

# ECONOMIC COLLAPSE

WE MUST inform our readers, with regret, that the British Economy has collapsed. Our evidence is the sudden resignation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on 26 October. The ostensible reason for his departure — that the Prime Minister's economic adviser disagreed with him in public — is not credible.

According to the government press handouts, Nigel Lawson approached the Prime Minister at 9am, saying he would resign unless she gave him a public endorsement and repudiated her adviser. During the afternoon she stated in the House of Commons that 'advisers advise and Ministers decide, and Ministers in this government have a very sound economic policy. I have always supported the Chancellor of the Exchequer.' In the evening Sir Alan Walters announced his resignation as adviser, in terms suggesting that he had been sacked but allowed to make a face-saving statement. It appears Lawson got what he was demanding, but he resigned all the same.

Every November the Chancellor of the Exchequer makes a definitive state-

ment about the state of the economy. This is prepared by civil servants who inform the Chancellor about a week before the end of October, then maintain secrecy until the official statement is issued. **Nigel Lawson resigned when he knew the outcome of his policies, but before any other politician knew.** Now he can take a fantastically remunerated job with a money manipulator, and leave his successor as Chancellor to carry the can.

At the Conservative Party conference, Mr Lawson came out with the well-used Marxist-Leninist slogan, 'There is no alternative'. Labour and the other opposition parties have never stopped suggesting alternative policies within the present set-up, and will see the failure of Lawson's gamble as a political gift. Ask an anarchist for directions, however, and the answer will sound like 'I wouldn't start from here'. A big change of policy within the present set-up may push the economy back to the edge of disaster, which is better than its current position *over* the edge; but the present set-up itself is dangerously unstable.

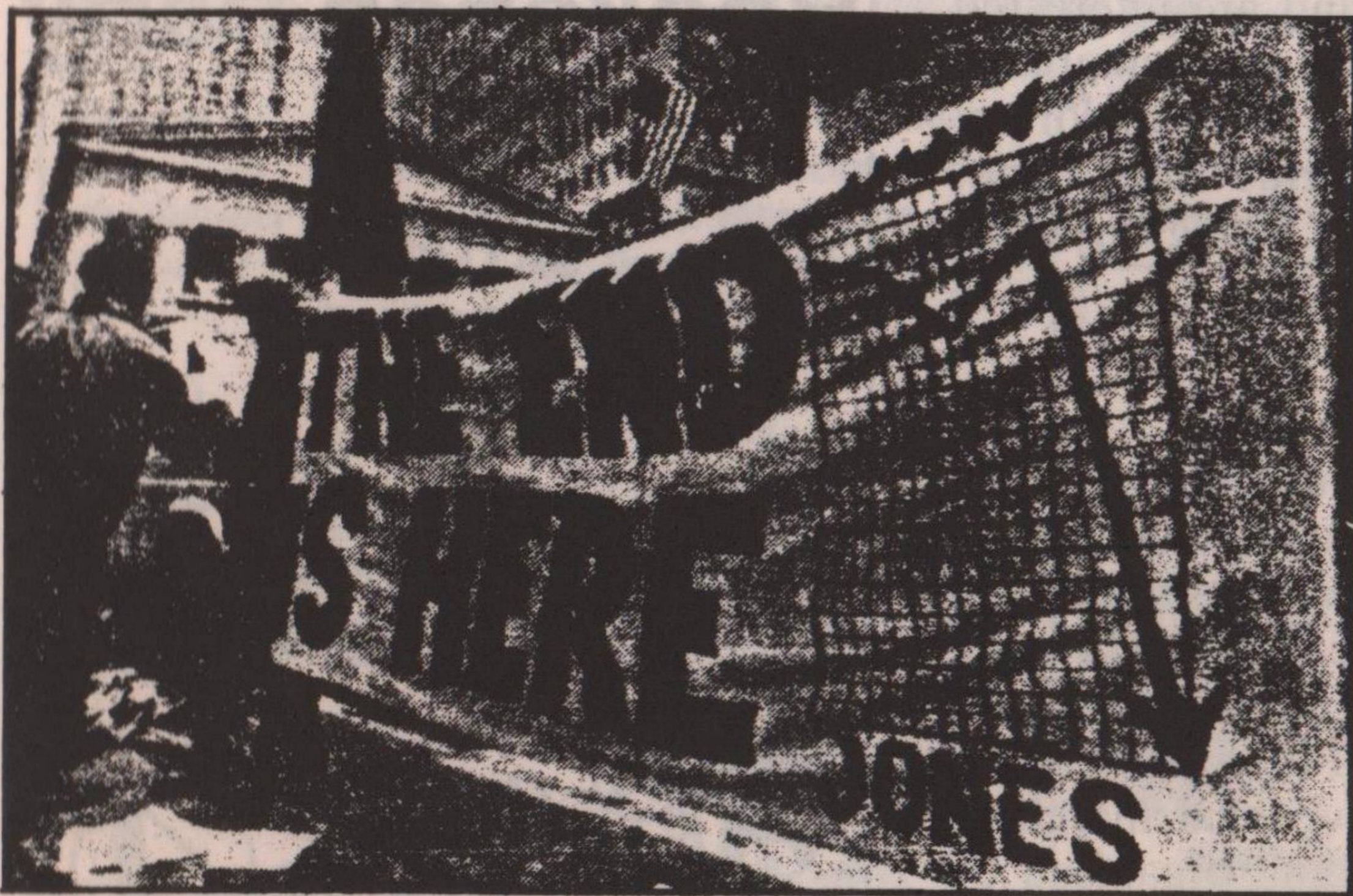
## Not a potato of difference

The instability is caused by the money system on which capitalism runs. '£10 billion knocked off shares', 'pound recovers' and such stuff of headlines make not a potato of difference to tangible wealth in the form of food, goods and services, except when the fluctuations of money cause real wealth to be destroyed.

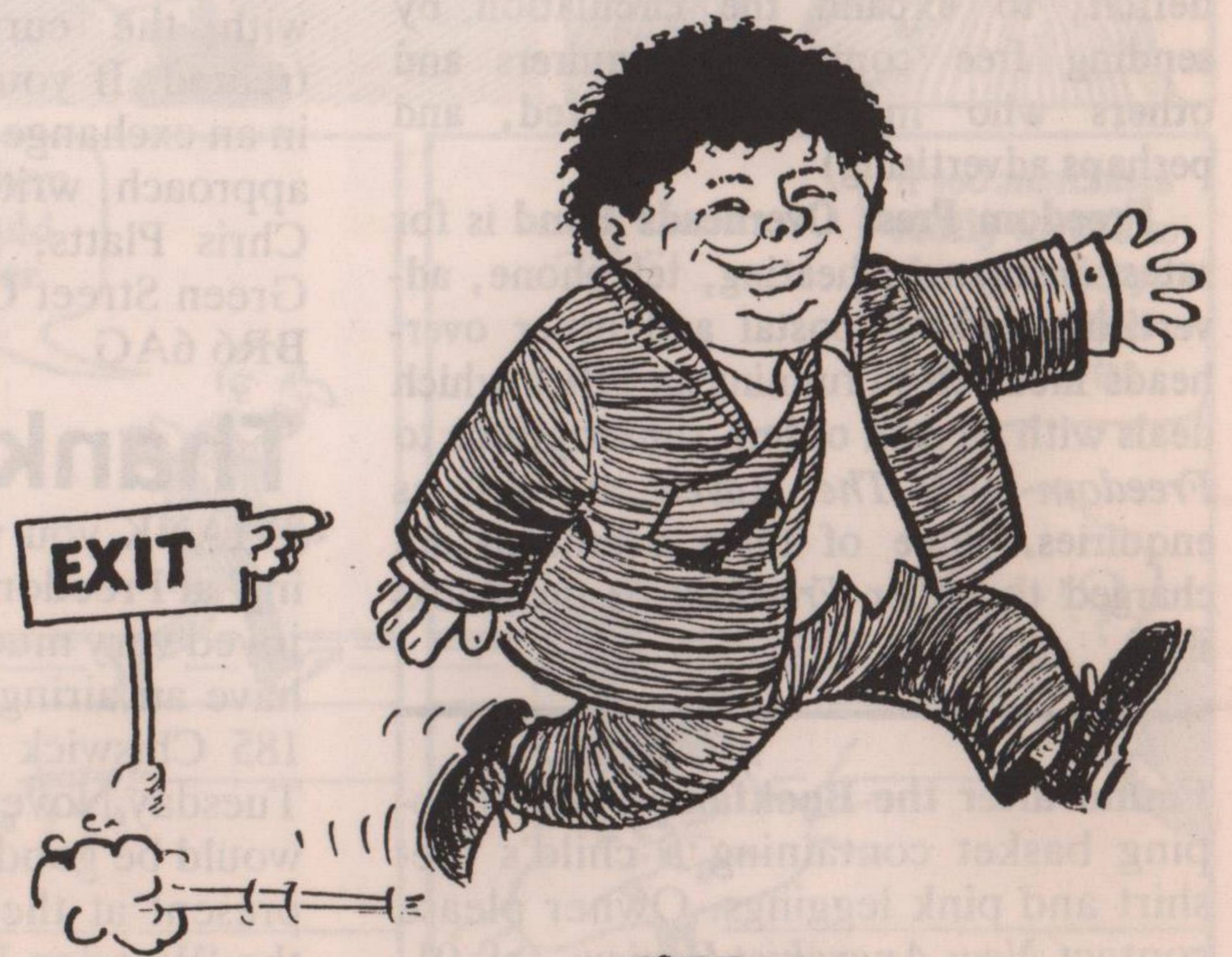
The money system was invented in a time of permanent, natural scarcity, as a convenient means of distributing wealth without the rich becoming poor or the poor becoming rich. Human ingenuity since then has made it possible for everyone to be rich (at least until the earth's resources are exhausted), but we stick to the money system which only works in time of scarcity, so scarcity has to be artificially maintained.

