few years and an equally strong

feeling that the people who have tasted those freedoms will not easily be forced back under total state control.

China has been developing at an exceptionally fast pace recently. Everywhere you go you see old cities being torn down and new factories, offices, shops and tower blocks being put in their place. This development requires skilled workers. Skilled workers require training. High quality training requires universities, technical colleges, and new styles of schooling, yet the people working in these institutions cannot carry out effective training if the government maintains a cumbersome censorship over new ideas. The government is obsessed with economic growth at all costs and is prepared to ruin old cities and pollute entire rivers to achieve it. But if the government wants economists, scientists and technicians, then it has to allow a relatively free interchange of ideas between them and what has happened is that some of the teachers and a lot of the students have seized on the window of opportunity that this opened up to demand a whole confusion of extra concessions.

That is one of the great things about freedom of thought. It is so difficult to predict what will come out of it and it is virtually impossible to put limits on it. The state wants to train loyal architects, but questions about building technique leads to questions about planning, and about the rights and wrongs of a system which allows high quality housing to be allocated to the children of influential politicians whilst the rest of the population struggle with overcrowding. The state wants high productivity, but this leads any economist worth their salt to ask questions about the causes of low productivity, and an awareness of the failure of the state to run enterprises leads rapidly to a critique of bureaucracy and corruption. The state wanted more English speaking graduates to help it learn the useful bits of Western technologies, so it allowed the BBC World Service to broadcast good clear spoken English to China; but along with the English lessons came a whole plethora of ideas, some good, some bad, but many of them leading people to ask challenging questions. The state wanted foreign currency

continued on back cover



# FREEDOM

anarchist magazine

volume 50 number 6

June 1989

published by Freedom Press (in Angel Alley)  
84b Whitechapel High Street  
London E1 7QX

typeset by Mum's the Word

printed by Aldgate Press London E1 7QX

distributed to shops by A Distribution

ISSN 00 16-0504

## Note for Raven readers

A number of *Raven* subscribers have been enquiring about issue no. 7. Editorial problems have delayed publication. We are hoping it will be ready for dispatch some time in *April. May. June.*

## Anarchist Forum

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

9 June: George Walford will introduce a discussion on **Anarchism, a consequence of Ideology.**

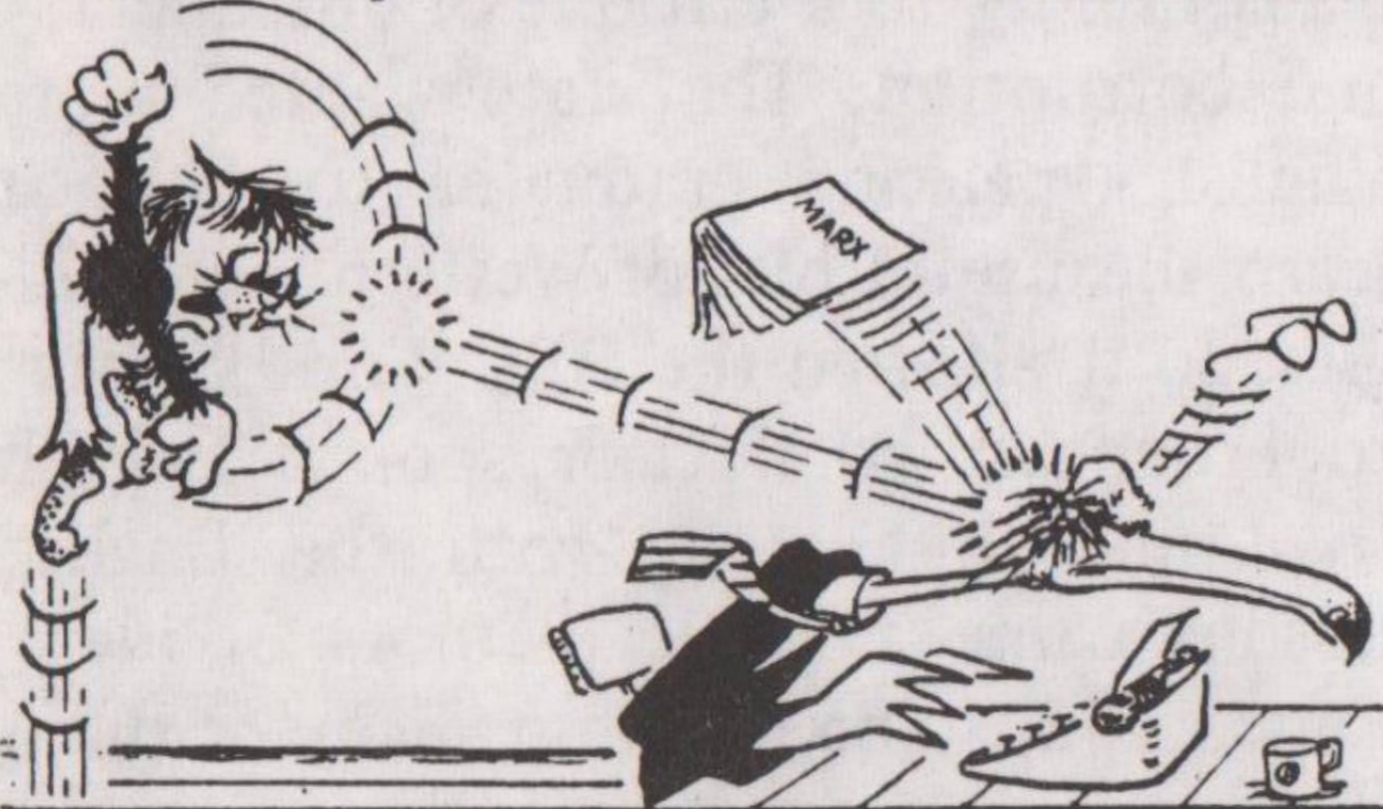
After 9 June the Mary Ward Centre will close for the summer, until September. Given sufficient interest, the Forum may meet elsewhere during the summer, and in any case it will resume at Mary Ward when it reopens. Speakers are needed. Contact Anarchist Forum c/o Freedom.

### Cornish Anarchists

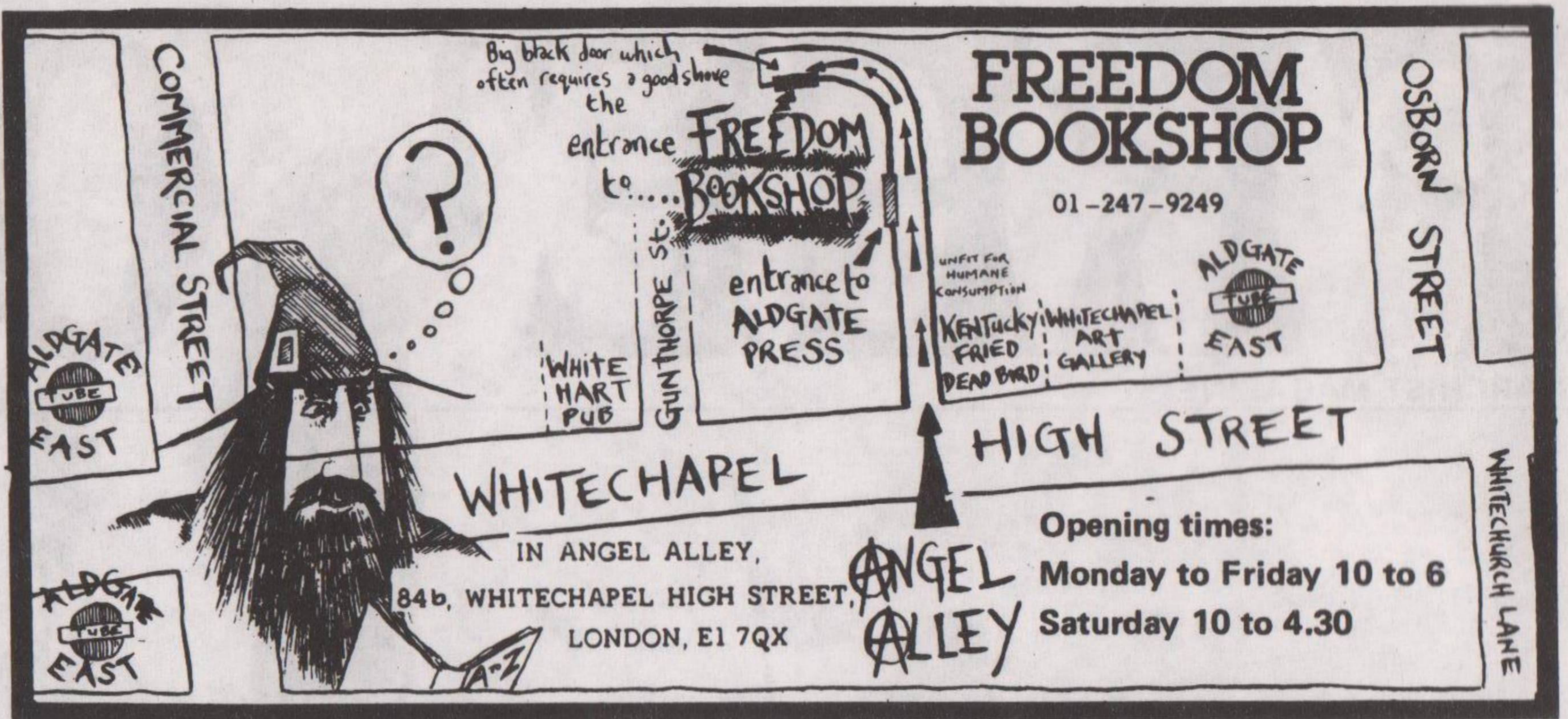
ANYONE interested in setting up a Cornish anarchist group is invited to contact Damian Noonan, c/o Plymouth Anarchists, PO Box 105, Plymouth.

## WILDCAT STRIKES AGAIN

May 1989. More of Donald Rooum's hilarious comic strips, the bad-tempered Pussycat, the clever-clogs Egghead, and the rest, poking fun at anarchists as well as their enemies.



Wildcat Strikes Again (due May) 48pp £1.95  
Wildcat Anarchist Comics (reprint) 48pp £1.50



## London ACF

Anarchist Communist Federation

DISCUSSION MEETING

13th July at 8.30pm

at Marchmont Street Community Centre,  
Marchmont Street, London WC1 (nearest  
tube: Russell Square).

**200 YEARS SINCE THE FRENCH  
REVOLUTION**

There are discussion meetings at the same  
address and time on the first Thursday of  
every month.



## Aldred tapes

FOLLOWING your review of Guy Aldred's biography, and the subsequent letter from Bob Jones, I have been asked by several correspondents if the complete works of Guy Aldred are available. They are. World Microfilms Publications have produced *The Works of Guy A. Aldred (1886-1963)* as a microfilm collection with accompanying contents list. The microfilm is on 12 reels of 35mm silver positive roll film. Individual reels from the collection can be purchased at a price of £45 each. The contents list is available free on request. This corpus includes all the pamphlets and journals from 1906-1962, among them, of course, such valuable research material as *The Spur* and *No Traitor's Gait*. These are available for consultation in some academic libraries – and many other academic and public libraries would be likely to acquire the microfilm if they were made aware that there was an interest among the public and researchers in consulting the collection. The full three-volume author's typescript of Aldred's biography *The Aldred Trilogy* by J. T. Caldwell may also be consulted. Details can be obtained from Microworld House, 2-4 Foscothe Mews, London W9 2HH, England.

John T. Caldwell

## Lee House

THE Vegan cafe at Lee House continues to serve hot nutritious meals from Thursday to Sunday 3 pm to 8 pm. The bookshop has been 'refitted' thanks to Earth Exchange and Archway, making the stock look all the more irresistible, and until 23 June we are showing the Art Strike exhibition.

Every Sunday and Thursday night at 8pm we have a video show of controversial, thought provoking, or at least interesting, videos.

In the garden we now have a mega-size 'half-pipe' skateboard ramp for the local kids and the 'anarcho-skate muties' alike.

Unfortunately, Lee House's days are numbered, so come and share in the experience now!!

Lee House, 6a Rectory Road, Stoke Newington, London N16 E8.

**BLOCKADE HINKLEY POINT!  
SATURDAY 24th JUNE**

ANTI-NUKILLER power groups and individuals from all over Britain are asked to come to the nukiller power stations at Hinkley Point near Bridgewater in Somerset for a blockade on Saturday 24th June. The Public Inquiry into the proposed 'Hinkley C' PWR station will probably be nearing an end by then, but despite the fact that objectors have clearly won the argument to cancel the nukiller power programme, the government is expected to ignore overwhelming public opinion and decide to go ahead with Hinkley C. A campaign of civil disobedience and direct action to hinder this insane and undemocratic plan is therefore essential.

People are asked to organise themselves into affinity groups before arriving at Hinkley Point, and to plan for themselves any other actions they may want to do.

**13th International March  
for Demilitarisation  
31 July to 13 August 1989**  
Contact Florennade  
Route Charlemagne 20  
5526 Rosee, Belgium



# Demonstrating against and for Freedom

THERE were some libertarian counter-demonstrations during the large Muslim demonstration in London on Saturday 27 May.

The main demonstration, which was organised by the British Muslim Action Front, consisted of a mass march from Hyde Park to Kennington past the Houses of Parliament. Its aim was the banning of Salman Rushdie's novel *The Satanic Verses*, which is alleged to blaspheme against Islam, and the extension of the law of blasphemy to cover Islam as well as Christianity.

There were between ten and twenty thousand militant demonstrators from all over the country (almost all men), there were banners and slogans calling not only for the book to be banned but for Rushdie to be killed, and there was fighting at various places along the route between demonstrators and opponents, between demonstrators and police, and between demonstrators and demonstrators. Several people were injured, and more than a hundred were arrested.

One counter-demonstration was held by a group of people, mostly women and mainly from Muslim backgrounds, who are loosely organised as Women Against Fundamentalism and Voices for Salman

Rushdie. Both organisations have produced powerful statements calling for the emancipation of the most oppressed members of oppressed groups in the community and for the complete secularisation of society. About forty women were able to hold banners and shout slogans in Parliament Square for a time without being attacked.

Another counter-demonstration, which was held by representatives of the traditional British freethought movement, was much smaller and shorter. Barbara Smoker (for the National Secular Society) and Nicolas Walter (for the Rationalist Press Association) displayed banners at Hyde Park Corner calling for Free Speech. Within a few moments, they were violently attacked by mobs of fanatical young demonstrators, their banners were seized and destroyed, and they were knocked to the ground and kicked and punched until they were rescued by older and less fanatical demonstrators — and, to their surprise, as old libertarians (and former comrades in the Committee of 100), by policemen. Neither of them was badly hurt, and they intend to return to oppose any future demonstrations in favour of banning books or killing authors.

MH

# Wolverhampton riot

ON 23 May, 120 police raided a Wolverhampton pub called the Travellers Rest and arrested 20 people on suspicion of using illegal drugs. Fifteen to twenty minutes later the pub and the police were attacked by a crowd of young men, 'a mixture of black and white' according to the Assistant Chief Constable, 'that reflected the racial mix of the area'.

The number of young civilians involved is in dispute. The police estimate 500, and the Black Community Action Group estimate 70, which makes a change from the usual complaint that the police underestimate numbers of demonstrators. (Remember the embarrassment after the nuclear disarmament rally in Hyde Park in 1967.)

Anyway, Wolverhampton police now have two telephone 'hotlines', one for callers with information about the disorder, and one for callers with information about drug traffic in the Heath Town area. 'We want to establish who were the instigators of the incident. If people want to remain anonymous when they contact us, that is perfectly reasonable as far as we are concerned'. Actually it looks as if the police started it, but we don't suppose they want to know that.

TA, JL

WILDCAT

This book incites intolerance and hatred !!

DOWN WITH BLASPHEMY

Yes. But if you believe in freedom of speech, you don't ban any book.

Not even the Koran ????

Not even the Koran.

KILL!  
BURN!  
MUTILATE!

DOWN WITH BLASPHEMY

Rushdie. JOKE BY MARTYN LOWE



# The Centre Cannot Hold

THE twentieth century has been a century of popular (and unpopular!) revolutions, followed by centralised dictatorships based upon so-called left-wing or right-wing ideologies. The effects upon the working class have always been the same.

The popular revolutions appear always to have been spontaneous uprisings of the people, and it is interesting to see, in view of the Marxist prophecies that revolution must come from the class-conscious industrial proletariat, that the really effective revolutions of this century have occurred in peasant countries: Mexico, Russia, Spain, China and Cuba.

We are prepared to defend the use of the word 'effective' above since the existing authority was toppled in all these cases, but what followed after differed in detail, although not in reality: the social revolution was either diverted, as in Mexico; crushed, as in Spain; or aborted from within, as in Russia, China and Cuba, by authoritarian Marxist regimes.