Advertising, which creates shortages by artificially increasing demand, is a comparatively humane method but limited in effect. It is also necessary to

continued on page 3



New York anarchists celebrate a share price collapse.



# FREEDOM

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Freedom Magazine Fund is to meet the deficit incurred when printing and postage costs exceed income and subscriptions (or if donations exceed the deficit, to expand the circulation by sending free copies to enquirers and others who may be interested, and perhaps advertising)

Freedom Press Overheads Fund is for rates, insurance, heating, telephone, advertising and all postal and other overheads incurred in running an office which deals with all mail orders, subscriptions to *Freedom* and *The Raven* as well as enquiries. None of these overheads are charged to either *Freedom* or the Bookshop.

Found after the Bookfair: a toy shopping basket containing a child's tee-shirt and pink leggings. Owner please contact *New Anarchist Review*, tel: 01-558 7732, to claim it.

## London Anarchist Forum

ANARCHIST FORUM: Fridays at 8pm, Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, Cosmo Street (off Southampton Row), London WC1.

10th November 1989: 'Summerhill and Libertarian Education' (speaker John Griffin)

17th November 1989: 'Self-Discipline and Anarcho-Pacifism' (speaker Marten Low)

24th November 1989: Open discussion

1st December 1989: 'The Role of the Anarchist Political Organisation' (speaker from the Anarchist Workers Group)

8th December 1989: Open discussion

15th December 1989: 'What Do Women Really Want?' (general discussion)

12th January 1990: Open discussion

19th January 1990: Speaker booked, details later

26th January 1990: 'The Timeless Way' — the ideas of Christopher Alexander, architect and planner (speaker Brian Richardson)

2nd February 1990: Open discussion

9th February 1990: 'Robbing the Grave of God' (speaker Peter Lumsden)

Further meetings being planned, details later. Anyone interested in leading a discussion please contact Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meeting, or Peter Neville at the above address.

## Mentally ill

I WOULD be interested to hear from anyone involved in the care of psychiatrically ill persons and who are fed up with the current way people are treated. If you are and are interested in an exchange of ideas on an anarchist approach, write to me at this address: Chris Platts, 50 Worlds End Lane, Green Street Green, Orpington, Kent BR6 6AG.

## Thanks

THANK you very much for the 'signing' at Freedom Bookshop, which I enjoyed very much. *Song of Anarchy* will have an airing at the George IV pub, 185 Chiswick High Road, Ealing on Tuesday November 14th at 8pm and it would be good to have local anarchists present at their reading organised by the 'Wooden Lamb'.

John Rety

## ACF day school

Anarchist-Communist Federation  
Day School

on Saturday 2nd December  
from 10.00am to 6.00pm  
at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square  
(nearest tube Holborn).

This is a day school organised by the ACF, open to all those interested in the ideas of anarchist-communism.

Workshops on struggles in the workplace and neighbourhood, against racism and sexism, the poll tax, critique of Marxism, history of anarchist-communism.

Creche provided. Disabled access. Light refreshments. Entry £2.50 waged, £1.50 unwaged. Write for further details or advance tickets to ACF (London), c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

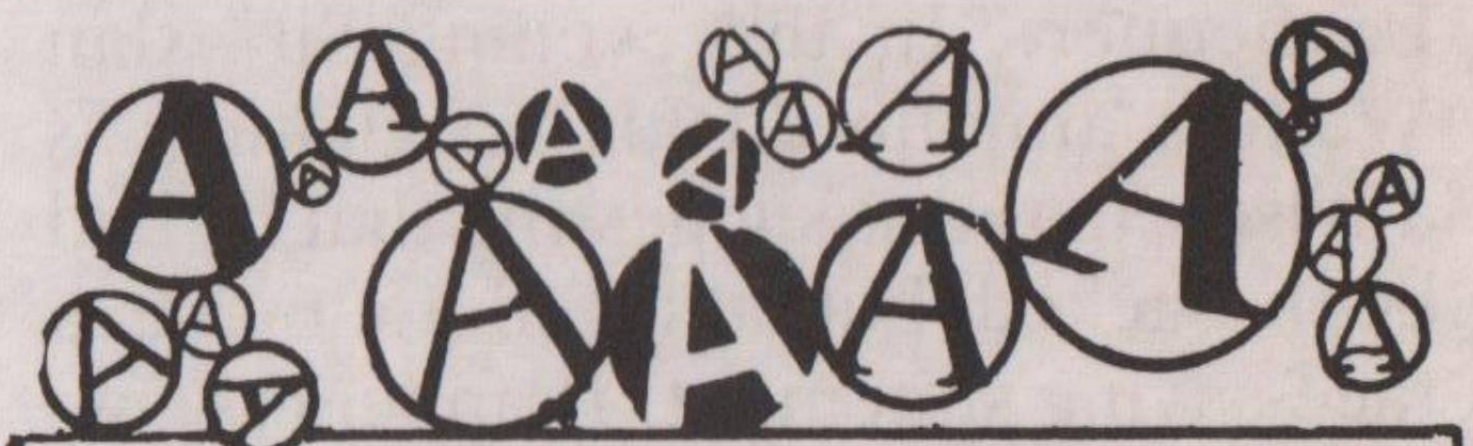
## RAVEN 8 ANARCHIST QUARTERLY ON REVOLUTION

112 pages

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SATURDAY  
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12noon to 6pm

Bring a bottle if you can afford  
one, if not come anyway.



# ECONOMIC COLLAPSE

continued from front page

decrease supply by the deliberate destruction, misapplication, and waste of resources.

At least half of the wealth produced in the world is either destroyed in wars, or used in the manufacture of weapons. Governments of poor countries buy armaments with borrowed money, and impose money taxes on their subjects to pay the debts. Thus subsistence farmers are compelled to become cash-crop farmers, and to starve when their cash crop fails or cannot be sold, or if their new farming methods produce desert. If they grow lucrative crops such as coca, or opium, or cannabis, they are liable to persecution as well as exploitation.

The cure is *not* to seize power and abolish the money system. That was tried by the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia (the world's sincerest 'There is no alternative' government) and resulted not in universal wealth but universal poverty. The only way to stabilise the world economy is revolution. By which we mean, not the seizure of power by a different group, but the abolition of power, a fundamental change in the way society is organised.

DR

# Freedom goes fortnightly

WITH this issue, subscribers will receive a copy of *Freedom* volume 51 number zero, the 'dummy' showing what *Freedom* will look like when it becomes a fortnightly newspaper in January. (Note to American readers: 'fortnightly' is British for 'published every two weeks'.) Main difference is that the fortnightly will have more pictures than the dummy, including photographs — there was so much to be explained in the dummy that the pictures got squeezed out.