To combat the triumphs of the 'Left', right-wing ideologies of even greater ferocity, but equal authoritarian effect, emerged to stalk the world's stage. Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany, Hirohito in Japan and, after a struggle, Franco in Spain, emerged to present an alternative to Marxism as a totalitarian choice for the world's ruling classes. Among these, they were all pretty popular, until they began to challenge the existing powers and to endanger the status quo. (At least, all did, except Franco, who might well have thought that his population might not have been so reliable as the others!)

Of the right-wing regimes with imperial ambitions — Germany, Italy and Japan — none survived the Second World War. The greatest of the old imperial countries, Britain, began immediately to lose its empire, as colony after colony began to take advantage of its post-war weakness.

The jewel in the crown — India — went first, as was only right, since its independence had been guaranteed during the war in return for co-operation in activity against Japan. (Churchill had sent saintly Stafford Cripps to do a wartime deal with pacifist Gandhi!)

There followed 20 years of 'terrorist' struggle by Jews, Africans, Cypriots, Malayans and others, to get the British Empire off their backs. The British centre could not hold, and finally a messy kind of 'Commonwealth' with a pretend comradeship just about hangs together. Probably because they don't want to hang separately. South Africa, for all sorts of dubious reasons, manages to hang about half in the dog house, half out.

Two great centralist powers emerged from the war: America and Russia. Both what might be called neo-imperialist. The USA claims the whole of the Western Hemisphere as its back-yard, while Russia treats the whole of Eastern Europe as its front garden. European commentators and politicians like to sneer at Russian domination of these countries and maintain that this means intent of invasion of the West. They forget that our great Western leaders, Churchill and Roosevelt, gave the go-ahead to Stalin to regard these countries as buffer states against any future invasions from the West. For this is what they are.

European history surely shows more invasions of Russia from the West, than invasions of Western Europe from the East. We anarchists are the last to defend the Russian oligarchy, but surely we have never seen the slightest indication that the Kremlin had any intention of doing more than defend itself against the madmen of the West — and since the Second World War, the West extends as far as the Pentagon. Stalin, after all, had his great disagreement with Trotsky over his (Stalin's) policy of 'Socialism in one country'.

Apart from establishing 'friendly' states in neighbouring countries — which is exactly what America tries to do in the Caribbean and Central America — the USSR seems content to remain static.

After all, it has its own problems, which are now coming to light. We have been delighted before to see that the slightest hint of a relaxing of a dictatorship brings the people out on the streets. The death of Stalin brought a kind of breathless hush, which lasted three years (some breathless hush!) until Khrushchev blew the gaff in 1956 about Stalin's reign of terror. Which has been, it may be said, common knowledge since the 1930s — even to the Russians, though never accepted by the British Communists.

Result: Hungary blew up in October '56 — and Khrushchev replied by sending in the tanks. In other words, for the Kremlin, it was business as usual. But the problems have never gone away, as Poland has shown.

Now, even more exciting things have happened, with the emergence of Comrade Gorbachev, and all this talk about glasnost and perestroika — changes and openness.

And what do we find? We find that all over the great USSR, national and religious squabbles break out. As soon as the ban is relaxed, people flock back to their orthodox churches — closed to them with the revolution — and petty little nationalist arguments break out about which little nationality (i.e. language group) should 'own' what little bit of territory.

And this, comrades, is after *seventy years* of socialism! The Armenians and the Azerbaijanis are at each other's throats over some absolutely petty issue which could have been solved within a week in 1917 — if they had been left alone to get on with it.

Meanwhile, in Yugoslavia, although it is a long time since the great unifier, Marshal Tito, died, now again the petty squabbles are busting out between the Slavs and the Serbs, the Macedonians and the — oh god, doesn't it make you sick? God, of course, is always part of the trouble.

**And now: CHINA!** Was it by accident or design that a million students took to the streets the same week that Gorbachev made his ceremonial visit to China, breaking a twenty-year freeze between the two greatest Communist countries? Whichever it was, it was brilliant timing, for the eyes and ears of the whole world were on Tiananmen Square in Beijing, where not only a mass demonstration was being mounted, but a hunger strike was in progress as well. The demand was for change at the top, an end to corruption and the introduction of something called 'democracy', whatever that means. We have a feeling that it means something different there from what it means in Britain or in America. The Chinese have learned at least something from their years under Communism — that there is supposed to be something called the Will of the People. The many years they have spent dominated by a caucus holed up in the Great Hall of the People must have taught them that the will of a caucus is not the same as the Will of the People.

As we go to press the Army ('of the People') has acted against the people with an unfeigned massacre. Attempts to clear Tiananmen Square by less bloody means, on 25 May and 2 June, were stymied because the troops who were sent to talk to the people also listened, and when matters were explained to them, they backed off. Evidently, the only way for the State to win was to send for fresh troops, and send them in to kill without the opportunity to ask questions. Any more arguing, and the disaffection of the forces of the State might have been total.

In the news programmes that have been pouring out of China over the past three weeks, one phrase has been recurrent: 'We cannot have Anarchy!'

Yes, well, it looks as though the one-time governors of a billion people may have to put up with anarchy, if a billion people want it!

We cannot of course pretend that the rebellious Chinese are conscious Anarchists,



but they have grown up and been educated under the concept that Mao Tse Tung's Long March and revolution was precisely to put The People in control — under the guidance, of course, of Chairman Mao.

But the old hero has been replaced by self-seeking bureaucrats, as happens inevitably within a power structure. It happened in little Yugoslavia, as certainly as in mighty China. In the latter, however, the mythology continued to maintain all that stuff about The Will of the People! What a mistake — since the People are now exerting their Will!

There are three ways for events to develop in China now:

1. The corrupt old centre, having discredited itself by sending in troops to shoot the students down, will nevertheless refuse to budge. After all, if it could happen in Kent University, US of A (remember?), it must be democratic.

2. The Old Guard back down and a compromise is reached with the angry populace by installing a new government with acceptable 'moderates' in the saddle, promising reforms, a clean-up of corruption, and all that.

After an exhausting struggle, with sleepless nights, hunger strikes, everything that has happened — to the surprise of the students and striking workers themselves — this compromise will

undoubtedly seem attractive to all but clear-sighted anarchists.

But there is always:

3. The possibility that the Chinese people will go all the way. That the striking workers will return to their factories, not to work for the State, but to take them over and introduce workers' control, to work for *The People* (which is what they are told they are doing anyway!).

That the peasants (remember them?) will reject state collectivisation and organise production of food and its distribution for the benefit of all the people. There is no doubt they are able to do this — because food *was* getting into the heart of Beijing, to the students in Tiananmen Square — organised by — who else but the peasants? (In some cases, parents of students!)

This, comrades, always happens in revolutionary situations in countries with a peasantry — those supposedly backward people!

It is surely not at all impossible that the Chinese people will demand a decentralisation of the people's administration of that vast country. Is it not absurd, after all, that a thousand million people should be controlled by a small caucus of old men with fixed ideas, inflated egos, operating a bureaucracy with a desire to line its own pockets?

It's time for decentralisation. And not only in China. With a new atmosphere of glasnost and all that in the world, isn't it about time we all started demanding that centralist powers began meeting the demands of all those people who have been struggling for their own responsibility, freedom and dignity for so long. How about the Spanish and French governments meeting the demands of the Basques? What about the Kurds, the Tamils, the Nagas, the Palestinians — and, after all, what about China getting out of Tibet?

The only chance of that happening, as it happens, is — anarchy in China! For no anarchist society would want to impose a rule upon a neighbouring people. Which reminds us — what about Ireland? Has anybody ever realised that the best chance of Ireland — North and South — getting its freedom, is an anarchist Britain?

There is a glimmer of hope in all this. Sooner or later, authoritarian and centralist states crumble, for they are built on false foundations. Lenin said (if it matters) 'The state will wither away'. But he didn't say *when*, and in his day, he tried to lay foundations for a powerful state, with ruthless control of the people.

Maybe in China, we shall see the next example of the fact that the centre cannot hold.

Philip Sansom

## SPAIN: anarcho-syndicalists still split

SINCE the beginnings of the democratic transition the CNT has been struggling to create its own space in the trade union arena. In spite of the difficulties of reconstruction after a gap of forty years, and a split (similar to that which happened in PSOE and other historical organisations), the CNT has succeeded in implanting itself within the working class with the support that workers have given us and which has been demonstrated recently in such significant events as the Bank Referendum, the elections in SEAT or the referendum in FASA-Renault. The Supreme Court sentence, which recognises us as the majority group within anarcho-syndicalism, denies us the use of the name CNT because, transferring the philosophy of the state to the organisation, it gives more importance to the letter of the law than to the spirit of the organisation. The sentence hands over the use of the name CNT to the historic sector (also known as CNT-AIT) because the body which had the capacity to call the Congress of Unification (in 1984) — and thus the capacity to decide its date and place — was not the syndicates acting as a group, i.e. the base of the organisation but the national committee.

The attitude of the majority of the anarcho-syndicalist unions — namely that it was totally unacceptable to use the

institutions of the state to compel, via the courts, the national committee to call the Congress of Unification — is penalised by the Supreme Court in this sentence. They have taken away our name because we refused to submit to the authority of a committee (the national committee) or to seek the aid of the state.

It was not our organisation which sold out its ideals and which put the future of the CNT in the hands of the courts, but it was in fact the historic sector which has always made such exaggerated claims of their own ideological purity. The sentence curiously recognises those who, by continuous purges, have attempted to lead the CNT to its annihilation and total marginalisation from the working class and from society.

After the State's recognition of the historic sector they are left without their false, spurious and cynical argument that we enjoy the protection of the authorities.

Anarcho-syndicalism is not finished because of a court sentence. We, the anarcho-syndicalist activists of this organisation reaffirm our commitment to the tradition of trade union and social struggle which has been practised by organised anarcho-syndicalism in this country since 1910.

For each one of us, in spite of the absurd decision of the judges, the spirit

and ethics of anarcho-syndicalism will continue being the basic and daily principles by which we guide not only our union activities, but also our actions of all types. We are well aware that, for various reasons, other workers outside our organisation have been struggling to build up this type of syndicalism, whether as individuals, collectives or organisations. This sentence is, without doubt, a severe blow to us and to this project, but the workers' movement has been built on the basis of setbacks and it has always emerged strengthened and with greater fighting spirit. On this occasion we must try to take advantage of this setback by encouraging all the workers and collectives that feel in tune with our project to participate actively in it, to make their own mark in the new chapter we are about to write.

It is for all these reasons that we will — in spite of beginning with a new name (CGT = Confederacion General del Trabajo) — continue struggling for those principles that we freely chose, that is to say the anarcho-syndicalist principles of one component of the organised labour movement of this country.

Confederacio General del Treball, CGT,  
(Federacio Local de Barcelona)  
c/o Roger de Lluria, 123, pral,  
08037 Barcelona



# A call to tolerance and doubt

ONE of the organisations currently campaigning for the extension of the blasphemy laws calls itself the Islamic Society for Religious Tolerance!

This need not be as mind-bogglingly self-contradictory as it sounds; perhaps it is just a misnomer. Over the centuries, Mohammedan rulers have shown religious tolerance to an extent quite unthinkable in Christian rulers. When the First Crusade arrived at Jerusalem in 1099, for instance, the crusaders were amazed to find Mohammedans, Christians and Jews in a harmonious community under the Saracens (they put the Mohammedans to the sword, burned the Jews alive in the synagogue, and imposed a Frankish king on the Christians). And Saladdin, whose name is still taught to British school-children as that of the Saracen leader, bequeathed his fortune to the 'Mohammedan, Christian and Jewish poor'. This is because of an injunction in the Koran, to respect all those who revere the Old Testament.

So there is an Islamic doctrine of religious tolerance, which extends to Christians and Jews, but not to pagans or atheists. It may be that someone whose first language was not English wrote 'Islamic Society for Religious Tolerance' intending 'Society for Islamic Religious Tolerance'. If this is what happened, I hope it will now be put right, because it sounds as if the society is for religious tolerance in a general sense, which is quite misleading.

Not all false claims to tolerance, however, can be put down to linguistic error. In Beijing, shortly after the students occupied Tiananmen Square, there was a protest march by some 4,000 Muslims.

## Against Blasphemy Laws

MORE than 200 well-known people have signed a Statement Against Blasphemy Law, opposing the current campaign to extend the present law to cover religions other than Christianity, and supporting the proposal to abolish the law altogether (as recommended by the Law Commission in 1985). The pressure to extend the law comes not only from militant Muslims (thousands of whom demonstrated to put this demand on 27 May), but also from orthodox Jews and from both the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church. The pressure to abolish it comes from many sections of the community, as represented by the people who have signed this statement.

The signatories include novelists, poets, dramatists, politicians, philosophers, lawyers, editors, publishers, scientists, academics, critics, biographers, actors,

A spokesperson for the marchers told Western reporters that, although theirs was a separate demonstration, they shared the students' demand for freedom of speech. Yet they manifestly did not demand freedom of speech — just the opposite. They were marching to demand that the already repressive Chinese censorship be extended in scope, to ban a scholarly work of social anthropology called *Sexual Customs*.

There are understandable arguments in favour of intolerance and censorship. If someone says, for instance, that attacks on religion should not be permitted because they put God in a childish tantrum and so lead to general misfortune, we do not necessarily agree but we can follow what is being said. So, too, if people advance similar arguments for banning dictionaries which include 'cunt' or 'nigger', or sexually provocative photographs. But how can we respond to people who state that the demand for censorship is a demand for freedom of speech, or that intolerance promotes tolerance?

The first stage, I suggest, is to recognise that such people actually believe what they are saying — then we can either humour them or argue quietly, rather than losing our tempers because we think they are overdoing a joke. Their belief is incredible, but religious people see merit in believing the incredible, and train themselves to do so. When they begin to doubt they describe themselves as 'troubled by doubt', as if doubt was an illness.

The purpose of religious intolerance and censorship is to protect society as a whole against doubt. The doubt which is

broadcasters, producers, translators, journalists, campaigners and anarchists.

The Statement Against Blasphemy Law has been organised and published by the Committee Against Blasphemy Law. This was founded by representatives of the national humanist organisations in 1977, at the time of the *Gay News* case, in a long line of bodies campaigning over a century for the abolition of the English law of blasphemy on the grounds that it is both oppressive and discriminatory, and that the same freedom of expression should be extended to religion as is taken for granted in every other controversial area.

Copies of the Statement Against Blasphemy Law may be obtained from Nicolas Walter, 88 Islington High Street, London N1.

feared may be doubt of any belief, not just traditional religion — the government of Albania, for instance, bans traditional religion in order to protect Marxism from doubt.

When someone succeeds in having one preposterous belief, such as that the world is controlled by a being who is both all-powerful and benevolent to all people, they find it easier to embrace another preposterous belief, such as that a social order where some people have power over others is beneficial to all people. When people have doubts, they are liable to doubt all manner of things and the social order is in danger of collapse. I doubt if many of the powerful who impose censorship and intolerance are defending themselves against doubt in any conscious, Machiavellian sense; they are more likely to be responding intuitively. And I do not say there is any necessary connection between one belief and another; I know at least one believer in the all-powerful and benevolent being who is also an anarchist.

Still, Bakunin's dictum is true, that the best defence for a tyrant on earth is a tyrant in heaven. Firm belief goes with stable society. If we want society to change in an anarchist direction we should censor nothing, tolerate all beliefs, and question all beliefs, including our own.

DR

## IN BRIEF

British Nuclear Fuels is to run an expensive advertising campaign stating that nuclear power is environment-friendly, because it does not contribute carbon dioxide to the atmosphere. About the same time a book is to be published (*The Greenhouse Effect* by Boyle and Ardill) showing that activities essential to nuclear power production, such as uranium mining, cement production, and waste disposal, produce about 250,000 tons of carbon dioxide per reactor per year.

As part of the security operation for the 1988 Conservative Party conference in Brighton, police interviewed council employees at the Conference Centre, staff of hotels, and residents of neighbouring streets; some 50,000 people. A complaint has since been made to the Data Protection Registrar that details collected on 27,800 are still on the police computer and available to other forces. The Registrar says that in future, people who give information should be told how it will be used, but refused to say it was collected unfairly.



# Demonstration against the Poll Tax

ON Saturday 18 March, 15,000 poll tax activists demonstrated in a march from Glasgow Green through the east end of the city.

Although the march was controlled and organised by 'Militant' through their domination of the Scottish Federation of Anti-Poll Tax groups, many of the marchers had responded to the appeal of non-payment based resistance and had little or no previous involvement in politics. Most anarchists and libertarian socialists in Scotland marched with the local anti-poll tax groups they are active in, such as Woodlands in Glasgow and Prestonfield in Edinburgh. A few others distributed *Clydeside Resistance* and *Counter Information* to bystanders and the sceptical.

The march also attracted a hundred or so anarchists from England and Wales. Most of these — such as the Anarchist Communist Federation — respected the mood and determination prevalent in Scotland to maximise the involvement in the campaign and argue constantly for open decision-making and against the dangers of manipulation by 'Militant' and other Trotskyites.