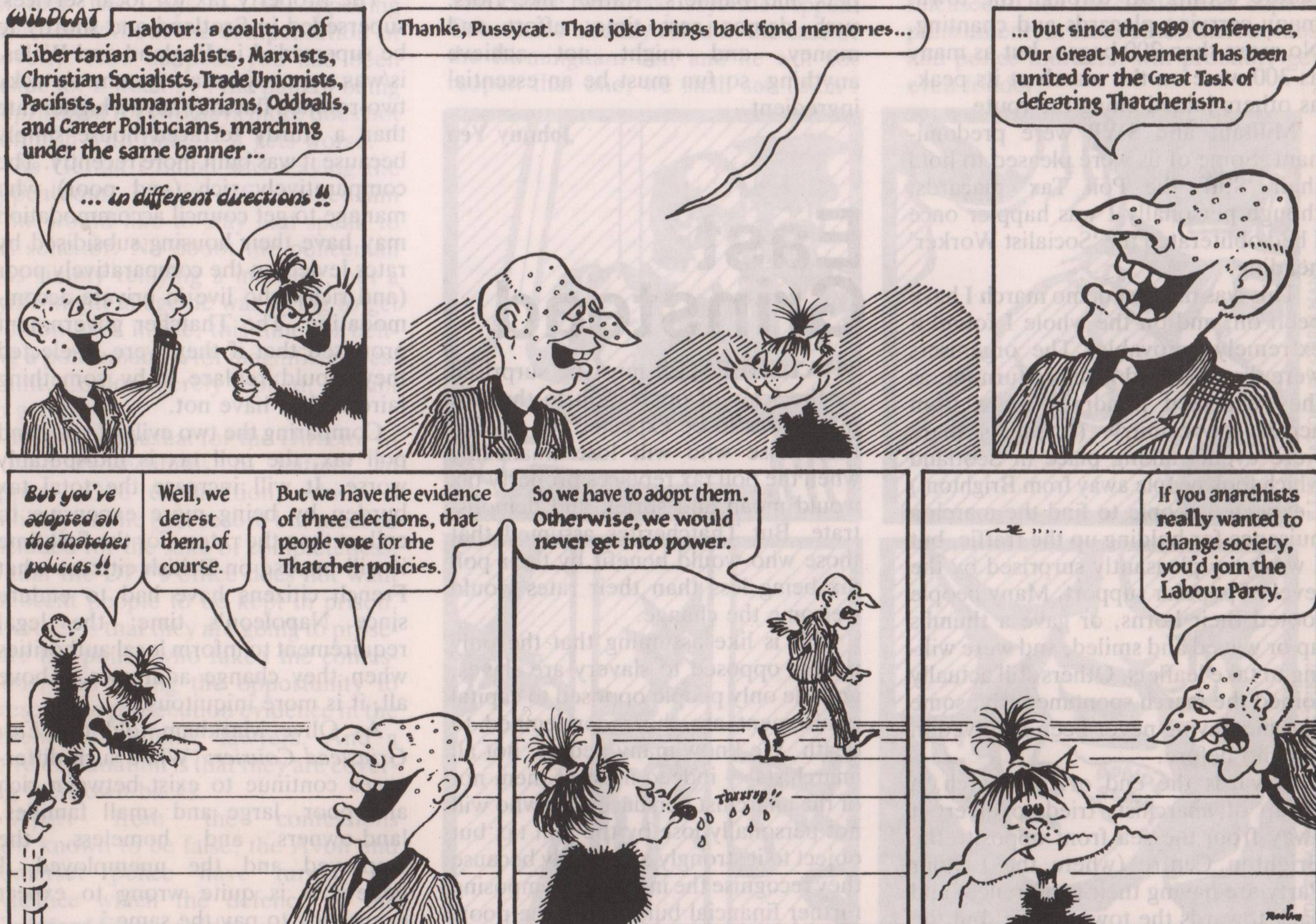
The early 1980s were the second worst period in *Freedom's* hundred-year history (the worst being the early 1930s when publication stopped altogether). There were frequent changes of editorship, many of them intended as rescues when a previous editorial collective had broke up or lapsed — for a time, anyone who happened to be there could make

editorial decisions. Style and content changed as often as editors. When the present editors took over in 1987, what *Freedom* needed most was stability. It had been a fortnightly newspaper in the 1970s (and one of us had been an editor), but what we took on was a monthly magazine so we stayed with that, though we did cut costs and bring the price down, and increase the proportion of news content.

After three years of consolidation, the foundation is laid for another change, not of the ill-considered, almost random kind that occurred a few years ago, but a carefully planned improvement, albeit a bold one. Two of the three present editors will resign at the end of the year leaving the way clear for the new team, but we will continue as contributors and supporters.

The 'reprographic revolution' of the 1970s cut printing costs and made possible the profusion of small-circulation 'zines and papers which is the present strength of the English-speaking anarchist movement. But the movement *also* needs a widely-circulated, regularly-published, propaganda newspaper like those of the French and Italian movements. That is what *Freedom* was, and what we intend it to be again. Support it, comrades. It will be worth supporting.

The retiring *Freedom* collective



# Poll Tax Resistance



bulk of the march continued on the route pre-arranged with the police. The anarchists left the demo at this stage, but I for one found the demo fun enough without getting arrested into the bargain.

Then came the speeches. Dennis Skinner and Jeremy Corbyn were expected to turn up, but neither did. Instead, councillors from Brighton and Camden and a NALGO official all rightly attacked the Labour Party's official policy on the poll tax.

By then a lot of people were beginning to drift away. For me, too, the rally was an anti-climax — the march itself was the main event.

Many people who want to avoid paying poll tax are too scared or ignorant to resist. The point about this demo is that it lets people know that there are many others who feel just as angry and disgusted as them — it is a much-needed counterbalance to the isolationism, mutual hostility, suspicion and egoism engendered by the Thatcher administration, with its policies of divide and rule.

The atmosphere of the demo was like that of a carnival or football crowd, what with the shouting, singing, trumpets and banners. Rather like riots, such demos cost time, effort and money, and might not achieve anything, so fun must be an essential ingredient.

Johnny Yen

## East Grinstead

THATCHERITES must be surprised by the scale of opposition to the poll tax. It was to be expected, of course, that those who will lose financially when the poll tax replaces property tax would moan and shriek and demonstrate. But Thatcherites assumed that those who would benefit by their poll tax being less than their rates would welcome the change.

This is like assuming that the only people opposed to slavery are slaves, and the only people opposed to capital punishment are those condemned to death. We know many people, not all anarchists — indeed most of them not of the anarchist persuasion — who will not personally lose by the poll tax but object to it strongly and loudly because they recognise the injustice of imposing further financial burdens on the poor.

A case in point (which we learned about by accident though she has since confirmed it to us) is that of an old friend of *Freedom*, Olive Markham. When she received her poll tax form she sent it back unsigned, with a letter saying that she would rather go on paying at the old rate.

A council official came to see her. 'He was very nice', Mrs Markham told the local press — probably the official who specialised in kindly explanations to the slightly confused. He began by pointing out that her community charge would be a great deal less than she was paying in rates. Of course, she knew that. She suggested that the extra she paid could be used for the support of a needy family. The discussion lasted for one and a half hours.

She was then sent another registration form, which she sent back unsigned with a letter confirming the suggestion she had made to the very nice official. The council then showed its teeth by sending her a third form, with a notice to the effect that if she did not sign it within 14 days, she would be fined £50.

Mrs Markham circulated the media, and the farcical exchange was reported by the *East Grinstead Courier*, the *East Grinstead Mail* and TV South.

### Neither Rates nor Poll Tax

The property tax for local services, superseded in Scotland and shortly to be superseded in England and Wales, is/was a grossly unfair system. A tacky two-roomed flat may have a higher rate than a sturdy terraced house simply because it was built more recently. The comparatively rich (and poor) who manage to get council accommodation may have their housing subsidised by rates levied on the comparatively poor (and rich) who live in private accommodation. The Thatcher government promised that if they were re-elected they would replace it by something fairer. They have not.

Comparing the two evils of rates and poll tax, the poll tax is indisputably worse. It will increase the total tax burden by being more expensive to collect than the rates. For the first time it will impose on British citizens what French citizens have had to endure since Napoleon's time: the legal requirement to inform local authorities when they change addresses. Above all, it is more iniquitous.

As Olive Markham told the *East Grinstead Courier*: 'While such differences continue to exist between rich and poor, large and small families, land-owners and homeless, the employed and the unemployed, I believe it is quite wrong to expect everybody to pay the same.'

## Brighton

SATURDAY 30th September, Brighton. A march was organised by the Sussex Federation of Anti Poll Tax Unions. People were invited to assemble at The Level (where Kropotkin used to speak) before setting off through the town, many carrying placards and chanting. No more than 200 began, but as many as 300 were on the march at its peak, as others joined along the route.

Militant and SWP were predominant. Some of us were pleased to hold their 'Stuff the Poll Tax' placards, though personally I was happier once I had obliterated the 'Socialist Worker' heading.

This was the first demo march I have been on, and on the whole I found it extremely enjoyable. The organisers were disappointed with the turnout, as they expected hundreds more from across the country. (It seems there were events taking place in Scotland which took people away from Brighton.) I expected people to find the march a nuisance for holding up the traffic, but I was very pleasantly surprised by the level of popular support. Many people tooted their horns, or gave a thumbs up or waved and smiled, and were willing to take leaflets. Others still actually joined the march spontaneously, some like me having never been involved in a demo before.

Towards the end of the march, a group of anarchists tried to divert it away from the sea front opposite the Brighton Centre (where the Labour Party are having their conference) and back towards the town centre, but the

# DPP did Guildford Four

THE last injustice inflicted on the 'Guildford Four' was that although it was announced to the media on 17 October that there was no good evidence of their guilt, three of them were kept in prison for another two days, and the fourth, Paul Hill, for even a third day because (on the same collection of evidence by which he was convicted of the Guildford bomb) he was also convicted of killing a policeman in Northern Ireland. So in Hill's case the whole business has to be gone through again, except that instead of the Home Secretary ordering a new investigation it has to be the Secretary for Northern Ireland. What a vicious farce.