At the rally in Alexandra Park on a rain-soaked hillside the speeches were predictably boring and dominated by 'Militant'. By the time Dick Douglas of Dunfermline became the third MP to speak, the vast majority of the crowd had drifted away, satisfied that they had made their contribution to the demo and recharged in the determination to boost the local anti-poll tax activity and challenge the Union leadership's constraint on resistance in the workplace.

Half-way through Douglas's speech, a couple of 'anarchists' invaded the platform and made attempts to grab the microphone. Predictably they were hustled away by stewards and the police. A stunned and nonplussed crowd had little idea of what it was about, but would no doubt be treated to explanations further caricaturing 'mad' and 'infantile' anarchists. Understandably in the heat of the moment some local anarchists/Vegan Action activists identified with the 'comrades' being hustled away and were in fact threatened with arrest by the police.

This said, and after sober reflection, it is clear that the actions of these anarchists from down south who planned the action was wrong and misguided. Any association of such 'class war' anarchism with the heritage of Malatesta, Aldred and modern libertarian communism is spurious. Under the guise of attacking Party Vanguardians they adopt a superior, elitist group vanguard mentality themselves. Furthermore, they are a 'law unto themselves' whereby

no notice is taken of the views of local comrades or much thought given as to how such action would be perceived by those present.

It is time that comrades challenge this self-indulgent version of anarchism/left communism that is being peddled. Otherwise our ability to communicate our ideas will continually be undercut and rubbished by association. There will be occasions when rushing platforms will apply, but these will be situations when the object at the demo is to damp down protest and demoralise the participants (which was certainly not the mood at the Glasgow march) and when the majority of the people present have been leafleted with arguments stating clearly *why* action is necessary to (symbolically) overturn the domination of the platform.

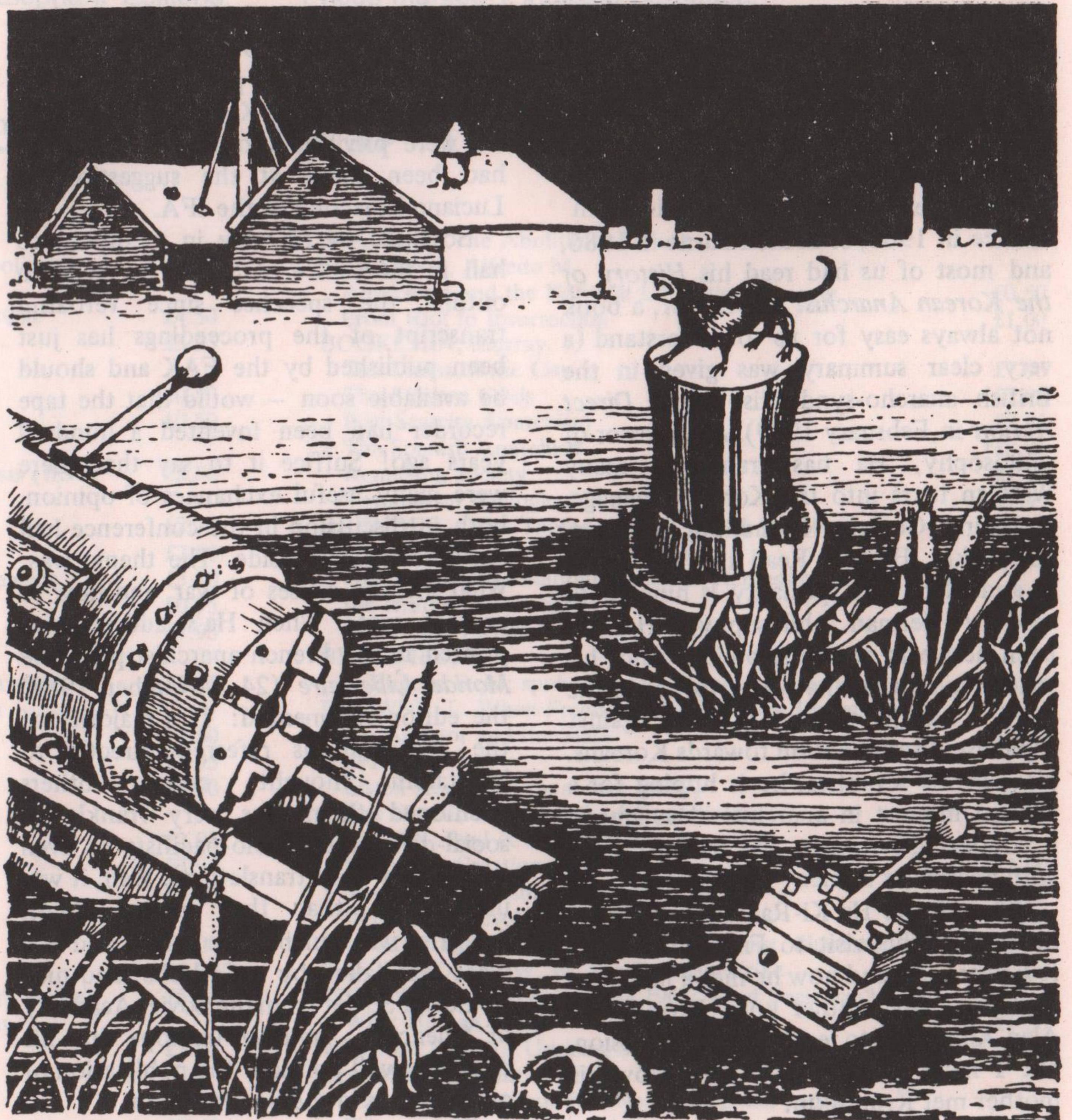
For many young people anarchy/anarchism is permeated with rebellion against authority. By dress, manner and

attitudes they separate themselves into a tribe of 'uncontrollables'. They are, therefore, ripe for manipulation by people who fetishise 'direct action' (i.e. stunts within the ideology of the spectacle) and who construct a group of solidarity which has nothing to do with class solidarity and winning the argument against the party vanguards.

The anti-poll tax issue (see *Counter Information* for updated coverage and *Organise* for a good article on why it is being introduced) presents the possibility of thousands of people beyond the ranks of hardened politicians being involved in open organisation. It is vital that anarchists/libertarian communists participate in this movement with the goal of enhancing mass open and critical involvement and abandon a mentality of seeking notoriety which can only strengthen the party and union leaderships they are supposedly directed against.

Jim McFarlane

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



From a position of advantage, this rat is watching a lathe sink in the mire.



# KOREAN ANARCHISTS

IT WAS strange to stand in the Independence Hall of Korea, a large modern museum intended, as the guide book says, 'to awaken the Korean national consciousness and promote patriotism', and to see in a display of the resistance to the Japanese occupation a section on 'The Anarchists'. In another room is a waxworks tableau of the 'Provisional Government' and an official pointed out one figure: 'He was the anarchist'.

'But Mr Ha', we asked our host, 'How could he be an anarchist if he was in the government?'

'Just as you had in Europe, in Spain for example — Garcia Oliver, he was somebody like that!'

In late October 1988 some two dozen anarchists from all over the world gathered in Seoul as guests of the Federation of Anarchists of Korea to participate in an International Seminar for World Peace. In *Freedom* (January 1989) we published the address by Ha Ki-Rak, the Secretary of the FAK: if one thing is clear it is that there are both linguistic and cultural differences between our comrades in Korea and those of us in the West. Here I shall attempt to answer the questions — What kind of anarchist movement is there in Korea? What have we to learn from the Koreans? How can we support them?

Some delegates had met Ha Ki-Rak in Venice in 1984, or in Melbourne in 1986, and most of us had read his *History of the Korean Anarchist Movement*, a book not always easy for us to understand (a very clear summary was given in the British anarcho-syndicalist paper *Direct Action* in February 1989). A professor of philosophy, Ha has translated many Western texts into the Korean language, including Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Herbert Read and Woodcock — and Marx (his speciality is nineteenth century German philosophy). He has been active in anarchist politics since his schooldays, when he was involved in the 1929 Kwangju student uprising against Japanese discrimination towards Koreans. Now in his seventies, he is hoping for a revived interest in anarchist ideas among a younger generation, and to form links with anarchists in many countries.

When I met Ha Ki-Rak at the airport, he recalled his visit to Freedom Press a few years ago, and how he met a man who told him, 'My mother knew Kropotkin'. Alan Albon was to remember the occasion, but I never heard the story of how his mother met Kropotkin.

In Britain we are fortunate in having a few good artists who are sympathetic to our ideas and support us: in Korea they are even luckier. Of the total cost of the Seminar of 45 million Won (the unit, the



At front: L. Loiacono; Charles Crute; Veteran of Korean Independence Movement; Augustin Seiichi Miura, editor of the Japanese anarchist paper *Libertaire*; Choi Yun Seok (in hat); Comrade of FAK.

Won, is approximately one thousand to the pound sterling) over half was raised by an exhibition of paintings by artists Choi Yun Seok and Kang Sin Seok, who we were privileged to meet. Invitations had been made at the suggestion of Luciano Loiacono of the IFA.

So there we all were in a conference hall in the centre of Seoul. No need to outline the speeches since verbatim transcript of the proceedings has just been published by the FAK and should be available soon — would that the tape recorder had been invented a hundred years ago! Suffice it to say that there were many useful exchanges of opinion, both in discussion in the conference hall and informally outside. The theme was: What are the causes of war, and how to prevent war? When Ha's address was printed in the French anarchist paper *Le Monde Libertaire* (24 November 1988) the editor commented: 'If a majority of the contributions referred directly to libertarian thought, certain others positioned themselves very frankly as social-democrats, eco-pacifists or even . . . soviets' (my translation). Well, it was unfortunate that the original Polish delegate was unable to travel and his place was taken by a Catholic; and nice to meet a Soviet from the Soviet Academy of Sciences — and let us hope that his Academy will consider the publication of our speeches in the Soviet Union.

Those of us who were anarchists at least could agree on this most fundamental issue, that war and the war economy is embedded in the State system, and that only the abolition of governments and

the creation of an anarchist world will see the abolition of war. I noticed that a number of the participants co-incidentally used the word 'myth', Stephen Roper from Melbourne, for example, pointing to the 'popular acceptance of the status quo' as being based on 'myths or unchallenged values'. The anarchist task is to challenge the myths on which the structure of our society is based.

But the question was interpreted more widely: as Ha said, 'Class struggles are also a kind of interior war', and I was interested to hear a paper on 'The present situation and prospects of labour problems in Korea' by Bae Shon-Keun.

Not all of us saw things from the same point of view: In the latest issue of *Fifth Estate* (winter 1988-89) Howard Besser writes: 'the four North Americans felt rather isolated, as the vast majority of the delegates took a syndicalist perspective. There were constant arguments between us and the others over issues centering around work and technology, with the North Americans being roundly criticised for demonstrating against nuke plants instead of trying to organise the workers there. To me it seemed like the anarchists from other parts of the world had not gone beyond the anarchist ideology of 50 or 100 years ago'. A surprising and interesting point of view — clearly this seminar was more than a two-way process, and I look forward to the account promised for a future issue of *Fifth Estate*.

The same paper also includes a long and detailed eye-witness account of a student demonstration, which I recommend to anyone interested in Korean



# Freedom Press Bookshop

## BOOKS IN STOCK APRIL 1989

FREEDOM PRESS has been for the past 100 years publishers and distributors of the alternative social and political press. As well as *Freedom* monthly (founded 1886) and the new quarterly journal *The Raven* (1987), Freedom Press are publishers of more than thirty titles dealing not only with the philosophy of anarchism but with its practical application to the problems of modern society. Such titles as *Questioning Technology* by eminent American writers, *The Future of Technics and Civilization* by Lewis Mumford and *Anarchy in Action* by Colin Ward, address the problems of today and tomorrow.

Freedom Press Distributors are the European distributors of Black Rose Books of Montreal — publishers of authors such as Murray Bookchin and Noam Chomsky and a wide range of titles on sociological and political themes. Freedom Press Distributors are also distributors of the Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company of Chicago — the oldest independent labour publisher in the USA and founded, like Freedom Press, in 1886, publishers of the noted *Haymarket Scrapbook* and works supporting a libertarian and non-bureaucratic socialism. Freedom Press Distributors also distribute the titles of a number of small presses including Michael E. Coughlin of Minnesota, See Sharp Press of San Francisco, Elephant Editions, Hooligan Press and Rebel Press.

FREEDOM PRESS BOOKSHOP in Angel Alley  
84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX. Telephone 01-247 9249. Open Monday to Friday 10.00am to 6.00pm, Saturday 10.00am to 4.00pm. Underground Aldgate East (Whitechapel Art Gallery exit), buses 25 and 253. Cheques accepted with a cheque card.

### Prepaid orders by post

Inland: All Section 1 (FPD) titles supplied post free, other titles add 10% part postage and packing.

Overseas: All Section 1 (FPD) titles add 10%, other titles add 20% part postage and packing.

Periodicals: We are able to supply the periodicals in Section 3 subject to availability. Please add 20p postage *per copy* (except *Freedom* and *The Raven*) unless ordering with books. We regret that due to pressure of work we cannot handle subscriptions.

While every attempt will be made to supply titles at the published price, from time to time prices do go up (and even down) due to unavoidable circumstances, especially on imported titles.

Prices marked † indicate hardback.

Titles marked ★ — no specific author.

## Section 1: FPD Titles

ABDEL-RAHMIN, M. Strike Breaking in Essex (miners' pickets and police)	£2.50	BLACK, B. The Abolition of Work	£0.60
ADAMIC, Louis A Century of Class Violence in America 1830-1930	£4.50	BONANNO, Alfredo M. Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle	£0.50
ADELMAN, W. Haymarket Revisited	£3.95	From Riot to Insurrection	£1.00
ALDRED, Guy. Pioneers of Anti-Parliamentarism	£0.50	BOOKCHIN, Murray. The Limits of the City	£7.95
Studies in Communism	£0.50	The Modern Crisis	£7.95
ALTGELD, John P. Reasons for Pardoning the Haymarket Anarchists (1893)	£2.50	Post-Scarcity Anarchism	£7.95
AMERINGER, O. Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam (political satire)	£2.75	The Spanish Anarchists	†£8.95
ARDITTI, Rita (ed.) Science and Liberation	£7.95	Remaking Society	£7.95
ARSHINOV, P. History of the Makhnovist Movement	£5.00	Towards an Ecological Society	£7.95
AVRICH, P. Bakunin and Nechaev	£0.75	BRENDEL, Cajo. Theses on the Chinese Revolution	£1.00
BABIN, R. The Nuclear Power Game	£7.95	BRINTON, M. Authoritarian Conditioning, Sexual Repression and the Irrational in Politics	£1.50
BAKUNIN, M. God and the State (with introduction by Paul Avrich)	£3.15	The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control	£3.95
Marxism, Freedom and the State (edited with a biographical sketch by K. J. Kenafick)	£1.50	BROMMEL, B. J. Eugene Debs: spokesman for labour and socialism	£4.50
On Anarchy (edited by Sam Dolgoff)	£7.95	BROWNE, L. When Freedom Was Lost: the Unemployed, the Agitator and the State	£7.95
The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State	£0.30	BUFE, C. Listen Anarchist! (anarchist ethics)	£0.75
BAY, C. and WALKER, C. Civil Disobedience, Theory and Practice	£2.95	The Heretic's Handbook of Quotations	£7.95
BAYER, Osvaldo. Anarchism and Violence	£3.95	CARDAN, Paul (C. Castoriadis) History as Creation	£1.80
BALDELLI, Giovanni. Social Anarchism	£3.30	Modern Capitalism and Revolution	£3.00
BAXENDALE, L. The Encroachment (the usurpation of power)	£5.00	Redefining Revolution	£1.00
On Comedy: The Beano and Ideology	£5.00	CARRINGTON, L. Down Below (surrealist, illustrated)	£3.50
BEATON, L. Shifting Horizons (women in miners' strike)	£5.65	CARWARDINE, W. H. The Pullman Strike	£2.95
BENN, M. and WORPOLE, K. Death in the City (in police custody)	£3.95	CERNY, Petr. Czechoslovakia 1968: What Socialism? What Human Face?	£1.50
BERKMAN, Alexander. ABC of Anarchism	£2.00	★Ceylon: The JVP Uprising of April 1971	£1.20
The 'Anti-Climax'	£0.45	CHOMSKY, Noam. After the Cataclysm: Post-war Indo-China and the Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology	£5.95
The Russian Tragedy	£2.50	The Culture of Terrorism	£8.95
BERNERI, Marie-Louise. Journey Through Utopia	£4.50	The Fateful Triangle: Israel, the United States and the Palestinians	£7.95
Neither East Nor West (selected writings 1939-48, including 16 anti-war cartoons by John Olday)	£4.50	Language and Politics	£12.95
		On Power and Ideology	£7.95