There will be those who say, after fifteen years since the arrest and fourteen years since the sentence, what do another two or three days matter? But put yourself in their place. Suppose the police came to your home and told you there was no evidence against you, but you were to be imprisoned for two days — an appalling injustice, but at least prison would be a new experience. Then suppose you were arrested on suspicion of a crime, and were told after two days in custody that your innocence had been established but you would nevertheless be kept in for another two days — an appalling injustice without the compensation of novelty. Now suppose you had been inside for a week . . . the pain of being imprisoned for two days more does not diminish with time — it gets worse.

As Gerald Conlon was leaving the appeal court, a police officer asked him if he would like to stay and speak to his solicitor. No doubt the policeman was simply relaying a message, but a cynic might allege he was trying to get Conlon back inside, this time for belting a policeman. With magnificent restraint, Conlon merely replied, 'I want to get out'.

It is very unusual for the Director of Public Prosecutions to initiate an appeal. One explanation, which is unlikely on the past record but must be included for the sake of completeness, is that the DPP's office does not want innocent people to be kept in prison. Another is that they are going to prosecute the police who faked the confessions, and taking the opportunity to present the prosecution evidence in the absence of defence lawyers. And a third explanation is that they are covering their own backs.

Apart from the confessions now known to be false, the Avon and Somerset police have turned up evidence which the defence of the Guildford Four would have found very

useful, had they known of it. Paul Hill had an alibi, that he spent the evening of the bombing in the hostel where he lived, talking to a fellow resident. The defence actually put advertisements in the press asking this man to come forward, but were unable to find him. Now it turns out the police interviewed this man in the course of their initial inquiries, and that furthermore they interviewed a nun who worked in the hostel who confirmed the alibi, but *the Director of Public Prosecutions ordered that the defence should not be informed of this evidence.*

Also, there was a fifth confession of planting the bomb to the same police who had taken the other four confessions, and the DPP decided to let him go and again not inform the defence. Summing up to the jury, the judge pointed out that the four confessions in court corroborated each other. The fifth confession would have contradicted them.

The Maguire family, convicted of supplying the bombs to the Guildford Four, are all out of prison — released or dead — so they will probably not be declared innocent until after the public enquiries and the trials of the police. The Home Secretary says the Appeal Court have already ruled in the case of the Birmingham Six, and he will not reopen that one; we shall see (didn't

he say something similar about the Guildford Four last year?)

Everyone's attention seems to be focussed on Irish cases, but there are other cases with similar features, notably the Broadwater Farm affair. PC Blakelock was killed. There were a lot of people about at the time but no eyewitnesses were found, nor were any fingerprints or other circumstantial evidence. The prosecution evidence consisted of six confessions, one of which the defendant had refused to sign. Three of the six confessions were rejected by judges as fantastic, preposterous, and obtained under duress. The other three, including the unsigned one, convinced the jury to bring in a guilty verdict. So three men are serving life sentences for the killing, although it is fair to say the identity of the killers is unknown.

In Scotland, an uncorroborated confession is not admissible as evidence. It is possible after the Guildford Four case that the law of England and Wales will be altered to match. Such changes are not made retrospective but they do become grounds for appeal, and it is possible that all sorts of people convicted as terrorist bombers, and murderers of policemen, will be released. Then the clamour for capital punishment, in cases of terrorist bombs and police murders, will probably get even louder.



ILLUSTRATIONS BY CHRIS MANN



'DONDE ESTAN?' - WHERE ARE THEY?

# THE WALL

IN APRIL 1989, just before the opening of the Hungarian border started the chain of spectacular events in East Germany, I visited Berlin. On my first day there, I took a stroll from the American sector through Checkpoint Charlie. Not many people from the Russian sector have the opportunity to pass across any of the several checkpoints, a contrast I felt keenly. East Germany felt more like England than anywhere else I had ever been. The people looked bored. Clothes weren't shabby but there is an accentuation of the sloppy dress common to North Germany. East Berlin is noticeably slower and quieter than the Western sectors. The cars look like cars in a child's drawing — short, stubby, square — and the petrol smells strong and oily. There is a curious mixture of old and new, clattery old buses roll past vast modern apartment blocks, bad paving surrounds the modern TV tower, from the top of which Berlin still appears as one city, the Mauer (Berlin Wall) all but invisible, a pale grey (from this side) thread winding behind buildings and bisecting the broad Unter den Linden at the Brandenburg Gate.

On the West Berlin side, inside the wall, the surface is covered in gaudy paintings and graffiti, probably the largest single work of folk art in Europe. It is quite pretty, until you climb onto one of the observation platforms — for the wall is not one wall but two, and between the two is a wide open area topped by floodlights and watchtowers, laced with barbed wire and patrolled by pairs of armed border guards. It is horrible, and it makes one feel sick to the stomach.

Technically, it is West Berlin which is under seige, but it is the East Berliners who feel the unfree — the wall is not there

only to pen the West Berliners in, but also to keep the East Germans out. East Berliners are not allowed even to approach the wall, whereas on the West Berlin side of the wall is a riot of colourful drawings and slogans, some of it even pro-socialist — after all, what passes for a democratic 'workers state' in East Germany would probably have appalled Marx. From above, the brutality of this monstrosity is painful — a concrete symbol of the forcible entrapment of ordinary people by the government of the state they are forced to live under.

Three US Army armoured personnel carriers arrived, carrying a joint US/British patrol. For me it was a familiar scene, seen a hundred times in Northern Ireland, the soldiers with their helmeted heads poking through gun turrets holding CPMG's. But these soldiers are quite friendly. They join me on the observation platform and chat whilst making notes on the activity. One of the East German guards is taking a piss against an inner wall, and the American commander lets me borrow his binoculars for a closer view. The East German notices me and I give him the thumbs up — he looks embarrassed but doesn't respond.

A car is parked in the way of the patrol. Before moving it the squaddies check underneath for bombs. 'Who do you think would blow you up?' I ask one of the two Brits in the patrol. 'Students' he replies. The naivete is touching. The car is moved and they drive on. Later, back in Osnabrück, I learned that the situation was particularly tense because of the ongoing hunger strike by Baader-Meinhof prisoners against isolation cells.

A German friend had told me 'the grass is always greener on the other side'

— life for East German defectors is not always a bowl of cherries, and going back is difficult. On the other hand, I didn't meet any West Germans who fancied defecting to the East. What the East Germans want, palpably, is more freedom. In East Germany, everyone is constantly watched. One isn't too aware of it as a brief tourist, but one still senses an atmosphere redolent of George Orwell's *Nineteen-eighty-four*. I didn't like East Germany much, and people weren't as friendly as the West—although apparently there's a reputation for cool reserve in the East which predates the War, so it would be hasty to blame this entirely on the regime. Then again, I wasn't particularly moved when I crossed back through the checkpoint, a huge transit station like the Dover ferryport stuck in the middle of Leopoldstrasse.

In the Eastern bloc, housing, jobs, education and medical care are organised and adequately provided by the state. This has attractions for some, but the disadvantages of such a system and its attendant regimentation and inefficient bureaucracy are obvious. Every week of the year people risk and sometimes lose their lives attempting to cross the Iron Curtain to the 'West'. It's not just the nebulous prospect of material gain that motivates them. Much of our 'democracy' and 'freedom' we know to be an illusion, a propaganda confidence trick perpetrated by our governments, using contrasts with the undoubtedly more repressive regimes to the East of our continent to bolster the image. But it is an illusion swallowed whole by many in Eastern Europe, and on a relative scale of values perhaps it holds some truth.

Katy Andrews

# Free school fights for survival

LONDON'S White Lion Free School is unique. Run collectively by the children and workers with no hierarchy and no set curriculum, it is Britain's only state-funded free school. Now its funding is being withdrawn and it is struggling to survive . . .

The Free School was founded back in 1972 when it seemed part of a wider movement for increased freedom in education. Within the state system comprehensives were replacing selective schools, primary schools were becoming more child-centred and the use of corporal punishment was declining. Outside the state system Free Schools were springing up all over Britain: Liverpool, Glasgow, Sheffield, Manchester, Leeds, Bristol, Brighton, and many more.

Groups of committed individuals would come together and find a suitable building to offer an alternative style of education for their own and other people's children. Most sought grants from charities, local businesses and the local council. It was always hard work and as both the economic and the ideological climate of Britain became less liberal the struggle to survive on a shoestring gradually caused most of these ventures to collapse. The White Lion Free School is the sole survivor.