CHOMSKY, Noam.			
Pirates and Emperors: international terrorism in the real world	£7.95	JACKSON, B. The Black Flag (Sacco & Vanzetti)	†£2.95
Turning the Tide: the US and Latin America	£8.95	JONES. The Autobiography of Mother Jones (US labour organiser)	£4.75
The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism	£6.95	KAKU, M. and AXELROD, D. To Win a Nuclear War: The Pentagon's Secret War Plans	£10.50
CHRISTIE, Stuart.		KELLEY, F. The Autobiography of Florence Kelley (US labour organiser)	£5.50
The Christie File	£4.50	KERACHER, John. Wages and the Working Day	£1.00
Stefano della Chaie: Portrait of a Black Terrorist	£4.95	KOLLONTAI, Alexandra. The Workers' Opposition	£1.50
CHRISTIE, S. and MELTZER, A.		KORNBLUH, Joyce. Rebel Voices (IWW anthology)	£12.50
The Floodgates of Anarchy	£3.95	KROPOTKIN, Peter	
CLARK, J.		Act For Yourselves!	£2.50
The Anarchist Moment (reflections on culture, nature and power)	£7.95	Anarchism and Anarchist Communism	£1.75
Max Stirner's Egoism	£2.00	Appeal to the Young	£1.75
COHEN, Y. Women and Counter-Power	£5.50	Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow	£4.00
COUGHLIN, M. (ed.) Benjamin R. Tucker and the Champions of Liberty (a centenary anthology)	£5.50	The Great French Revolution 1789-93 (2 vols)	each £3.95
COULTER, J. State of Siege (policing in miners' strike)	£3.50	Memoirs of a Revolutionist (introduction by George Woodcock)	£10.50
DANA, C. Proudhon and his 'Bank of the People'	£3.50	Mutual Aid (new edition)	£5.00
DARROW, Clarence. Crime and Criminals (address to prisoners in Cook County Jail)	£1.50	Mutual Aid (introduction by George Woodcock)	£10.50
DEBORD, Guy. Society of the Spectacle	£3.50	The State: Its Historic Role	£1.75
DEBRESSON, C. Understanding Technological Change	£9.95	The Wage System	£0.25
DE CLEYRE, Voltairine. The First Mayday: The Haymarket Speeches 1895-1910	£2.40	KRUGER, Henrik. The Great Heroin Coup (drugs, intelligence and international fascism)	£5.95
DOLGOFF, Sam.		LAFARGUE, Paul. The Right to be Lazy	£1.95
The Anarchist Collectives: Workers' Self-Management in Spain 1936-1939	£7.95	LAMB, David. Mutinies 1917-1920	£1.50
The Cuban Revolution	£5.95	LANE, Joseph. An Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto	£0.80
★Drugs	£0.30	★Let's Sing in the National Interest (protest songs)	£0.50
★Everything You Ever Wanted to Know About Anarchism But Were Afraid to Ask	£0.90	LEVAL, G. Collectives in the Spanish Revolution	†£8.00
FABBRI, Luigi. Bourgeois Influences on Anarchism	£1.00	LEYS, S.	
★Fighting the Revolution		Broken Images: Essays on Chinese Culture and Politics	†£4.50
1. Zapata, Makhno and Durruti	£1.00	The Chairman's New Clothes: Mao and the Cultural Revolution	†£4.95
2. Louise Michel and Peter Kropotkin	£1.20	★Like a Summer With a Thousand Julys (the 1981 riots)	£1.50
FLEMING, J. and WILSON, P. Semiotext USA (situationist, illustrated)	£10.00	LOOMIS, M. Alternative Americas (decentralism and anarchism)	£3.00
FLEMING, M. The Geography of Freedom	£8.95	MACDONALD, O. Polish August: Documents of the Polish Workers' Rebellion	£3.00
★France Goes Off the Rails (worker and student actions)	£1.00	MACLEAN, E. Between the Lines: How to Detect Bias and Propaganda in the News and Everyday Life	£9.50
★From Beneath the Keyboard (stories and poems)	£2.00	MAILER, Phil. Portugal, the Impossible Revolution	£4.00
★Freedom: A Hundred Years, October 1886 to October 1986 (centenary edition)	†£10.00	MALATESTA, Errico.	
FREEMAN, J. and LEVINE, K. Untying the Knot: Feminism, Anarchism and Organisation	£0.60	Anarchy	£1.50
FUSFELD, D. The Rise and Repression of Radical Labor	£1.75	Fra Contadini: a dialogue on anarchy	£0.95
GARCIA, M. Miguel Garcia's Story (autobiography)	£1.20	Life and Ideas	£4.00
GILBERT, Amos. The Life of Thomas Skidmore (American revolutionary, 1790-1832)	£2.65	MALRAUX, A. The Conquerors (Fiction)	£3.95
GILPIN, T. On Strike for Respect: The Yale Strike 1984-5	£3.50	MARCY, Mary E. You Have No Country: workers' struggle against war	£2.95
GODWIN, W. The Anarchist Writings of William Godwin (ed. Marshall, P.)	£3.50	MARSHALL, P. William Blake: Visionary Anarchist	£2.00
GOLDMAN, Emma. Introduction to 'My Disillusionment in Russia'	£0.20	MARSHALL, SCOTT and HUNTER. The Iran Contra Connection	£10.50
GOMEZ CASAS, Juan. Anarchist Organisation: The History of the FAI	£8.95	MARTIN, Brian. Uprooting War	£5.00
GORMAN, John. Lively as a Linnet: Selected poems	£1.00	MASTIÑ, P. The Faction File (political cartoons)	£2.00
GRAFTON, Pete. You, You and You: People Out of Step with World War Two	£1.00	McKERCHER, W. Freedom and Authority	£8.95
GROSS, Bertram. Friendly Fascism: the new face of power in America	£8.95	MELNYK, G. The Search for Community: From Utopia to a Co-operative Society	£7.95
GYORGY, A. and friends. No Nukes: Everyone's Guide to Nuclear Power	£7.95	METT, Ida. The Kronstadt Uprising	£1.50
HALDEMAN-JULIUS, E. The Meaning of Atheism	£0.75	MICHEL, L. The Red Virgin: memoirs of Louise Michel	£6.00
HALL, Covington. Dreams and Dynamite (poems)	£2.65	MITCHELL, H. L. Roll the Union On (a pictorial history of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union)	£5.50
HARPER, Clifford. The Education of Desire (Illustrated)	£1.95	★Moot Point (various issues debated by anarchists)	£1.00
HARRISON, Frank. The Modern State	£6.95	MORGAN, R. The Miners and Other Stories (fiction)	£3.00
★Haymarket Heritage: The Memoirs of Irving S. Abrams (eds. Roediger and Bounes)	£6.95	MOSELEY, Brian. Marxism versus Reality	£1.00
★Haymarket Scrapbook (eds. D. Roediger and F. Rosemont)	£10.00	MUMFORD, L. The Future of Technics and Civilisation	£3.50
★The Heretic's Guide to the Bible	£0.75	★On the Poverty of Student Life	£0.75
HERMAN, E. S. The Real Terror Network: Terrorism in Fact and Propaganda	£7.95	OPPENHEIMER, F. The State	£6.95
HEWITT, M. (ed.) 1984 and After (trends in authoritarianism)	£7.95	PANNEKOEK, A. Workers' Councils: Parts 3 and 4	each £0.50
HOLTERMAN, Thom. Law and Anarchism	£6.95	★Paris May '68	£1.50
HOME, S. The Assault on Culture: Utopian Currents from Lettrisme to Class War	£3.50	PARRY, R. The Bonnot Gang (French illegalists)	£4.95
HUCK, G. and KONOPACKI, M. Bye! American (150 US Labour Cartoons)	£5.50	PATTON, C. Sex and Germs: The Politics of AIDS	£7.95
★I, Claudia: feminism unveiled	£1.20	PERLMAN, F.	
★Ideal Home: survival edition (Alternative Housing Options)	£2.40	The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism	£0.99
IGOR, Boy. And Yet It Moves (the realisation and suppression of science and technology)	£3.00	The Reproduction of Daily Life	£0.75
★International Dockers' Struggles in the Eighties	£1.00	PIKE, D. Anarcho-Pacifism: Questions and Answers	£1.40
★IWW Songs — To Fan the Flames of Disenchantment	£1.75	POTTER, Bob. Vietnam — Whose Victory?	£1.00
		★Printers Playtime (the press barons and new technology)	£0.90
		PYM, Denis. The Employment Question	£2.00
		★Questioning Technology: a critical anthology (eds John Zerzan and Alice Carnes)	£5.00
		★Quiet Rumours: an anarcha-feminist anthology	£1.80
		★Radio is my Bomb (DIY manual for pirates)	£2.40
		★The Raven: Volume 1 with index	†£18.00
		REEVE, A. Notes from a Waiting Room: anatomy of a political prisoner	£1.20
		REICH, W. Sexpol: Essays 1929-34	†£12.00



★The Retort, 1942-51 (edited by Holley R. Cantine jr, Match Historic Reprint series)	£1.50	miners' strike)	£1.95
RICHARDS, Vernon.		TELLEZ, Antonio. Sabate: Guerrilla Extraordinary	£2.95
The Impossibilities of Social Democracy	£2.00	THOMAS, Edith. Louise Michel	£7.95
Lessons of the Spanish Revolution (3rd edition)	£4.00	THOMPSON, Fred W.	
Protest Without Illusions	£3.00	The IWW: First 70 Years 1905-1975	£4.00
RIEBE, Ernest. Mr Block (24 IWW cartoons)	£3.50	Joe Hill, IWW Songwriter	£1.50
ROCKER, Rudolf.		THORPE, Dave. Doc Chaos: The Chernobyl Effect (illustrated fiction)	£2.50
Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism (with a new introduction by Nicolas Walter)	£1.25	TODD, Nigel. Roses and Revolutionists: Clousden Hill Free Communist and Co-operative Colony 1894-1902	£2.79
Anarcho-Syndicalism	£2.50	★Towards a Citizens Milita: anarchist alternatives to NATO and the Warsaw Pact	£1.50
Nationalism and Culture	†£15.00	TRAVEN, B. To the Honourable Miss S, and other stories	£4.00
ROOUM, Donald.		VANEIGEM, Raoul. The Revolution of Everyday Life	£4.50
Wildcat Anarchist Comics	£1.50	★Very Nice Work If You Can Get It: the socially useful production debate	£4.95
Wildcat Strikes Again	£1.95	VOLINE. The Unknown Revolution	£7.95
ROSEMONT, F. (ed). Arsenal: Surrealist Subversion	£8.95	WALKER, Martin.	
ROUSSOPOULOS, D. (ed).		A Turn of the Screw (aftermath of miners' strike)	£3.95
The Anarchist Papers (essays by prominent anarchists)	£6.95	With Extreme Prejudice: an investigation of police vigilantism in Manchester	£3.50
The Coming of World War Three	£7.95	WARD, Colin.	
The Radical Papers (1) and (2): alternative views on current affairs	each £6.95	Anarchy in Action	£3.00
RUHLE, Otto. The Struggle Against Fascism Begins with the Struggle Against Bolshevism	£0.50	The Crisis of Socialism	£0.50
SALUSBURY, M. Thatcherism Goes to College: The Conservative Assault on Higher Education	£4.95	A Decade of Anarchy (selections from Anarchy 1961-70)	£5.00
SARGENT, L. (ed). Women and Revolution: The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism	£6.95	Housing: An Anarchist Approach	£2.25
SAUNDERS, J. Across Frontiers: International Support for the Miners' Strike	£6.95	Utopia (dreams of the good life)	£1.50
SHAR, I. Critical Teaching and Everyday Life	£6.95	WESCHLER, L. Solidarity: Poland in the Season of its Passions	†£9.95
SIMON, Henri. Poland 1980-1982	£3.50	WHEELER, A. M. The Roads They Made (women in Illinois history)	£4.75
SINCLAIR, U. The Flivver King (a story of Ford-America)	£5.50	★Why Work? Arguments for the Leisure Society	£3.50
SOLANIS, V. SCUM Manifesto	£0.75	WILDE, Oscar. The Soul of Man Under Socialism	£2.50
SOUCHY, A. et al. The May Days: Barcelona 1937	£2.50	WILLIS, Liz. Women in the Spanish Revolution	£0.45
SPECTACULAR TIMES		WITHAM, J. Hearts and Minds (women in miners' strike)	£4.95
Animals	£0.90	★Without a Trace (forensic manual for you and me)	£2.00
The Bad Days Will End	£0.50	WOODCOCK, George. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon	£8.95
Bigger Cages, Longer Chains	£0.90	★World Inequality: Origins and Perspectives of the World System (ed I. Wallerstein)	£4.50
Buffo!	£1.20	★Written in Flames (naming the British ruling class)	£1.50
Cities of Illusion	£0.60	★A Year of Our Lives: Hatfield Main, a colliery in the great coal strike	£2.40
The Spectacle: A Skeleton Key	£0.60	★You Can't Blow Up a Social Relationship: the anarchist case against terrorism	£1.00
SPRING, Joel. A Primer of Libertarian Education	£7.95	ZEISLING, M. No Statist Solutions: Anarchism and 'The Troubles' in Northern Ireland	£1.95
★Squatting in West Berlin	£2.00	ZERZAN, J. Elements of Refusal (essays on power and domination)	£5.95
★Strange Victories: the anti-nuclear movement in the US and Europe	£1.95		
STRONG, A-L. I Change Worlds (the life of radical journalist Anna-Louise Strong)	£4.95		
SUTCLIFFE, L. Let Them Eat Coal (DHSS politics in the			

## Section 2: Other Titles

★Anarchism and Feminism: Women Workers and TUs	£0.35	CONSTANTINI, Flavio. The Art of Anarchy	£3.00
★Anarchism As We See It (Anarchist Communist Federation)	£0.30	CRICK, B. George Orwell: A Life	£6.95
★The Anarchist Reader (ed. Woodcock)	£4.95	CROALL, J. Neill of Summerhill	£4.95
★Articles of Peace: Celebrating Fifty Years of Peace News	£4.95	CROUCH, David and WARD, Colin. The Allotment: Its Landscape and Culture	†£13.95
AVRICH, Paul.		DRINNON, Richard. Rebel in Paradise (biography of Emma Goldman)	£10.95
An American Anarchist (life of Voltairine de Cleyre)	†£25.50	FERLINGHETTI, Lawrence.	
Anarchist Portraits	†£17.95	Endless Life (selected poems)	£5.65
The Haymarket Tragedy	£6.25	Pictures of the Gone World	£2.95
The Modern School Movement (anarchism and education in the US)	£11.95	FISHMAN, William J.	
BEALE, A. Against All War: Fifty Years of Peace News	£1.50	East End Jewish Radicals	†£18.95
BERTELL, R. No Immediate Danger: Prognosis for a Radioactive Earth	£5.95	East End 1888	†£18.95
BLACK, B. The Abolition of Work and Other Essays	£5.95	The Streets of East London (illustrated)	£7.95
BORKENAU, Franz. The Spanish Cockpit	£5.95	FOUCAULT, M. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison	£6.95
BRAILSFORD, H. N. The Levellers and the English Revolution (2nd edition, 1983)	£6.95	FROMM, E. Fear of Freedom	£5.95
BRENAN, Gerald. The Spanish Labyrinth	£11.95	GASCOYNE, D. A Short Survey of Surrealism	£5.95
BRETON, Andre. What is Surrealism?	£9.50	GIBSON, I. The Assassination of Federico Garcia Lorca	£4.50
BUHLE, P. et al (eds.) Free Spirits: Annals of the Insurgent Imagination	£6.95	GILL, D. and DALLAS, G. The Unknown Army: Mutinies in the British Army in World War One	£5.95
BUÑUEL, Luis. My Last Breath	£4.50	GODWIN, William.	
CALDWELL, J. Come Dungeons Dark: The Life and Times of Guy Aldred	£6.95	Damon and Delila (ed. Peter Marshall)	†£14.95
CARTER, April. Direct Action	£0.60	Enquiry Concerning Political Justice	£6.95
COMFORT, Alex.		Caleb Williams, or Things As They Are	£4.95
Authority and Delinquency	†£10.95	GOLDMAN, Emma.	
More Joy of Sex	£3.95	Anarchism and Other Essays	£3.95
Tetrarch (fantasy)	£4.99	Living My Life (autobiography, 2 vols.)	each £6.50
		Vision on Fire	£7.00