Now freedom isn't talked about much in education. Teachers have had their negotiating rights withdrawn by law — testing, school uniform, competition and Victorian values are all back on the agenda and the national curriculum ensures a smooth path for state ideology to become individual consciousness. The kind of education offered by the White Lion stands almost alone against the waves of educational authoritarianism. The school has no head, there's no division of labour between teachers, cleaners and dinner staff, all are just 'workers' and share all aspects of the work with the kids. Decisions are taken at meetings of workers and kids and each has an equal vote. The curriculum is negotiated, or in the current jargon 'demanded' with the workers providing the lessons and the kids want rather than kids learning what teachers decide they should learn, (or in the light of the national curriculum what Thatcher decides they should learn!). But can it survive . . . ?

The reasons why White Lion succeeded where others eventually failed have much to do with the 'professional' approach of those involved. From the beginning they realised that the alternative to traditional forms of

organisation (hierarchy, authority, division of labour, etc.) is not to have NO organisation but to develop appropriate, flexible structures and ways of working together. As well as developing links with the local community they worked with official agencies and were effective propagandists for their cause both nationally and internationally.

Another factor in their continued survival was undoubtedly the success of Ken Livingstone's radical GLC in the 1981 Council election. The school had previously made an unsuccessful application for GLC funds but the new look ILEA offered complete funding. The legal problem of the Authority funding a school it did not effectively control was got around by designating it as an 'off-site unit' with all the children officially registered at 'proper schools'. All the school's financial problems were solved, but of course it was still to be seen if the piper would now start to call the tune . . .

For anarchists it seems remarkable but for eight years, although they were the paymasters, the Inner London Education Authority allowed the school to operate just as it had always done. Although during that period ILEA were to take savage action against both individual teachers and whole schools who didn't tow the authority's line they allowed the White Lion to go its own sweet way. The school is now threatened with closure because of the demise of ILEA itself (by government decree)

This is a crisis not only for the White Lion but for the whole campaign for state funded free schools. The plan was to use the success of the White Lion as a bridgehead for state funding of other free schools. The Lewisham Free School Campaign, for example, had particularly high hopes of becoming a south of the Thames 'White Lion'. In Denmark alternative schools are entitled to state funding if they can demonstrate they would serve at least ten or so pupils. The hope was to build this sort of network here.

In view of its imminent demise, ILEA decided to consult the Council

of the London Borough of Islington, who would be expected to take over responsibility for the school, about its intention to continue funding. The newly appointed Director of Education for Islington, Chris Webb, advised the Council that the White Lion should not be funded because it could not guarantee that it would inflict the national curriculum on its pupils. The Education Committee went along with his view and so it looks as if Islington will not take up the funding on the demise of ILEA in April 1990. After 17 years the end could be in sight.

The only hope for the school lies in reverting to their Independent School status. As a private school the White Lion would not have to comply with the demands of the national curriculum but it would need to either charge fees or seek grants to cover all its expenses (or a combination of the two). The school is now drawing up a package of proposals for its continuance as a non-fee paying independent school funded by grants. This is the same sort of structure that carried them through their first nine years but in the case of the other city free schools led to financial collapse.

The school is between the devil and the deep blue sea. State funds inevitably lead to dependence on the whims of politicians but no funds leads to nowhere. The White Lion hope that they might eventually be able to get some sort of grant from Islington Council even if they refuse full funding, but in any case it's a real setback for others hoping for state funding for free schools. Summerhill and Kilquhanity schools continue to offer children freedom but at a price that excludes many (approximately £3,000 a year). Though oddly here too the state is sometimes the good bug, as Kilquhanity has several poorer pupils' fees paid for by the government's 'assisted places scheme'.

The White Lion may not call itself an anarchist school, it doesn't even see itself as political, yet it is an example of anarchism in action. A precious example of how things could be.

Christopher Draper



# Drugs War replaces Cold War

MOST of the world's governments are military. The most powerful states currently have civilian governments, but their generals have the arms, and are in a position to take over if they so decide. In the last analysis, all law is gun law. Various strategies are used by civilian governments for keeping the military under control. This may be one reason why, for instance, British troops are kept in Northern Ireland.

The Soviet government has always kept its great army divided and its generals on the move, so that none of them had the chance to pick up a personal following. Recently, when the economy had been crippled for years by military expenditure, they decided to try, among other reforms, the dangerous experiment of warming up the Cold War, which would allow them to divert resources away from the army to productive purposes.

This put the United States government in a dilemma. Despite their huge military budget their economy is not in dire straits, and they do not have the same urgency as the Soviets to ditch the Cold War.

Gorbachev, however, is robbing them of their pretext to continue it. They can and do say that Gorbachev and his policies are not inviolable, and that America must be prepared for the Cold War to resume. But in the meantime, there must surely be some reduction in military expenditure. And the military-industrial complex is so widespread that loss of military revenue would mean a loss of profit for every large capitalist firm, a loss of research money for every university, and a loss of employment in every congressman's constituency. If the military were to lose business as well as revenue, the position of the civilian government would be precarious indeed.

During the Vietnam war, when the possibility arose that the anti-war George McGovern might be elected President, a large group of generals are known to have agreed among themselves which of them would become Acting President, in the event it became necessary to depose both the President and the Vice-President. The Pentagon probably still has a contingency

plan (it has for most events), but Bush's position is now safe. He has replaced the Cold War with the Drugs War.

There has been some political embarrassment lately about giving aid to right-wing regimes in Latin America, the governments of Colombia, Peru and Bolivia among them. But now, President Bush says, 'The rules have changed. We will help any government that wants our help. When requested, we will for the first time make available the appropriate resources of America's armed forces.'

Make no mistake, the Drugs War in Colombia is a war; that is to say, a conflict in which both protagonists sit back, and send their servants or subjects to do the actual fighting. The drug bosses are an alternative capitalist government, with enough military power to defeat the Colombian army and give the United States army a run for its money. And in Peru, the world's largest coca-growing area is controlled by the Marxist *Sendero Luminoso* movement.

But if it were not for the necessity of giving the United States army something to do, there would be a simpler and cheaper way to deal with the drug menace: *legalise the drugs.*

## TAKE THE TRADE AWAY FROM THE GANGSTERS!

Of course the drugs would still be dangerous, but the people who got sick and died of them would have the status of those who now get sick and die of alcohol and tobacco. Deaths and injuries from the illegal drugs trade are mostly caused by shooting. Washington has been called both the crack capital of the world and the murder capital of the world; it is not the crack itself, but the illegality of crack, which leads to the greatest danger.

As Malatesta put it in 1922:\* 'The more severe the penalties imposed on the consumers and traffickers of cocaine, the greater will be the attraction of forbidden fruits and the fascination of the risks incurred by the consumer, and the greater will be the profits made by the speculators, avid for money.'

'It is useless, therefore, to hope for anything from the law. We must suggest another solution. Make the use and sale of cocaine free [from restrictions], and open kiosks where it would be sold at cost price or even under cost. And then launch a great propaganda campaign to explain to the public, and let them see for themselves, the evils of cocaine; no one would engage in counter-propaganda



Colombian soldiers watching a cocaine processing plant on fire, in March. Since then, the United States has decided to join in, not only in Colombia but also in Peru and Bolivia.



because nobody could exploit the misfortunes of cocaine addicts.

'Certainly the harmful use of cocaine would not disappear completely, because the social causes which create and drive those poor devils to the use of drugs would still exist. But in any case the evil would decrease, because nobody could make profits out of its sale, and nobody could speculate on the hunt for speculators. And for this reason our suggestion either will not be taken into account, or it will be considered impractical and mad.

'Yet intelligent and disinterested people might say to themselves: since the penal laws have proved to be impotent, would it not be a good thing, as an experiment, to try out the anarchist method?'

### 'ANARCHIST METHOD' CATCHING ON

We are delighted to learn that informed non-anarchists are at last coming round to Malatesta's way of thinking on this point. A society for the decriminalisation of drug use has been allowed to express its view on at least one BBC news broadcast. There have been articles supporting it by Alex Cockburn in the *New Statesman* and by Auberon Waugh and Nigel Burke in *The Spectator*, and before those an article suggesting decriminalisation in the *Economist*. The Home Secretary has broadcast his explanation of why he disagrees with the idea, and all the 'serious' weeklies and 'quality' Sunday papers have joined the argument on one side or the other, or in some cases (using different columnists) on both sides.

A leading article in the *London Evening Standard* of 6 September 1989 described President Bush's declaration of war on the drug trade as 'a nut to crack a sledgehammer', and went on: 'All that carrying the drug war into Latin America will achieve is putting up the price of cocaine, increasing the profits of drug dealers and intensifying organised crime which victimises the innocent as well as the guilty. It is not drugs that kill in great numbers; it is the guns that are used to protect and spread their illicit trade, reducing the centres of many American cities almost to a state of civil war. President Bush's crusade of interdiction will not reverse or even slow this process, any more than did the crusade undertaken by some of his predecessors against the abuse of alcohol. Prohibition didn't stop liquor. All it did was to introduce gangsterism to the United States and allow the Mafia in.