GOODMAN, Paul.			
A Message to the Military Industrial Complex	£0.50		
Hawkweed (poems)	£1.25		
GORMAN, John. Banner Bright (illustrated history of trade union banners)	£9.95		
GOULD, Dennis. Alphabet Poems	£1.00		
GRASS, G. The Tin Drum	£4.95		
HA KI-RAK. History of Korean Anarchist Movement	£2.00		
HARPER, Clifford. Anarchy: A Graphic Guide	£5.95		
HASEK, V. The Good Soldier Svejk	£7.50		
HILL, Christopher.			
The World Turned Upside Down	£6.95		
Winstanley: 'The Law of Freedom' and other writings	†£5.00		
HOLLOWAY, Mark. Heavens on Earth	£4.95		
HOLT, J.			
How Children Fail	£4.95		
How Children Learn	£4.95		
ILLICH, I.			
Deschooling Society	£3.50		
Limits to Medicine	£3.95		
JOLL, James. The Anarchists (2nd edition)	£9.95		
KROPOTKIN, Peter.			
Memoirs of a Revolutionist (intro by Nicolas Walter, illustrated)	£8.95		
Memoirs of a Revolutionist (abridged)	£6.95		
LAING, R. D. Sanity, Madness and the Family	£4.95		
LE GUIN, Ursula. The Dispossessed (utopian fantasy)	£2.50		
★Liberty 1881-1908: A Comprehensive Index	†£25.00		
LONGMORE, C. The IWA Today	£0.50		
LOW, M. and BREA, J. Red Spanish Notebook (day-to-day picture of the revolution)	£5.50		
MALET, M. Nestor Makhno in the Russian Civil War	†£35.00		
MARSHALL, Peter.			
Cuba Libre: Breaking the Chains?	£6.95		
William Godwin	†£13.50		
MASREEL, F. Passionate Journey: A Novel in 165 Woodcuts	£4.99		
MAXIMOFF, G. P. My Social Credo	£0.50		
McLAY, F. Workers' City: The Real Glasgow Stands Up	£2.95		
MELTZER, A. Anarchism: Arguments For and Against	£0.80		
MELVILLE, A. and JOHNSON, C.			
Immunity Plus: How to Be Healthy in an Age of New Infections	£3.95		
Alternatives to Drugs	£4.95		
MILLER, Martin A. Kropotkin	£6.95		
MINTZ, Jerome R. The Anarchists of Casas Viejas	£8.75		
MITCHELL, A.			
The Bodyguard (futurist)	£3.99		
On the Beach at Cambridge (poems)	£3.50		
For Beauty Douglas: Collected Poems	£6.95		
MITCHELL, T. Dario Fo, People's Court Jester	£4.95		
MOORE, A. Outrageous Tales From the Old Testament	£4.95		
MORRIS, William.			
News From Nowhere (unabridged)	£5.95		
News From Nowhere (selected writings and designs)	£4.50		
William Morris's Socialist Diary (ed. Boos)	£3.50		
The Wood Beyond the World	£5.05		
MORROW, F. Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain	£5.75		
★No Pasaran! Photographs and Posters of the Spanish Civil War	£5.95		
NEILL, A. S. Summerhill	£4.95		
NORDHOFF, C. Communistic Societies of the USA	£5.95		
★Northern Ireland: Looking Through the Violence	£0.70		
★Northern Ireland: Non-violent Perspectives	£0.70		
OLIVER, Hermia. The International Anarchist Movement in Mid-Victorian London	†£19.95		
ORWELL, George.			
Homage to Catalonia	£2.95		
Nineteen Eighty Four	£2.95		
OSTERGAARD, Geoffrey.			
Non-violent Revolution in India	†£19.95		
Resisting the Nation State	£0.45		
PAINE, Thomas. The Rights of Man	£2.95		
PARINAUD, A. The Unspeakable Confessions of Salvador Dali	£3.95		
PHILP, M. Godwin's Political Justice	£12.95		
PIERCY, M. Woman on the Edge of Time (Utopian fiction)	£3.95		
★The Poll Tax (Anarchist Communist Federation)	£0.30		
★Question Myth and Nationalism (Australian anti-racist mag.)	£1.50		
REXROTH, Kenneth. An Autobiographical Novel	†£8.95		
ROCKER, Rudolf.			
Anarcho-Syndicalism (with preface by Noam Chomsky)	£7.75		
The Methods of Anarcho-Syndicalism	£0.50		
The Tragedy of Spain	£1.20		
ROSEMONT, Franklin. Andre Breton and the First Principles of Surrealism	£6.00		
ROTHSTEIN, Andrew. The Soldiers' Strikes of 1919	£3.95		
SECRET, M. Salvador Dali, Surrealist Jester	£4.95		
SHELLEY, M. Frankenstein	£3.50		
SHEPARD, O. (ed.). The Heart of Thoreau's Journals	£3.60		
SHIPLEY, S. Club Life and Socialism in Mid-Victorian London	£3.50		
SMITH, K. Free is Cheaper	†£7.95		
★Squatters Handbook (9th edition)	£0.60		
★Strike Action	£0.20		
SZASZ, T. The Myth of Mental Illness	£3.50		
TAYLOR, M. Community, Anarchy and Liberty	£8.50		
THOMAS, Hugh. The Spanish Civil War	£8.95		
THOREAU, Henry David.			
On the Duty of Civil Disobedience	£0.50		
Walden, and Civil Disobedience	£3.95		
TIPPETT, Michael. Abundance of Creation	£0.45		
TOLSTOY, N.			
On Education	£2.50		
Letter to a Hindu	£0.45		
TOMALIN, C. Life and Death of Mary Wollstonecraft	£5.95		
TRESSELL, R. The Ragged Trousered Philanthropist	£3.95		
VEYSEY, L. The Communal Experience (anarchist and mystical communities in twentieth century America)	£8.25		
WALTER, Nicolas. The Anarchists of Chicago	£0.50		
WARD, Colin.			
The Child in the Country	†£12.95		
When We Build Again	£4.50		
WELLER, Ken. Don't Be a Soldier! The Anti-War Movement in North London 1914-18	£3.50		
WHITMAN, Walt. Leaves of Grass (poetry)	£3.50		
WILDE, Oscar. De Profundis (selected writings)	£2.50		
WOLLSTONECRAFT, Mary.			
Vindication of the Rights of Woman	£3.50		
Mary, and the Wrongs of Woman	£2.75		
WOODCOCK, George.			
Anarchism	£6.95		
A George Woodcock Reader (ed. Doug Fetherling)	£7.50		
★Workers Autonomy	£0.80		
YERRILL, P. and ROSSER, I. Revolutionary Unionism in Latin America: the FORA in Argentina	£1.50		
YOUNG, W. and KAISER, D. E. Postmortem: New Evidence in the Case of Sacco and Vanzetti	£9.25		

## Section 3: Periodicals

AMNESTY	Monthly	£0.60	LE MONDE LIBERTAIRE (French Anarchist Federation)	Weekly	£0.75
ASYLUM For Democratic Psychiatry	Occasional	£0.75	LIBED (Magazine for the Liberation of Learning)	Quarterly	£0.50
BLACK FLAG	Monthly	£0.30	OPEN ROAD (Vancouver)	Quarterly	£1.00
CLASS WAR	Monthly	£0.30	ORGANISE For Class Struggle Anarchism (Anarchist-Communist Federation)	Monthly	£0.30
DIRECT ACTION (Direct Action Movement)	Monthly	£0.30	OUR GENERATION (Toronto Anarchist Journal)	Biennial	£2.00
FIFTH ESTATE (Detroit)	Quarterly	£1.00	PEACE NEWS	Fortnightly	£0.80
FREEDOM	Monthly	£0.50	PROCESSED WORLD (Art and Technology mag — California)	Biennial	£2.00
GRAPEVINE	Quarterly	£0.70	THE RAVEN	Quarterly	£2.50
GREEN ANARCHIST	Quarterly	£0.50	RESURGENCE (Radical Ecology Magazine)	Monthly	£1.80
GREEN LINE (Green Politics and Lifestyle)	Monthly	£0.60	RIVISTA ANARCHICA (Milan)	Monthly	£0.75
HERE AND NOW (Workers' Issues)	Occasional	£0.75	SCRAM (Safe Energy Journal)	Monthly	£0.75
INDEX ON CENSORSHIP	Monthly	£1.80	SOLIDARITY (Journal of Libertarian Socialism)	Quarterly	£0.80
INDUSTRIAL WORKER	Monthly	£0.30	VAGUE (Situationist)	Occasional	£3.50
INSURRECTION	Quarterly	£1.00			
JEWISH SOCIALIST	Quarterly	£1.20			
KICK IT OVER (Toronto)	Quarterly	£0.75			



politics, though authenticity is not aided by publication over a pseudonym — unless there was a ghost at the seminar. Yes, I did go to a university campus and saw part of one of the demonstrations, and I met and talked with some students. My impression is that the demonstrators are either Marxist or just plain nationalist, with little awareness of anarchist ideas. There is some public sympathy with some of the students' criticisms of the government, naturally enough, but they are also popularly believed to be in the pay of Kim Il-Sung, dictator of the North, which is about as probable as the idea of the British students who demonstrated outside the American Embassy in 1968 were in the pay of Moscow.

So what sort of a country is Korea? After the Civil War of the 1950s which divided the country, the North was left with the natural resources and the South with little but agriculture, hence it has been obliged to import raw materials and export finished goods. Free organisation of labour is not allowed, and attempts to form trade unions have been met with considerable hostility by bosses, gangs of thugs being hired to break up meetings and demonstrations and people have been hospitalised. This seems to be common knowledge, and it is said that the police turn a blind eye to such things.

One cannot fail to be aware of the presence just outside Seoul of large military camps and the young conscripts in uniform on the streets at weekends. I heard they have to serve for three years and naturally some try to avoid it. The presence of aircraft landing strips at the side of motorways, and the fact that the shopping arcades which run under the main streets of Seoul have been designed as bomb-proof shelters are reminders of the ever-present threat of military invasion from the North. The desire for unification between North and South is a real one for many Koreans, and not just a political issue, since the Civil War not only divided the country but separated families; but this is something which cuts across differences of political opinion.

What sort of an anarchist movement is there in Korea? The short answer is a very small one, and with no more political significance than we have here in Britain. The key point is that from 1910 to 1945 the country was occupied by Japan, and the anarchists formed one of the various groups which resisted the occupation. As a consequence, whereas in Europe the popular image of the anarchist is the little man with the cloak and bomb, in Korea the anarchists are popularly seen as patriots. But if they then explained that they wanted the peasants to take over the land and the workers to take over the factories, people might say, but you must be communists — which is a bad thing to be!

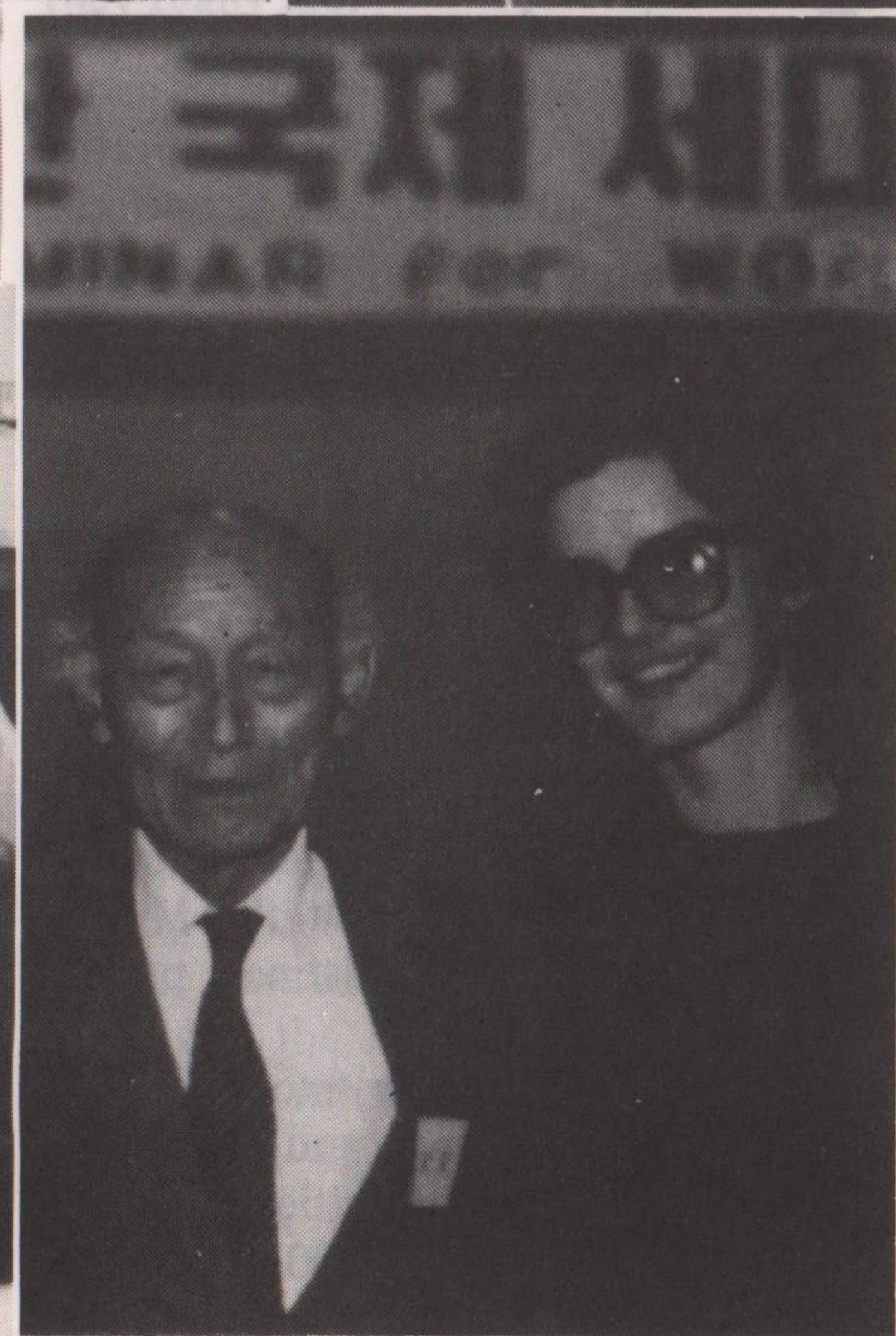
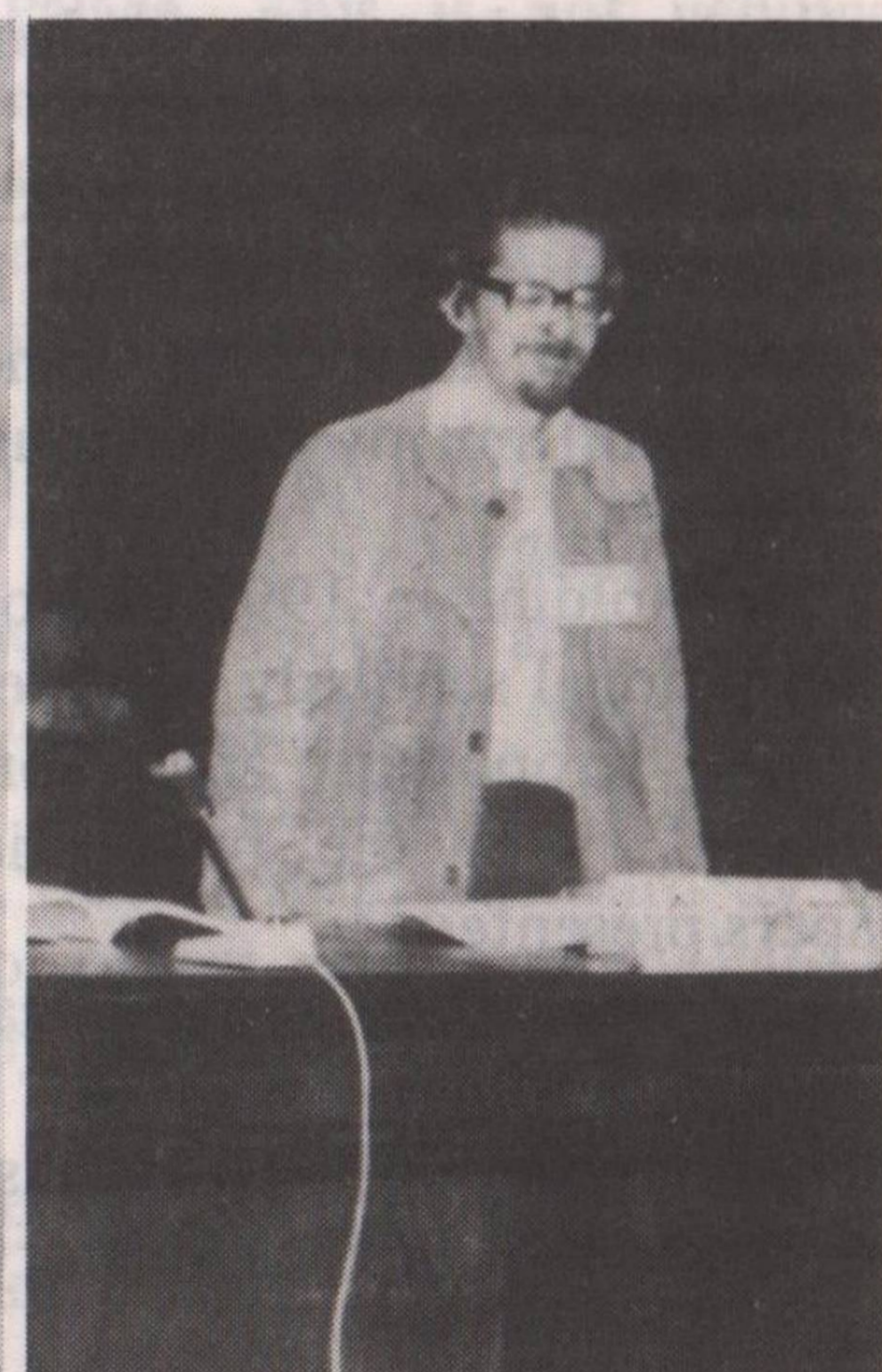
Furthermore, during the Japanese occupation a 'Provisional Government' existed, and organised a Korean Independence Army combining all the armed resistance units, surviving until the end of the Second World War when they all fell out over which faction was going to run the country. When we read a 'History of the Korean Anarchist Movement' and find an 'anarchist' declaring at a conference in 1946: 'It seems that the word anarchism has been used as being synonymous with non-government in Korea. But it's a misinterpretation by Japanese scholars', what we are reading is a speech by Yu-Rim, 'the anarchist who entered the government' and whose waxworks effigy we can see in the museum. It is this which has so confused readers of the book, such as Fred Woodworth who wrote in *The Match* 83 (summer 1988): 'If this is anarchism, it is a sort that makes us shudder'. Of course it isn't anarchism, but the people we met decidedly are anarchists.

The movement today is made up of veterans of the anti-Japanese resistance together with some young people who have, as everywhere, become interested in

anarchist ideas. We find the same kind of cross-section of individuals as we have in Britain, say, including its share of eccentrics! I was rather humbled to find that the Koreans are rather better informed about our history than I am about theirs: Ha Ki-Rak can quote William Godwin's *Political Justice* — I had not heard of his Korean contemporary, Jeong Dasan (1760-1833), whose 'village land system' influenced the farmers revolution of 1894.

I cannot end without mentioning the beauty of the country, the friendliness of the Korean people, and the great hospitality shown to us by our comrades of the FAK. Korea is a fascinating country both culturally and politically, with a future which is uncertain but full of possibilities. I am sure that the International Seminar for World Peace is the start of a continuing interchange of ideas between ourselves and our Korean comrades. Anyone wishing to correspond with the FAK should write to: **International Peace Association, Room 602, Joong San B/D, 258-1 Chung Jin-Dong, Jong Ro-Gu, Seoul 110-130, Korea.**

Charles Crute





# Kropotkin Statue for Moscow

## Commission for the Study of the Creative Legacy of P. A. Kropotkin

The Commission for the study of the life and activity of P. A. Kropotkin is a public organisation, embracing representatives of academic, scientific, cultural and other institutions of the Soviet Union, as well as private individuals, engaged in perpetuating the memory of this outstanding Russian scientist and public figure. The forerunner of the Commission was the All-Russian Committee which functioned from 1921 to 1938 in Moscow.

## The Aim of the Commission

The Commission, founded in Moscow, has for its task the study and analysis of the different aspects of the creative legacy of P. A. Kropotkin, in connection with the approaching 150th anniversary of his birth in 1992.

## The Work of the Commission

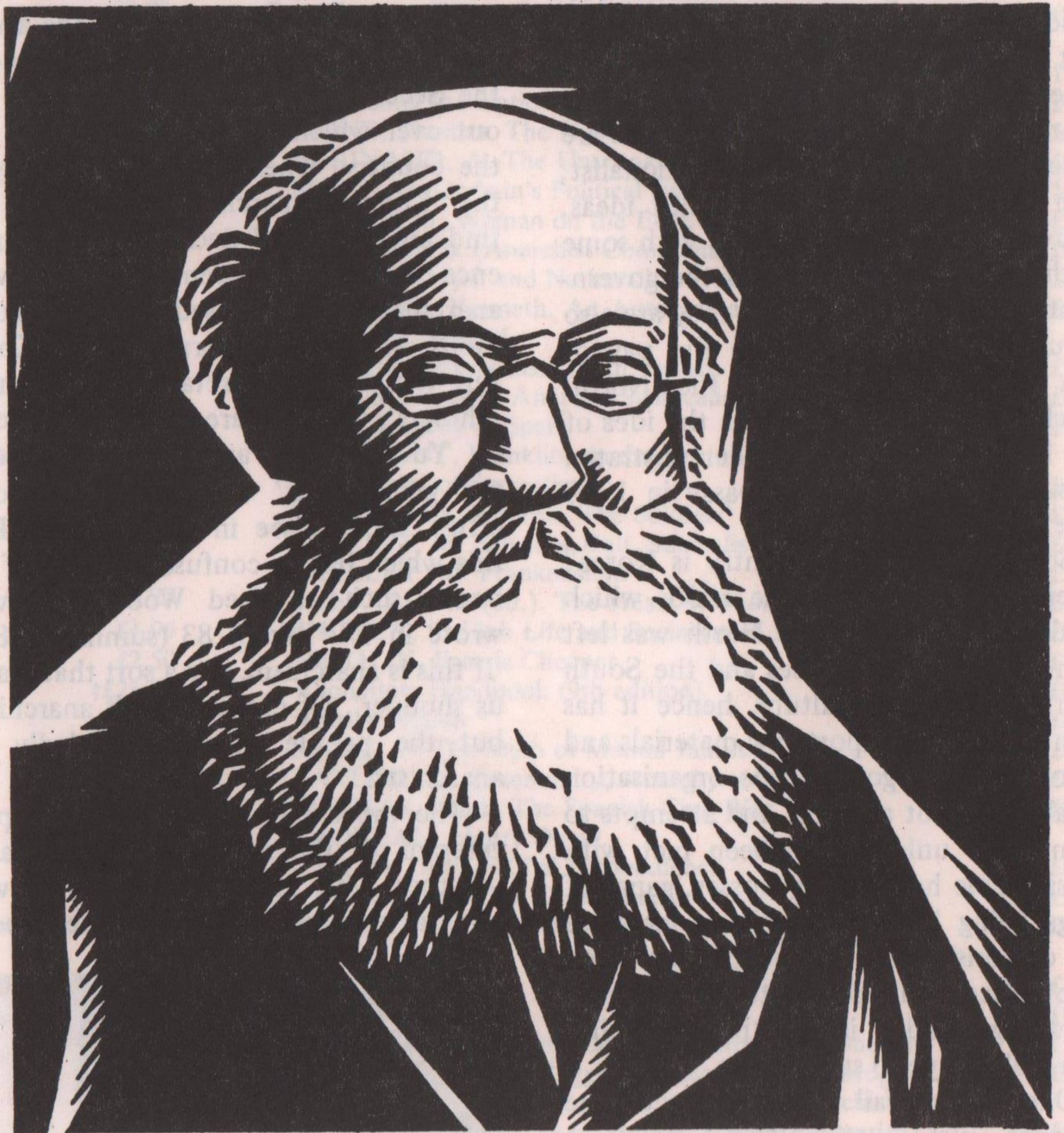
With this aim, the Commission plans to carry out a series of measures of both national and international character, such as the following:

1. The revival of the Kropotkin historical and revolutionary Memorial Museum in Moscow (in Kropotkin Lane) and its affiliate in Dmitrov in the house where he died in 1921.
2. The holding in 1992 in Moscow of an international scholarly conference on the theme 'Kropotkin and Contemporary Society', with the publication of the papers presented.
3. The preparation and publication of the selected writings of P. A. Kropotkin, including previously unpublished works on economics, ethics, history, biology, etc.
4. The erection of a statue of Kropotkin in the square in Moscow bearing his name.
5. The striking of a commemorative medal with the portrait of P. A. Kropotkin, together with a corresponding pin and postcard.

6. The opening of a P. A. Kropotkin library in Moscow.
7. The publication of a bibliographical guide to the works of P. A. Kropotkin and to works about him.
8. The arranging of popular lectures, scholarly papers, exhibitions, etc., devoted to the memory of P. A. Kropotkin, in cities and towns associated with his life and work.

## Membership of the Commission

There is a list of 25 members, including such well-known scholars as E. V. Starostin, P. N. Kropotkin, V. A. Markin, N. M. Pirumova, E. A. Taratuta, V. A. Tvardovskaya and A. Komin.



## Administrative Organs of the Commission

The administrative organs consist of an annual conference and, in the intervening periods, an elected council with elected chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and treasurer. The council will have the right to add new members.

## The Funds of the Commission

The funds of the Commission will consist of receipts from lectures, publications, etc.

## The Dissolution of the Commission

Upon completion of its programme, the Commission will disband.

*[Translated by Paul Avrigh  
May Day 1989]*

## Australia: Alternative Life Styles

ANARCHISTS on the east coast of Australia continued their involvement with the Down To Earth alternative lifestyle movement by conducting a bookstall and workshops at the Murray River site over the Christmas period, 1988.

The Murray River is more or less midway between Sydney and Melbourne and anarchists from both cities made the trip to relax with some 2,000 people in a pleasant bushland setting.

Black Rose Anarchist Collective has been attending these 'Confests' for some years, not just to sell books and to talk to people, but on occasions to get heavily involved in the serious organisation. The amount of self-management present among the directors of the confest varies from year to year, and problems to solve change depending on circumstances.

On one occasion, organisers undertook to carry out their own defence and security patrols in order to dispense with

the state constabulary who otherwise would have insisted on free and constant access. Self-managed security consisted mainly of talking people out of lighting fires and warding-off drunken youths intent in making trouble. It proved to be a useful learning experience.

This time members and ex-members of Black Rose confined themselves to leading discussions on anarchist-related topics such as non-violence and sexuality in collectives.

**Bob James**



# How do you put up with it?

THERE are philosophical anarchists who think and do not talk about it. There are vociferous anarchists who do nothing but talk about it. And there are crumpled, mild demented anarchists like me who have been reduced to a mental mutter.

What to do about anything these days gives you little choice between going to meetings and talking about things as they are and should be but never can be. Or you can spend your time writing to the papers and carefully threading anarchist thought into your message.

The main tripwire in being an anarchist by instinct is that your vision is far too clear for comfort within the sharp-practice police state. Even as you sit down and spoon up your muesli every morning, you know that on South Uist in the Hebrides a lot of young automaton soldiers are preparing to test-fire at least forty heat-seeking missiles costing £25,000 each just to keep their hands in against the time when we have to protect this island. My calculator battery is flat, so you can do the sum for yourself. Better still, do the sum after examining your latest income tax demand.

The financially-orientated anarchist will know that the cost of firing these dummy missiles is outweighed by the fact that excess profits from defence contracts now cost the taxpayer more than £1m a week. This is the traceable figure accounted for by an entirely separate department within the Ministry of Defence which handles defence contracts. Given independence, they have evolved a comfortable and chummy way of running things so that a certain margin is allowed for excess profits. Like many bad debts, some of the sums are hardly worth clawing back, because it costs too much in audit fees and staff time. After all, even the smallest commercial company has its fiddles, from pocketing a biro to falsifying expenses.

So what do we do about these and other things? As concerned anarchists we should do something, such as writing to the papers, bringing it up at meetings. We should demonstrate that the State is irresponsible by having a go at the Ministry of Defence, and asking them about the procedures for vetting contracts. We might even use their carefully-worded replies when we air the subject more widely. When free speech is used in this way, it can become a positive weapon, and it may cause two things to happen. The first is the addition of your name to the lists which are prepared and circulated by the Economic League to fee-paying clients who want to check up on subversives. The second may well be a visit by men in raincoats who flash their

warrant cards before stepping over your muesli-littered threshold to ask you a few questions. They have come fresh from the new Police Courtesy Course, and are schooled in techniques designed to mask interrogative methods. Writing to the Ministry of Defence can be bad for your health, but who cares about a few aches and pains?

The fact that we are making nuclear weapons like there is no tomorrow in the interests of Thatcher's belief that we must defend ourselves (but who is the enemy?) has practically dissolved our awareness of what is going on. CND is a quiet millpond. Ever since the Falklands Downing Street has persuaded us that all is well with the world and people like that silly Scargill were only out-of-line hooligans. We are encouraged to pay the fullest attention to the ebb and flow of interest rates while knowing that real interest rates now stand at their highest since the Napoleonic Wars. And it is disappointing to know that since 1979 more than 100,000 families have lost their homes due to a failure to keep up their mortgage payments. We now refer to our 'record' in the balance of payments deficits on radio and TV. Prices have now doubled since May 1979. The wages gap has widened. The rich get more, the poor get less. The impact of facts like these does little to stir us. Things now seem too big to combat. Living in Britain in 1989 is like being part of a family of mice behind the skirting board in a vast mansion inhabited by Thatcher and her men, who know what is good for us and insist on saying so in strident tones. Here in the city of the dumb we know that a healthy society should develop out of dialogue, but our tongues have been cut. Proof of this is found in the laws of libel and defamation which enrich the law court tills as soon as the truth tries to struggle to the surface.

Anybody who is over fifty must now feel like a crumpled biscuit in an overdue sell-by packet thrown into a supermarket dump bin. This is due to a new national atmosphere. In the last ten years there has been a triffid-like growth of competitive spirit, fuelled by the Enterprise Society. The competitive spirit itself implies individual combat, putting the boot in, getting there before your neighbour does you down, doing brilliantly at school or college, having the edge over everything, using more credit cards than anybody else, heading the queue. Concerted action like the miners' strike and, currently, the unrest among the dockers, gets nowhere in the face of sequestration because money rules.

Opposition politicians tell us that when they get into power, all this will change — well, more or less. The word 'power' means, among other things, the shifting of stress or the possession of control over others (*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*). And 'winning' is now mentioned with greater frequency. All this subconsciously creates a picture of a headlong race in which some are trampled underfoot while others charge onwards. Few, if any, politicians advocate immediate personal action such as civil disobedience. Orthodox politicians use words like 'power' and 'winning' with such frequency that practically everybody is kidded into the idea that running the State is some sort of a game rather than outright manipulation. Games are rituals and modern Britain is intensely ritualistic. This is demonstrated in an atmosphere of emotional dyslexia when we are supposed to react suitably as soon as Thatcher and her men helicopter in to the scene of disasters, followed by some of the people from the Palace. This is not genuine concern, it is simply a spiffing opportunity for the press photocall which underpins that biggest growth industry — the Building of the Image.

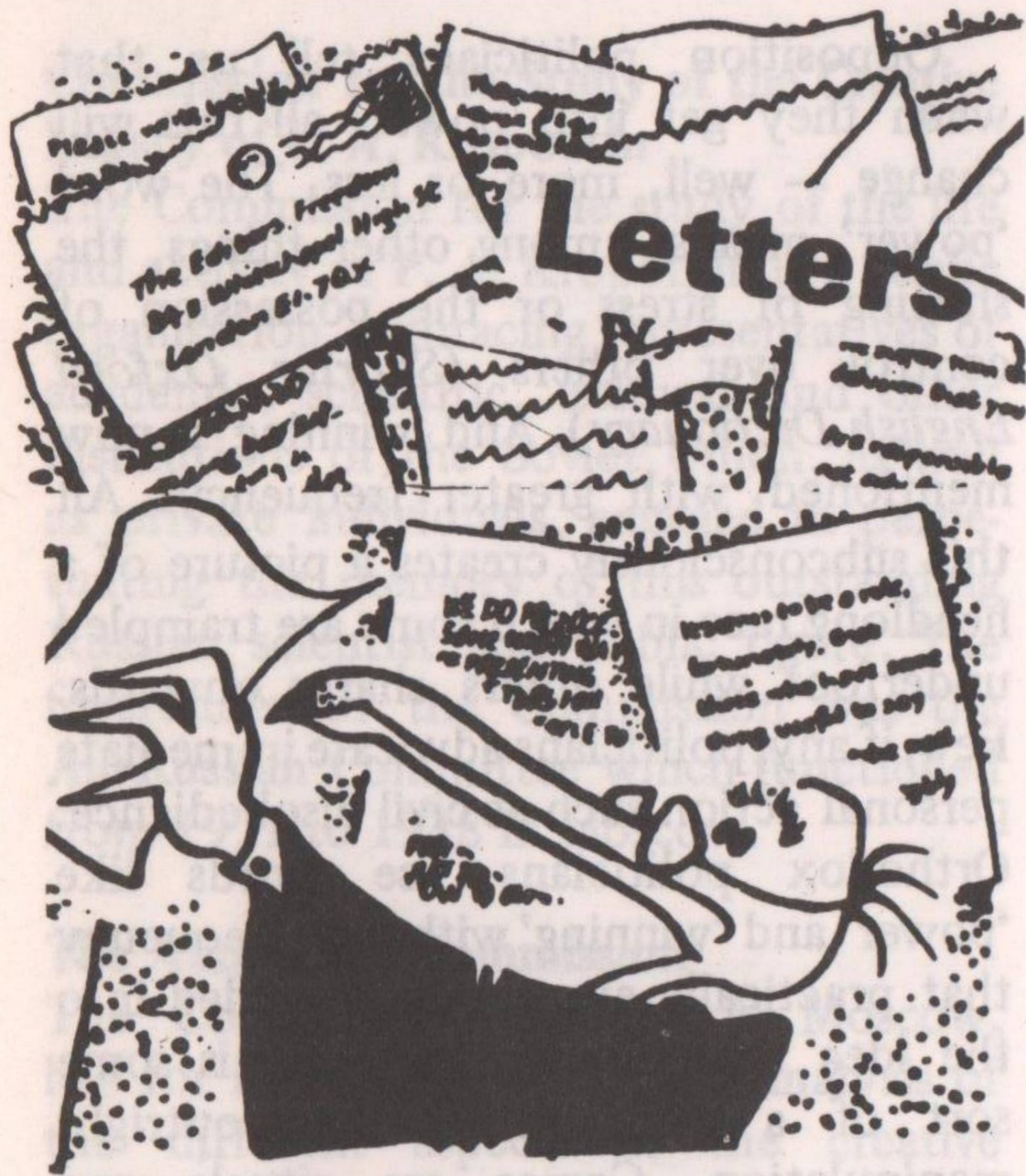
How do we put up with all this, year after year? Probably by sticking with the anarchist way of looking and analysing events, which remains as important as toothpaste and mouthwash. Astringent, unpopular, out of step, awkward by the standards of others, and certainly hard to stomach by all those people who are impressed by the sight of Thatcher stepping delicately through the ruins, we must be unbending in seeing things as they really are.