'Public hysteria about heroin and cocaine is blinding our legislators and forcing them into actions which can only worsen the problems of drug abuse. Alcohol kills more people than cocaine. Tobacco kills more people than cocaine

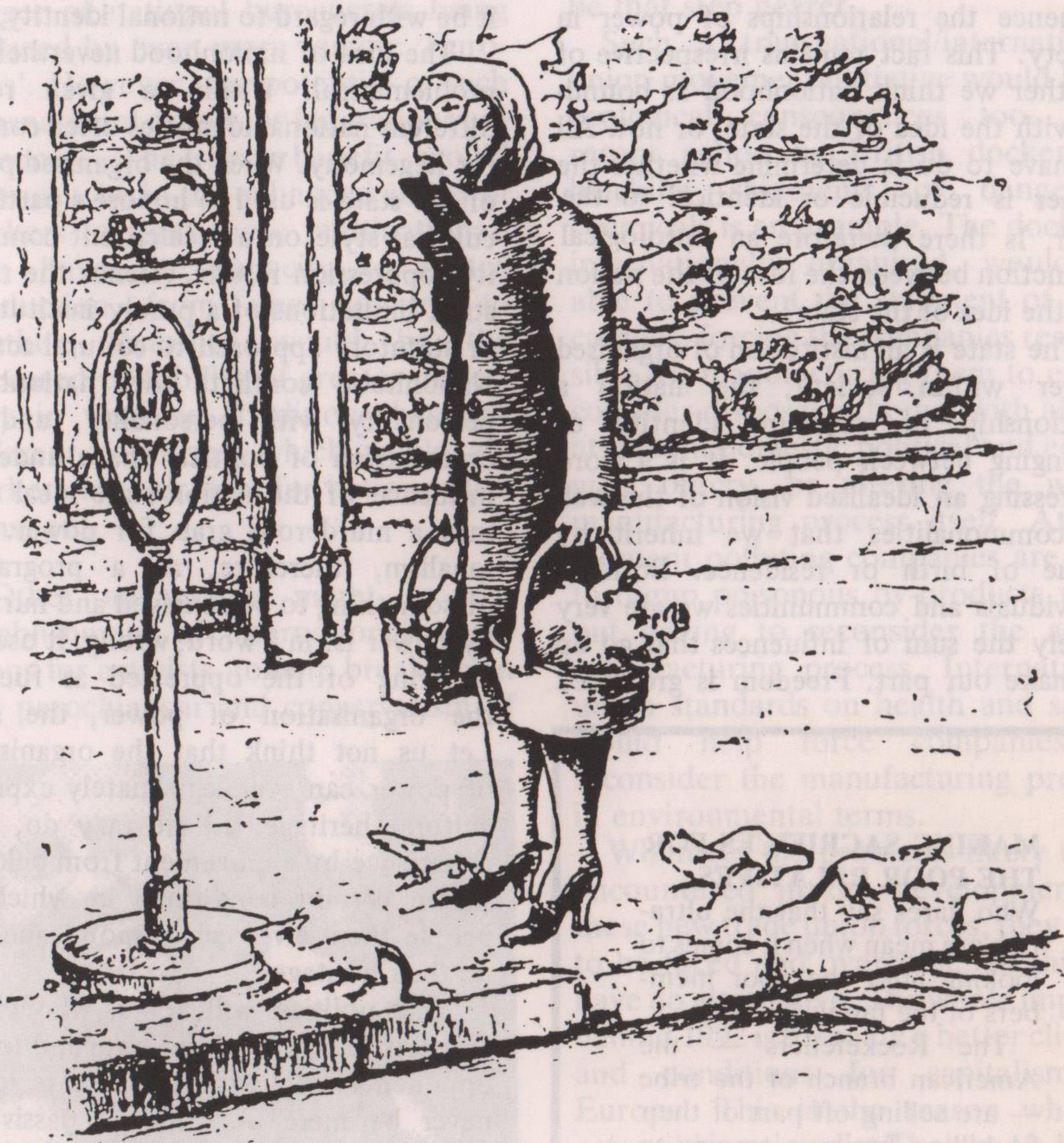
and is just as addictive. The reason that neither of these drugs nowadays creates an overwhelming social problem is that they have both been legalised, and therefore to some extent controlled. If cocaine and heroin were to be decriminalised, under whatever careful system of licensing and taxation, they too could be controlled. The vast, ugly and violent apparatus of drug cartels, smugglers, traffickers and criminal users, the greatest source of organised crime in America, would disappear overnight, and the billions which President Bush is mis-spending on the drugs could be diverted to educating people away from drug use. Decriminalisation is a radical step, and a

painful one for many of us to come to terms with – but it is the only means by which the worsening drugs crisis can ever be overcome.'

Of course there are enormous practical difficulties. Any government which instituted Malatesta's 'anarchist method' would attract unwelcome drug-addict immigrants, unless all governments acted simultaneously. And President Bush would lose the opportunity to deploy his military budget in the South. DR

*\*Errico Malatesta, his life and ideas*  
(Freedom Press £4), page 110.

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



Forming a queue.

# Anarcho-regionalism

THE concept of nationhood is problematical in anarchist thought. In the name of an abstract ideal of emancipation we are expected to transcend partial loyalties in the 'brotherhood' of the 'New Man'. But where does this new man or woman exist, except in the concrete world of constituted relationships? Might it not be that rather than transcend partial loyalties the abstract ideal of emancipation must realise and fulfill them?

One cannot as it were stand at the barricades invoking freedom as a kind of angel of death able to bring destruction and ruin upon our enemies. Instead we are faced with the obligation to consider what exactly it is possible to do. In what things in particular is change possible and desirable. We have to think.

If nationhood exists in the hearts and minds of a people then we have a social fact that has to be taken into account in considering action designed to alter and influence the relationships of power in society. This fact remains irrespective of whether we think nationhood as bound-up with the idea of the state, or not. All we have to do is determine whether the former is reducible or identical to the latter. Is there therefore an ontological distinction between the idea of the nation and the idea of the state?

The state is an institution of organised power within society, the nation a relationship of common identity or belonging between people. It is a word expressing an idealised vision of the web of commonalities that we inherit by virtue of birth or residence. Both as individuals and communities we are very largely the sum of influences that go up to make our part. Freedom is grounded

## MAKING SACRIFICES FOR THE POOR RELATIVES

Who dares say that the ultra-rich are mean when it comes to looking after the poor members of the family?

The Rockefellers — the American branch of the tribe — are selling off part of their \$4 billion business empire to 'raise cash for their relatives'. Apparently they are expecting the sale to raise up to \$2 billion 'to help the family' which is apparently experiencing not starvation or homelessness, but 'a liquidity problem' — which has nothing to do with a drink problem.

in the recognition of the extent of our determinedness by history. Only thus are we able to change it. Reflection reveals that without a 'world' we ourselves could not be. Our being as human selves is defined by this relationship. Consequently we owe this 'world' respect. We owe respect to our evolutionary heritage which includes the natural world. We have obligations to the past which lives in the present.

In addition to (or rather as opposed to) bigotry, patriotism may also be a charitable impulse. Gratitude. Gratitude not because of *what* we are but that we are at all!

A person in his or herself is not special. Egotism defines that quality which considers otherwise. In the same way national personality is not special. But when someone is being stamped in the face, all the forces of our soul cry out against the injustice. Not otherwise should it be with regard to national identity.

The idea of nationhood nevertheless *is* problematical. Within a given region different national identities often contend for hegemony. When the organised power of the state is used to impose a particular cultural style on a recalcitrant community, oppression results. (Hence the rather strict limitations of a purely institutional or statutory approach to cultural action.) Nationhood conflicts with nationhood, personality with personality, and the organisation of political space under the influence of the nation-state ideal turns into a murderous grab for power. Nationalism, therefore, as a programme of something to be achieved and nurtured by power is, in a word, wrong. It uses the suffering of the oppressed as fuel for the organisation of power, the state. Let us not think that the organisation of power can ever legitimately express a cultural heritage. All it may do, given conscience by a movement from below, is secure certain conditions in which the people themselves can respond and take up their heritage.

Thus political will, for us who wish to reduce the power of the state and for our opponents who wish to increase it, can never be mere outcome of passive belonging to a particular culture (although the latter may of course use the illusion of *such* to further their disparate aims). Rather political will must be an outcome of reflection upon the cultural, social, economic and political relations immanent within society and its perception of the forms of oppression to be resisted and rectified.

The value of nationhood therefore is subordinate to that of justice. The nation is an historically determined construct, a

relative good whose claim upon us may nevertheless be absolute in its hour of need. It is neither an object or subject, it is a relation: a relation whose contents are language, custom, tradition, regional attachment; a community of belonging larger than that of the immediate neighbourhood but smaller than that of the world. What is important is not the definition but the intuition of a social matrix in which human beings may pay tribute to a common humanity and thus begin to create the cellular fabric of a new world.

Rather than trying to compare cultures in order to set about killing-off / letting-die those with which we are out of favour we should be trying to nurture the flames of health and vigour that remain in those afflicted bodies that we call nations.

We who live here in Wales have a common heritage (all of us — whether born here or not) which each day of our lives we have to decide whether to respect or kick in the face. The conflict this creates in our society and in each one of us is unavoidable and real. Let it not therefore be through self-deception that we side with oppression.

How can an anarchist perspective relate to the movement for national liberation in Wales? It relates, in my view, as an instrument of mediation between the different tendencies; a means of reconciliation; it can be seen immediately that if anarchism is true then the conflicts between the political and cultural tendencies are needless. Given the desire to effect a change in the organisation of power to better serve the interests of the people, then it can be seen that the dynamic force of national identity can only too easily be utilised for 'reasons of state'. Here the ideals of decentralisation remain contradictory in a disease still that of the nation-state. On the other hand, movements for cultural renewal and linguistic revival are profoundly bound up with the idea of the 'nations' as a historical community or shared experience and common destiny.

Anarchism cannot and does not oppose this view of nationhood as something we create and participate in through our own spiritual and cultural will. Is it correct, however, to call this movement for cultural liberation nationalism (or cultural-nationalism whose ideal of self-government as a product of essentially cultural revival is still that of the state)? A better word I contend would be 'regionalism'.

Anarchism not only does not oppose this vitalising, solidary force, but cannot do without it if it wishes to be in contact with reality and have effect.

S. R. Dennis

# Long Live Internationalism

At the end of the First World War the miners of Great Britain were determined to secure for themselves better wages and working conditions, as were most British workers. William Brace, MP and President of the South Wales Miners' Federation, wrote in his *Western Mail* column that for this to be achieved it was necessary that the British miners be free from the threat of cheap, 'sweated' foreign coal. This could only be achieved if the miners were to universalise their demands, so that coal miners throughout the world enjoyed the same working conditions and wages, to prevent their own industries from being undercut by imports and the miners position thereby being undermined. This was to be the primary role of the International Miners' Federation, to attempt to achieve this goal.

Unfortunately, the miners were never to achieve this goal, to their mutual cost to this day. However, the need for such an internationalist trade union perspective is becoming increasingly apparent to all who look closely enough. The car industry is an obvious example, with cars sometimes assembled with components made in seven different countries and worker resistance continually frustrated by the ability of multinational car companies to switch production from one country to another. The coming of 1992 and the single European market will accelerate this process of transnational production.

At the recent TUC conference in Blackpool little awareness of this problem was displayed from the platform, but this is not universal in the trade union movement. Some trade unionists

are aware of the problem and possible ways of overcoming it. This ability of the companies to switch production to frustrate worker resistance or collective bargaining means that all the workers who work under the same parent company will have to form single trade unions or federations to prevent this switching of production. This could also entail making demands for parity of working conditions to exist in all the plants of the parent company, thereby helping to prevent the company from using the workers in one country to undercut those in another. In Germany trade unions have already begun to appreciate this and the metal workers are repeatedly thinking that single transnational unions are a necessity.

Of course, such developments bring with them attendant problems of adequate workers' control of their own transnational unions and the danger of national bureaucrats being replaced by even more remote 'Eurocrats'. However, the potential of such transnational unions or federations are immense. The first benefit would obviously be in the enhanced ability of workers to fight those multinationals who have the capacity to switch production from one country to another. Another would be the increased possibility of greater uniformity in working conditions between different countries, which would aid workers in their fight for better conditions, etc.

Other advantages might be the establishment of international workshops for activists, to help break down the parochialism and conservatism of

certain sections of the international labour movement. Britain has the largest trade union movement in the world, with a wealth of organisational experience, while other union movements might bring a dynamism and radicalism currently lacking in the British movement. Cultural and educational benefits could be spin-offs too, with cultural, and even holiday, exchanges developing.

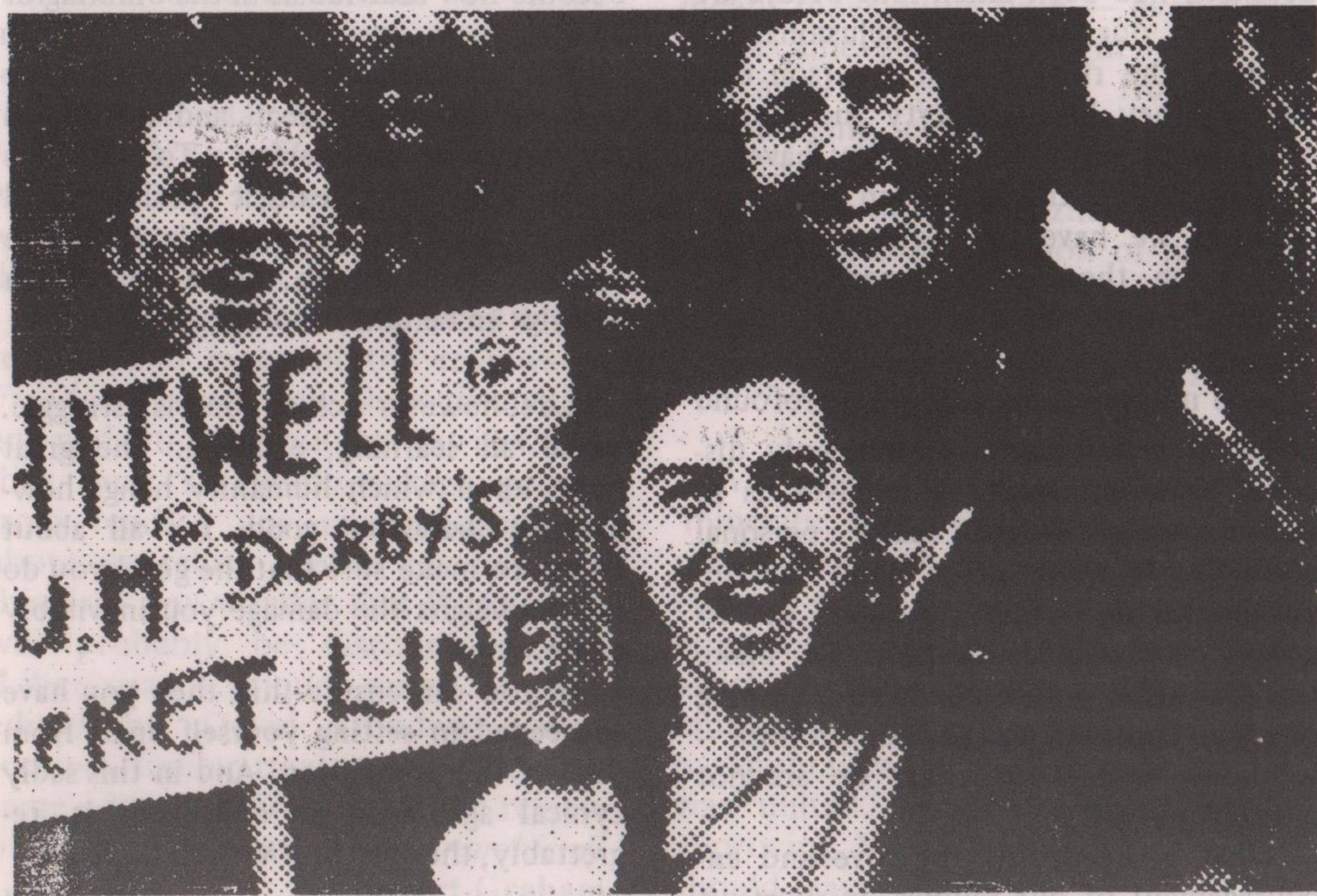
The tide of events means that any such movements toward such transnational unions would occur first in Europe under the impetus of 1992. However, the logic of events would force these 'Euro-unions' to expand their vision to the rest of the world as multinationals would attempt to regain their advantage by switching production to Third World bases. Thus these unions would have to organise in these areas too, and the possibility of linking First and Third World struggles would be that step nearer.

Such a transnational/international union movement initiative would have ecological consequences too. The recent action by British dockers in blacking shipments of dangerous chemicals is an example. The dockers, internationally organised, would be able to prevent the shipment of such cargoes, forcing the companies responsible for manufacturing them to either consider disposal at home, with all the attendant domestic political and ecological outcry, or altering the whole manufacturing process itself. At the moment polluting companies are able to dump poisonous by-products without having to reconsider the actual manufacturing process. International union standards on health and safety would help force companies to reconsider the manufacturing process in environmental terms.