It is almost too late to work for growth and action in this century, yet the judicious use of words on paper, aimed like sharp little darts at the right target, could start some people thinking. Since the days of Proudhon, Blanqui, Bakunin, Kropotkin and Malatesta, we have not been coercive in the 'party' sense. Modern beliefs seem to suggest that individual action and even infiltration are the most effective course of action. There is something uncomfortable in this for many of us if we are not herd animals by instinct. Yet what remains when we reach the point of feeling that we cannot put up with the State and its current patterns of behaviour? Anarchism, which advocates the abolition of the State and the institution of free association and voluntary co-operation, was never seen as a comfortable armchair philosophy.

Fred Oughton



# More Letters on Poll Tax



I NOTICED the statement in your recent review of the ACF poll tax pamphlet that, 'The Labour Party, opposed to the tax, but even more opposed to law-breaking, offers no effective opposition'. It is easy to be fooled into thinking that the Labour Party is just weak in opposing the tax, but the reality is quite different.

In practise the Labour leadership is very much in favour of enforcing the poll tax! The first thing they want, of course, is votes. So the last thing they want is people trying to dodge, disrupt or delay the electoral register, particularly when they think resentment against the tax will make people more likely to vote Labour come election time. Also the Labour Party wants to protect its local government financial empires and doesn't want its revenues for local patronage and corruption undermined by poll tax resisters refusing or delaying payment.

Labour councils are already adopting the government tactic of divide and rule by saying that 'If you don't pay someone else will have to pay more', rather than saying resisting the tax makes it more difficult to enforce in general. Last but not least, we must not forget that leaders like Kinnock, Hattersley and Gould are not exactly poor and will themselves be a lot richer under the poll tax. Their 'opposition' to the poll tax is suspect from the start.

Desperate for any sort of success against the Tories, the Labour machine is engaging in an operation to suppress poll tax refusers while at the same time turning the anti-poll tax campaign into a vote Labour campaign at the next council elections: urging people to vote for the very same Labour councils that will eagerly enforce the poll tax! Poll tax refusers and anti-poll tax groups must avoid being taken in by Labour's fake opposition at all costs.

**Paul Pétard**

## Poll Tax – The Real Agenda

TAXES are always unfair, collection always unjust. Do we really need, as anarchists, to discuss the whys and wherefores of *taxes*?

We should be discussing the real agenda of the poll tax legislation, briefly touched by Clive Allsop (*Freedom*, April 1989) rather than relative wealth and property values.

The poll tax legislation, with the kite of the registration of football supporters flying with the wind, is about national identity cards. Computer readable electronic strip coded state of the art identity cards. You will have to have one to prove you have registered, since failure to register is a criminal offence; no card and you're nicked.

And if you are nicked, nay convicted, nay even suspected, for anything from a parking ticket to those vague unwholesome beliefs and attitudes which so trouble our masters, no problem. It can be put against your name and number. Next time you pop up (with or without your card) your account can be updated.

Electronic ID cards will be readable by terminals in police cars, or anywhere else. Your full form and photo instantly available. Try to go abroad without paying your CCJ's or income tax. Bad luck.

Of course the system will have many levels. No more need for those apparently inconsequential marks on passports which tell them about you, nudge nudge, biro wink. Your card will carry your criminal record, political and any other story they care to give you. Oh yes, it will also carry your poll tax record.

This is the nature of the real world in which we live, and I do not think there is much we can do about it short of living at HM's pleasure in prison as identity-less and stateless anomomes. An unacceptable mixture of pure anarchy and pure hell. However, I am sure that Peter Neville's answer (*Freedom*, May 1989) to 'examine existing institutional practices to see if we can improve them' is treacherous. It will only improve institutional practices which, if only in our heads and hearts, we utterly reject. Better that rejection than Uncle Tom-ing the poll tax.

**Colin Johnson**

P.S. If you anticipate the need for a clean identity in the future, get your skates on. The other effect of having everyone listed is that anyone who isn't does not exist, so inventing a new persona will become very difficult.

PETER Neville raised some interesting questions in his article on the poll tax (March); however, I believe he's wrong on several points. The implementation of the poll tax will not result in any of the claims he made being realised. Far from it – the consequences of the poll tax will be increased poverty, less democracy and greater control exercised by the private sector over local public life.

For example, the treasury department of Cardiff city council recently released figures that indicated that the annual charge will be as high as £253 per individual (instead of the original quote of £168). Only in two of the richest areas of the city will this be less than the existing rates bill. Peter Neville argues that the poorest will be cushioned, yet as I understand it, claimants will be expected to pay 20% of their poll tax, as they currently do on their rates. Thus the effect in Cardiff will be that the poll tax will still affect the poorest sections of the community, adding a further strain on their already meagre incomes.

Further, I'm sure Peter Neville has heard of the 'poverty trap', whereby people's earnings are just too high to qualify for benefits, yet fall below the poverty line when tax, etc., is deducted. It is here that probably the greatest number of people will be adversely affected by the increased charges of the poll tax. As Britain increasingly becomes a low wage economy (and this is especially true of Wales), so the amount of people caught in the 'poverty trap' will increase and thus the numbers of people finding the burden of the poll tax increasingly unbearable will grow.

Few of the people who oppose the poll tax would disagree that the present rating system is a mess. Yet it has elements of social justice within its practice. For example, the compensatory aspect of rate rebates for those living near generally unacceptable features (like sewage plants). As I understand it, such compensations will be lost under the poll tax.

However, in a capitalist economy where wealth is based on property, the rating system is an ideological affront to capitalism, since it is a tax on property itself. The practice of the rates is that the richest are taxed more on the basis of their greater wealth/property. In this way the rates are a 'progressive' taxation; those able to pay more are charged more. The poll tax is 'regressive' in that all are expected to pay the same, regardless of any income differentials.

The origins of the poll tax lie in the point above, that the present rating



system equals a tax on property itself and it is this which is considered unacceptable. The poll tax is not an attempt at a more efficient or fairer system of local taxation. Recent estimates in *Local Government Studies* (vol. 14, no. 6), suggest that the number of applications for committal to prison for default will rise from the present 58,700 (rates) to 210,000 (poll tax). The capital cost of the new computer systems needed for the poll tax is estimated to be £143 million and the annual running costs after 1990 (for England and Wales) have been put at £493.7 million by the local authorities, and between £379 million to £435 million by Price Waterhouse (for the Government). The present rating system bill is estimated to be £196 million for 1988/89.

The poll tax is yet another attack on the concept of local democratic control, since under Government policy local authorities are duty bound to put out to tender to the private sector jobs that were previously done by themselves. The temptation to farm out the registration and collection of the poll tax to private companies who might already have the computer capability and experience is therefore clear. Not only has the Government opened new avenues for private enterprise, somebody stands to make a nice profit out of the poll tax! As the *Radical Wales* (no. 21) editorial said, the poll tax 'is designed to wrest power from the people of a community and vest it in an oligarchy of moneyed interests'.

Two ancillary developments illustrate the general drift of the Thatcherite ideology. One was her recent appeal to business leaders to follow the American example of companies donating a percentage of their corporate profits to charity. The motives behind this are several: the first is to shift the emphasis for the provision of social services towards charity and away from the State. Secondly to justify a reduction on the charges made on the corporations themselves (Big Business as the provider – how then can it be just to tax them a second time?). The third is related to this – Big Business giving on its own terms, reaping the good PR benefits which are denied via the usual tax route (incidentally, the take-up rate has been poor). The second development was the recently announced plans for the new Training Councils, where two-thirds of the members will come from business, the last third to be appointed by the business interests. Workers and the community will have no automatic right of representation, the practice being that those critical of, for example, safety standards of YTS or the business interests in general, will not be invited to sit on future councils. The Government also announced £3 billion funding, effectively compensating British capitalism for its

lamentable record of training. The result is that the community is charged for the failings of British capitalism, and loses control of yet another aspect of its daily life.

The shift of emphasis from property to the consumer is an advance only for capitalism, for it makes the emphasis for social provision the individual, which is right in line with the general ideological thrust of 'Thatcherism' – that there is no such thing as 'society' and that there should be no compulsory charge on capitalism for social provision, etc. By making the individual the centre for social provision, Thatcher moves the emphasis of responsibility away from such notions of 'community', 'society', etc. Thus we move backwards to the general philosophy of the nineteenth century, when British capitalism was in the ascendent and had few charges made upon it. Thatcher has already made herself clear on this point when she talked of a return to 'Victorian values'. Such *amorphous individualism* has nothing to do with anarchist notions of mutual aid, community responsibility and control. In fact such things will shortly cease to exist if the Thatcher programme is allowed to run its course.

Here we have the centrality of the whole question – if Thatcher is allowed to get away with it. The poll tax provides a simple, emotive issue around which disparate concerns and groups can unite and mobilise public opinion against the Thatcherite future. Whether the anti-poll tax campaign will succeed is debatable, but it does provide a good opportunity from which to make a determined stand against this present Government.

Eddie May

## Holy Council Housing

ARTHUR MOYSE (*Freedom*, May) is not alone in failing to distinguish between soft-hearted fancy and hard-nosed reality in the matter of council housing. There were councils with the same problem. They imagined that if they provided guaranteed-for-life tenancies, in sound accommodation, at rents the labouring classes could afford, then the labouring classes would benefit and the middle classes would pay for the provision through the rates. Such may have been the case for some times and places. But when I was a failed applicant for council housing, in a working-class London borough in the 1950s, the beneficiaries were of the same social mix as those who paid the subsidy.

There were two steps to getting a council flat. First, of course, you had to get on the waiting list. The qualification

was to have a young family and live in worse than council accommodation. We got on the list easily.

Second, you had to reach a position on the list, such that you would be in a flat before the children grew up and left home. For this, the qualification was to live in council accommodation already. The best-known qualifiers were those who inhabited council 'halfway houses' (the equivalent of today's B&B) because they were homeless, some of them bombed out ten years earlier. But this group did not in fact have first claim on available flats. Top priority went to the children of existing tenants.

If a below-average income had been a qualification we would have passed, but income was not on the questionnaire; perhaps it had been deleted because of the scandal of means-testing before the war. For all I know the original council tenants had been means-tested, but there had been upward social mobility among them as among every other group of workers, and the rules of guaranteed-for-life tenancies and priority for tenants' children allowed some of the comparatively rich to enjoy the privilege, at the same time as they excluded the poor who had moved to London from elsewhere. One council tenant I knew had changed his job from practising a skilled craft to teaching it, and when I knew him was a Principal Lecturer (about the same salary as a bank manager). His daughter married an accountant and the young couple moved into a subsidised council flat 'until they could save up for a house'. I also knew four different proprietors of jobbing building firms, all of them council tenants.

We rented a basement, where the landlord engaged a two-man building firm to lay a damp-course. They were working carelessly so that the damp would bypass the barrier, and when I protested the reply was a speech about the rapacity of private landlords and how housing should be a public right. Needless to say, that unfeeling bastard and his partner were running their prosperous business from their council flats.

We were paying a not unreasonable seven pounds a week plus rates. I went to an anarchist meeting (at Colin Ward's house as it happens) where a comrade invited us all to a demo, in my borough, in protest against a rise in council rents from thirty-five shillings to two pounds a week. The cost of maintenance had risen with inflation, and the council did not think the whole of the increase should be borne by us poor rate-payers.

No, the anarchist who invited us to the demo was not Arthur Moyses. So take comfort Arthur, you are not the only anarchist to be deluded by left-wing dreams.

Donald Room



# Reviews



## The Politics of Childhood

Martin Hoyles, illustrated by Phil Evans  
Journeyman, £4.95

WE HAVE come a long way since the days when children were told that they should be seen and not heard. Or have we? A recent edition of Radio 4's *Today* programme featured interviews with schoolchildren on environmental issues. When a concerned 11-year-old suggested that 'Mrs Thatcher should get off her bottom and do something about CFCs', the resulting flood of mail did not, in general, praise him for his interest in current affairs. The response was typified by a retired head teacher who deemed it 'unacceptable' for a child to speak to an adult in this way. *The Politics of Childhood* challenges such attitudes and asserts the right of children to make choices and to participate more fully in society.

Martin Hoyles is a lecturer in Education and Cultural Studies, but this is not an academic text, and no prior knowledge of theories and issues in child development is required. The main purpose of the book seems to be to force adults to re-examine their preconceptions about the abilities and needs of children, but it would also be worthwhile reading for teenagers frustrated with their lack of power. Hoyles' affirmation of the rights of children is made more powerful by the inclusion of their own descriptions of the experience of childhood and its frustrations. Phil Evans' illustrations (cartoons and photographs) serve to increase the entertainment value of the book, which is easy to understand but never patronising.

Hoyles suggests that prejudice against the notion of children having a greater degree of control over their lives is deeply rooted in the myth of childhood as a biologically defined period of development. Evidence of alternative attitudes to child rearing in different cultures, and in earlier periods in the history of our own culture, supports his claim that childhood is a social construction. In our culture, childhood represents society's period of investment, when children are

indoctrinated into the beliefs 'appropriate' to their social class.

It is demonstrated that children are capable of reasoning about politics and should not be denied the opportunity to engage in political activity. Letters from children to the author, and poems by the 15-year-old daughter of a miner, reveal a high level of understanding of the issues involved in the 1984-5 miner's strike. The efforts of children to establish better conditions for themselves are also chronicled. There is a depressing similarity in the demands of striking schoolchildren in 1911 and 1972. In both cases charters for greater freedom at school included calls for the abolition of corporal punishment. What rapid progress!

Work is another adult activity from which children are excluded. Hoyles recommends their participation in democratically organised work, and praises the employment of Young Pioneers as staff on a Budapest railway. I doubt that many readers of *Freedom* will share his view. The problem is that while society continues to engage in production for profit, and work and leisure are treated as mutually exclusive domains, such developments can only serve to train children for exploitation as wage slaves. In our post-industrial society, increasing leisure opportunities for adults would be a better means of enabling children and adults to share day-to-day experiences.

A great deal of attention is given to the particular problems encountered by gay, black and disabled teenagers. The words of these children reveal that one of their major concerns is the distress caused by verbal abuse. The degradation of racist abuse is described by a girl called Sunjita: '... all the time they were shouting "Get the Paki whore, we're going to have a gang bang". I have never been so scared. I was convinced I was going to be raped.' Despite the efforts of libertarian educators like Dora Russell and A. S. Neill to gain acknowledgement of children's sexuality, sex remains a taboo subject in most schools and families. The suppression of their sexuality causes particular difficulties for gay teenagers. They describe the problem of

coming to terms with their sexuality while society tries to channel them in a 'normal' direction: 'School sex education said it was perverted, that your glands over-secrete then you're gay.'

*The Politics of Childhood* will be received by many parents and teachers with a sense of outrage — but then it is their power that the book challenges. Martin Hoyle questions the constraints we place upon children and suggests that they should be encouraged to play a greater role in the development of our society. Anarchists cannot afford to ignore these issues since a free society is not one which subjugates people on the basis of their age and indoctrinates them with its received wisdoms. The contributions to this book present a powerful argument for listening more carefully to them and offering them greater opportunities for taking decisions about their own lives. Developments such as the core curriculum, YTS conscription and the government's promotion of 'family values' make this a very timely and important book.

Andrew Hedgecock

## The Adventures of Tintin: Breaking Free J. Daniels

Attack International £2.00

IF IMITATION is the sincerest form of flattery, this graphic novel is a tribute to the Belgian artist Hergé who died last year. The central character has the name and face of Hergé's famous Tintin, and other characters resemble The Captain and a Thompson Twin. Daniel's Tintin, however, is not Hergé's prissy journalist, but a smoking, drinking, swearing, nicked-for-shoplifting youth, whose giro is reduced because he was sacked for thumping the boss.

The plot is a fantasy in which a strike over lax safety on a building site grows into full-scale class war. There is a hint of a Hergé twist when we see the trade union official in cahoots with the villainous boss, but this cannot be developed dramatically as the workers know in advance that the trade union official is a traitor.

Revolutionary propaganda, especially of the exhortatory 'workers-of-the-world-unite' type, is too often verbose and solemn, and any attempt at a livelier presentation is to be welcomed. There are intelligent but anti-intellectual people who would be affronted if offered stodes of unrelieved reading, but might consider ideas put in the speech balloons of a comic strip. This book could set them thinking. Good for J. Daniels.

DR





**WALLOP!!!**  
 ★  
 OOOOFF!!  
 ★  
 FUDD!  
 ★  
**THWAK!!**

### Wildcat Strikes Again

*Anarchist Comics* by Donald Room  
 Freedom Press, 48 pages, £1.95

Following two successful printings of the first edition of *Wildcat Anarchist Comics*, we are delighted to welcome a second coming of the irascible pussy cat, described by her creator, Donald Room, as 'passionate, brave, warm-hearted'. (Although she does get carried away and oversimplifies arguments.)

In this brand new and beautifully printed collection, Donald has Wildcat doing battle with a new, topical generation of adversaries. The Prince has been replaced by the Ayatollah, Mrs Whitehouse by The Immaculate Rodent, an Anarchist Type whose virtue is perfection and whose faults are none – in his own eyes at least.

The long-winded introduction of the first edition has been replaced by six concise Wildcat Fact Sheets, towards the end of the comic, which patiently explain (as if you didn't already know) the true meanings of, for example, Bastetomorphism and Rectumlessness. This puts you at a great advantage in practically any discussion, since not many people know these.

Donald Room's drawings get more and more vigorous and his imagination wilder and wilder, but what he is presenting was summed up by Tony Gibson in his review in *Freedom* of the first volume: 'Serious argument in the guise of knockabout farce'.

Wildcat will reach places other arguments cannot reach. Do your friends a favour and spread it around. Especially among animal-lovers.

PS

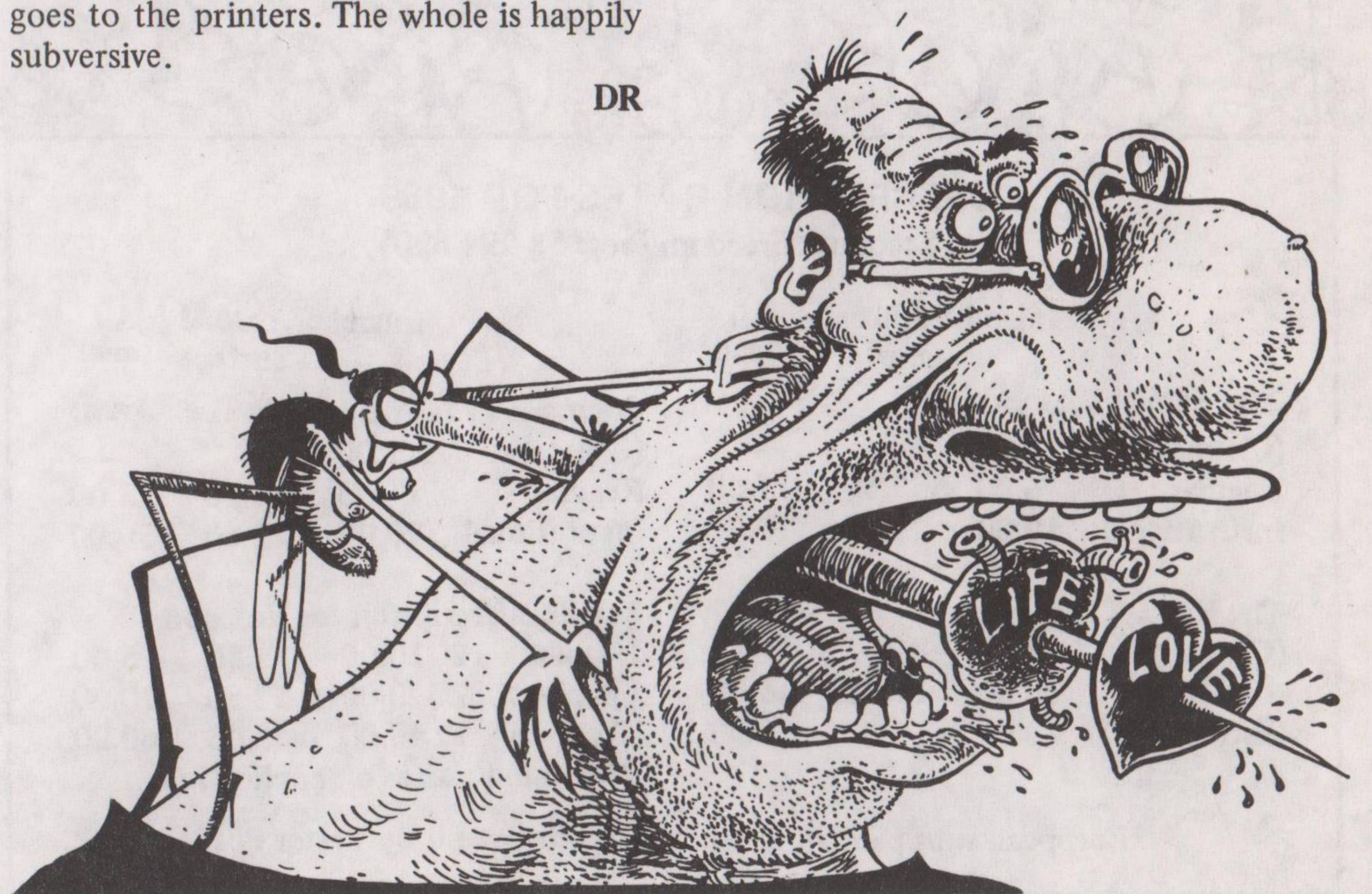
### Seven Deadly Sins

14 authors  
 Knockabout, £5.50

ROUGHLY the same format as the publisher's *Outrageous Tales from the Old Testament*, but a much better production and, of course, far less controversial. The mediaeval list of Seven Deadly Sins is a traditional theme of knockabout comedy, already established when seven clowns personified the sins in Marlowe's *Faust*; so the censorious will not be trying to get quoted in the media about this one.

There is none of the floppiness and confusion which unfortunately marred the *Outrageous Tales*. Seven neat writers are paired up with seven neat artists, and each pair neatly given seven or eight pages to illustrate one sin. I do not name any author because none is outstandingly better than the rest. They are all excellent, and six of the stories are funny (the seventh, Lust, is a grim joke in which pictures of nuclear war are described in the language of sexual passion). Pride has a sub-text explaining the author's ingenuity. Sloth is unfinished, with a note promising to finish before the job goes to the printers. The whole is happily subversive.

DR



### Clash

Ellen Wilkinson

Virago Modern Classic, £4.99 paperback

FIRST elected to Parliament in 1924 for Middlesborough East, Ellen Wilkinson was the only woman Labour MP and one of only four women MPs in the House of Commons at the time.

Later (in 1935) elected MP for Jarrow, she led the famous Jarrow unemployment march of 1936, member of the coalition government in the Ministry of Home Security, she was the first woman Minister of Education in Attlee's government of 1945. She had been a prolific writer and tireless worker on behalf of the trade union movement all her life – she died of overwork and pneumonia at the age of 55 in 1947.

*Clash* is an autobiographical novel, first published in 1929, seen through the eyes of the young trade unionist Joan Craig, recording the events of the General Strike of 1926 and its aftermath. In its retelling of the organisation of committee meetings, mobilisation of support during the strike, the hardship of the mining communities before, during and long after the strike had collapsed, makes this more than just a mere novel. Direct parallels can be drawn with Thatcher's Britain of the 1980s, when every section of the organised labour movement has been on strike at one time or another, none more so than the miners.

The labour movement has repeatedly produced such workers driven by 'compassion for mankind and a vision of the world that might be', it is both a pity and a tragedy that their energies and efforts are all channelled into parliamentary and bureaucratic blind alleys which lead the working class into one defeat after another.

FAW



## CHINESE PEOPLE FEEL THEIR OWN STRENGTH

continued from front cover

so it allowed widespread tourism and along with the tourists came a whole jumble of confused ideas (my own included!) which led to yet more awkward questions, the most important of which was why was the government so corrupt.

What has happened in China is that people who were once scared to ask even the simplest questions have begun to ask more and more, and they haven't found the answers very satisfactory. The euphoria that was generated during the demonstrations by students and workers was an example of the genuine excitement and creativity which takes hold of ordinary people when they begin to feel their own strength and understand their own collective power. If this power can be used to the full, then it makes no difference what decisions the Central Committee makes — the people themselves will be making the real decisions. However, for this to happen requires an awareness of the possibility of self management and the psychology of government runs deep.

For instance writing in *The Independent* on 30 May, Michael Fathers reports hearing the following message broadcast over the student tannoy system in Tiananmen Square:

'We are here to awaken the people. We support the right leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and obey the constitution and the law.'

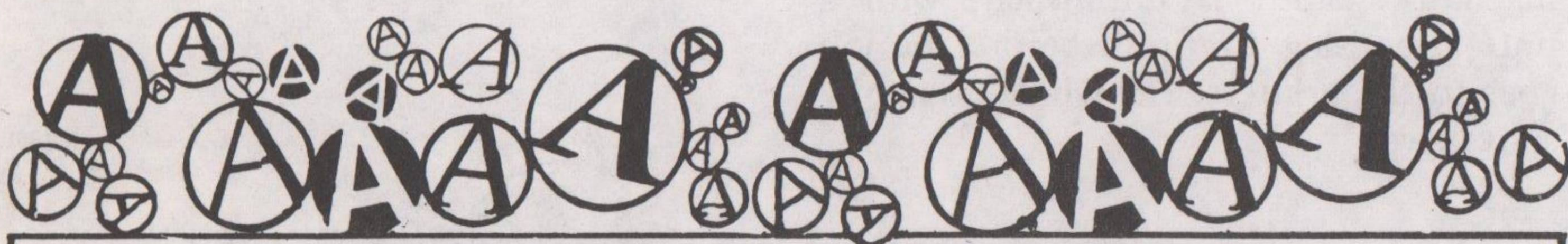
Such attitudes are more dangerous than the tanks. If after turning back armed troops sent in by the Communist Party the student leaders still believe that there is such a thing as a right leadership, an honest constitution and laws that can

be trusted, then sooner or later they will place themselves back under the control of the Communist Party. The unpleasant reassertion of the party's power could be the end of the matter if Li Peng's faction survives the revulsion, or it could end in a more subtle and humane manner if Zhao Ziyang's faction triumphs. But unless the party's right to rule is successfully challenged, then the Chinese people will remain at the mercy of faction fights which are beyond their powers of control.

The battle going on in China at the moment could not be more fascinating. Two issues are being fought out day by day with no certainty as to the outcome. One issue is whether the Chinese Communist Party believes that the best chance of preserving its privileges lies with reform or with reaction. The other is whether enough of the people in China will develop an awareness that they don't have to be ruled by the Communist Party in any shape or form and what type of society they will seek to create if they do make full use of the opportunities. I have to record that after travelling around China for a month in 1987, my assessment was that too many Chinese had too many illusions about life in the West, and that my head believes they may settle for some watered down version of capitalist democracy. However, it is also worth recording that, when the pictures were transmitted of ordinary Chinese people building road blocks to stop the troops, my heart began to glimpse the possibility of the creation of self management and libertarian socialism being created in China. We have heard a lot from the press about the dangers of anarchy in China. Let us hope that for once their fears are realised!

Andy Brown

(More comment on China on page 4, inside)



### SUBSCRIPTION RATES FOR 1989

(Giro account: Freedom Press 58 294 6905)

	Inland	Abroad Surface	Air mail*		Inland	Abroad Surface	Air mail*
<b>Freedom (12 issues)</b>				<b>Joint sub (12xFreedom, 4xThe Raven)</b>			
(Claimants	4.00)	—	—	(Claimants	11.00)	—	—
Regular	6.00	7.50	11.00	Regular	14.00	16.50	23.00
Institutional	10.00	11.50	15.00	Institutional	20.00	22.50	30.00
<b>The Raven (4 issues)</b>				<b>Bundle subscription for Freedom</b>			
(Claimants	8.00)	—	—	2 copies x 12	10.00	11.50	15.00
Regular	10.00	11.00	15.00	5 copies x 12	20.00	22.50	30.00
Institutional	12.00	13.00	17.00	10 copies x 12	40.00	45.00	60.00
				other bundle sizes on application			

\*European subs paid at Air Mail rate will be sent by Letter Post.

## CONTACTS

**ACF** Anarchist Communist Federation Nat Sec, PO Box 125, Coventry CV3 5QT

**ANARCHIST STUDENT**, c/o E. Grigg, Christchurch College, Canterbury CT1 1QU

**ASHTON A's**, c/o 3 Stanhope Street, Ashton under Lyne OL6 9QY

**BANGOR A** Collective, c/o UNCW SU, Deiniol Road, Bangor, Gwynedd

**BAR** Bulletin of Anarchist Research, c/o T.V. Cahill, Dept of Politics, Univ of Lancaster LA1 4YF

**BRACKNELL A's**, Box 21, 17 Chatham St, Reading RG1 7JF

**BRISTOL** Drowned Rat, Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 37 Stokes Croft, Bristol

**BURNLEY A's**, 2 Quarrybank, Burnley

**CAMBRIDGE** Box A, c/o Cambridge Free Press, 25 Gwydir Street, Cambridge

**CHRISTIAN A's**, Pinch of Salt, c/o Peter Lumsden, 23d South Villas, London NW1

**CLASS WAR**, PO Box 467, London E5 8BE

**COVENTRY** Group, PO Box 125, CV3 5QT (don't mention anarchist on envelope)

**DAM** Direct Action Movement, PO Box 19, Wythenshaw PDO, Manchester M22 7JJ.

**DERBYSHIRE A's**, Jon (0773) 827513

**DURHAM A's**, c/o DSU, Dunelm House, New Elvet, Durham

**EDINBURGH** Counter-Information, 11 Forth St

**ESSEX** Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex

**FAP** Federation of Anarcho-Pacifists, c/o John Hill 28b Clifton Road, Ilford, Essex

**GLASGOW A's**, Box PH30, c/o Changes, 340 West Princes Street, Glasgow G4 9HE

**HASTINGS A's**, c/o Hastings Free Press, 14 Lower Park Road, Hastings, E. Sussex

**JEWISH A's**, Box JAG, 52 Call Lane, Leeds 1

**KEELE** Resist Group, Students Union, University of Keele, ST5 5BG

**LEAMINGTON A** Group, 21 Tachbrook Road, Leamington Spa, Warks.

**LEEDS A's**, Box JAG, 52 Call Lane, Leeds 1

**LEICESTER A** Group, c/o Blackthorn Books, 70 High Street, Leicester

**LIB ED** Libertarian Education Collective, The Cottage, The Green, Leire LE17 5HL

**LIVERPOOL A's**, PO Box 110, Liverpool L69

Liverpool University Anarchist Group, c/o SU, 2 Bedford St North, Liverpool L7 7BD

**LONDON**

Freedom Box Number Users: A Distribution, ACF, Rebel Press, Spectacular Times, Virus.

121 Centre, 121 Railton Road, London SE24

Greenpeace (London), 5 Caledonian Rd, N1

Solidarity, c/o 123 Lathom Road, London E6

Polytechnic of North London Anarchists, c/o PNL SU, Prince of Wales Road, London NW5

**LONDON**

**MANCHESTER** Anarchists, c/o Raven, Room 6, 75 Piccadilly, M1 2BU

**NORTHAMPTON A's**, Blackcurrent, 50 Guildhall Rd

**NOTTINGHAM A's**, Rainbow Centre, 180 Mansfield Road, Nottingham

Anarchist Socialist Group, Box 1, Hiziki, 15 Goozgate, Nottingham.

**OXFORD A's**, Box A, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford

**PLYMOUTH A's**, PO Box 105, Plymouth

**PORTSMOUTH A's**, Box A, 167 Fawcett Road, Southsea, Hants PO1 0DH

**READING A's**, Box 19, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham Street, Reading RG1 7JF

**SALISBURY** James Walsh, 14 Churchfield Rd

**SOUTHAMPTON** University A's, c/o SU, Southampton SO9 5NH

**SPANISH (TU)** Information Network, (mail only) 6a The Drive, Leeds LS8 1JF.

**STIRLING A** Group, c/o CSA, University of Stirling, Scotland

**SWANSEA** Black Sheep, c/o Box A, Emma's Community Book Shop, 19 Bryn-y-Mor Rd, Brynmill SA1 4JH

**TONBRIDGE** Black Adder, c/o WKAR, PO Box 75, Tonbridge, Kent

**WORCESTER** College of HE Anarchists, c/o SU, WCHE, Henwick Grove, Worcester