Whatever the problems likely to be encountered in the development of these new trade union forces, they have to be faced and overcome. In this we have no alternative. The whole impetus behind 1992 is to create a better climate and conditions for capitalism in Europe. This is the reason why an ostensibly nationalist Thatcher is backing the initiative, and why she detests all talk of a European 'social charter', since 1992 is meant to benefit capitalism, not the workers. If we are not to allow this to happen, since it would necessarily be to our detriment, the European trade union movement must awake to the challenge and act accordingly.

*Long live internationalism!*

EM





## World War Two

IT NEEDS adding to Arthur Moyses's article in the October *Freedom* that when the German invasion of England seemed most likely in 1940, some of us anti-militarists were secretly organising for an armed struggle against Nazi occupation. It had to be secret because it seemed likely that most of the patriotic warmongers would side with the Nazis as soon as they got here. We could see what had happened in France.

No doubt Churchill, like De Gaulle, would have gone abroad to continue the war — as we now know, his aeroplane was standing by. However, the general run of militarists, patriots, capitalists and police would have discovered, as they did in France, that they had nothing against the Nazis. As in France, resistance would have come mostly from those who had resisted the

native authorities.

As Arthur Moyses tells us, *Mein Kampf* was there to be read before the war, but contrary to his implication the systematic genocide did not start until the war was well advanced, in late 1942. France at that time had no records of Jews, so the (French) local government of Paris broadcast an appeal for information. Three million letters came in (from French patriots) and the (French) police were enabled to round up the Jews of Paris for deportation. I do not believe that French people are nastier than British people.

With the exception of Arthur, who was evidently gifted with second sight, we did not know about the extermination camps until after Germany was defeated. (Gilbert Murry, who had edited *Peace News* throughout the war, resigned when he saw the film of Belsen camp saying his opposition to that particular war had been mistaken. Our faith in the universal wickedness of

governments was indeed badly shaken, and not restored until the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima three months later.)

After the war the French establishment pretended they had never even surrendered, much less supported the Nazis, and gave medals to the resistance fighters. The British resistance did not get medals because in the event the only army they had to fight was the British army.

**D. R. Fredsom**

HAS it ever occurred to Arthur Moyses (*Freedom*, October) that had there never been a First World War, or had Germany won it, there might never have been a Second, this saving the life of the little girl he saw peering through the doors of a railway carriage taking her to the gas chambers of a concentration camp, as well as those of millions of other innocents? As Bertrand Russell pointed out, the youngsters who grew up in desperate poverty in Germany during the 1920s as a direct result of the punitive economic sanctions imposed by the victorious Allies through the infamous Treaty of Versailles, all too often became the fanatical Nazis of the 30s, determined under their Führer to exact revenge upon their conquerors and restore the 'honour' of the Fatherland.

**John L. Broom**

## Compromise

COMPROMISE has always been a hard thing to live with. It's so much easier to be a haughty purist rather than to risk the dirtying of one's hands with uncertainties.

For the Anarchist the real struggle is not one of enshrouding oneself in purity but a determined and indifferent shovelling through the excrement of contradiction and doubt. Someone has to clean out the toilets. And the really big rats are lurking around the sewers, not the anti-septic temples of the partisans.

It is these partisans who are the weak. We should have no fear of compromise because it should not threaten our beliefs. And if something arises to change our opinion, then we should have the confidence to learn something new and dangerous.

I am saddened when I hear the philosophical arguments that are forever raging between the many factions that exist in anarchist politics. Few seem to realise that such apparently radical dogmatism is allowed us only with the 'permission' of the state, because they happily wish to encourage us to be tricked by our ideas into arguing so much about the rights and wrongs of a thing, that in the final analysis nothing is done!

Before embarking upon a philosophical quest one has to ask if one's ideas actually do anything for anyone else's good — which is, after all, what anarchy is all about.

For the most of us, we were not born with a circled 'A' on our foreheads. Many decisions had been taken long before we arrived at our political conclusions. Do we have the right to tell a person that because they have property and family, or a certain type of job, they have no business calling themselves an anarchist? And do we have the right to enforce change on those who depend on us, simply because we have reached certain conclusions.

It is no easy thing to hold a profound belief. It is far harder to suddenly discover a radical truth. It involves us in the exposing of so many personal conflicts. It more often than not involves asking others around us to accept unimagined change. To make this transition we do not need a harping on about contradiction and compromise — we know well enough that we are not entirely perfect.

What is needed is the love and encouragement of our fellows. In short we

thrive, for the most part, far better on enthusiasm and praise, than struggling against criticism and objection.

We can't do everything. We anarchists cannot change the world overnight. Neither then can we uproot ourselves and become new individuals in the blinking of an eye.

The time has come for someone to say that we are not perfect, and we should not aspire to be perfect. To seek out some kind of idealistic philosophical chastity is to deny the complexity of the human mind and is, worst of all, an attempt to be untrue to ourselves.

Life, however rich or poor, is a struggle. We're all learning, evolving. The great hope upon which humanity hangs however, is individual good. It's all about trying to make sure that the good you do far outweighs the damage you inevitably cause.

If you can ensure this, then you have succeeded in setting yourself apart from 99% of the population. And in this sadly cynical age, such an endeavour is, regrettably, the very best we can hope for.

**Joe Kelly**



## Dismissive and pedantic

IN REPLY to the review of *General Idea of the Revolution*:

1. Whether Proudhon's book is 'far indeed from anarchism', and whether I say anything new about it, or Proudhon, I leave for others to decide. Although, as I myself emphasise in the introduction, Proudhon was far from being a consistent anarchist, in my view *General Idea of the Revolution* is his most anarchist work (with the possible exception of *Confessions of a Revolutionary*) and was regarded as such by others, including Bakunin.

2. I am not an academic.

3. I did not rely on material in English but referred to it on the not unreasonable assumption that someone reading an English translation of Proudhon probably won't have a great facility for the French language. Where I was unable to quote from an English source I quoted directly from the French and translated it myself.

4. I said nothing about John Beverley Robinson because I did not think the biographical details of his life are particularly relevant to a proper understanding of Proudhon's book. That Robinson 'had his translation printed in Germany at his own expense' was a bit of anarchist trivia I thought readers could do without.

5. Whether I fail to show the relevance of Proudhon's ideas is something I again leave to others to decide, but in my conclusion to the introduction I focus on four aspects of his thought which I believe remain of some interest: market socialism, mutualism, federalism and anarchism itself. With respect to the latter I refer readers to John Clark's excellent essay 'Anarchism and the Present World Crisis' which unsurprisingly also met with the disapproval of MH in an earlier review.

What really bothers me about MH's review, and many of the reviews in *Freedom*, is not only their dismissive and pedantic tone but the way in which they must surely discourage people from reading any new publications about anarchism. With reviews like this, is it any wonder that Pluto Press will probably be discontinuing its 'Libertarian Critique' series, so ably edited by David Goodway, who receives similar treatment in the very same edition of *Freedom* in the review of his introduction to *For Anarchism?*

**Robert Graham**

## Six counties

THE leading article in the September issue of *Freedom* was, basically, an exhortation to the people of these six counties to be good. It appeared to be based in part on the notion that the Protestant paramilitaries would stop fighting each other when the Brits left. This is not an idea entertained by many people on this side of the water.

The Protestant people in general are discussed as if they were a small, privileged minority, and not an all-class group comprising a quarter of the population of the whole island. They are a large majority in the six counties, a huge majority on the eastern seaboard, and an overwhelming majority in Belfast.

Since the setting up of the state and a bit on this island in 1920-21, the Protestant population of Eire (the official name since 1937) has declined from 12% to less than 3%. The Catholic population of the six county statelet has remained static in relation to the overall population, about 36%.

Since the present Pope started to undo the work of the Second Vatican Council, the most rigorous element in society in Eire has succeeded in having bans on abortion and then divorce in the Constitution. These amendments to the Constitution were carried by very large majorities. They had already been illegal.

At present, everyone in Northern Ireland is disadvantaged because we are all excluded from the political environment in which *all* of our fellow-citizens in the UK state function. This means that politics here — even if we all became good overnight — would be, as it at present is, frustrating, encouraging cynicism and pointless apolitical violence.

*Freedom* of all magazines should be demanding the extension of full civil rights to all of the people of these six counties.

**Seán McGouran**

We called the Protestant people a 'minority tribe with reason to fear persecution'. That does not seem to us either a small minority or a privileged minority. Last year we had a front-page article stressing the fears of the Protestants and making the point that their paramilitaries intended to act if Ireland was united. Seán McGouran wrote approving. We still think British troops should leave.

## FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

**Section 1 — FPD titles, inland post free, overseas 10% part postage and packing**

BERKMAN, Alexander. What is Communist Anarchism? (Phoenix Press) £3

\*Cabaret 1980-88: an anthology of Political Buffonery (Christiana, Leeds) £1.50

\*Do-It-Yourself Guide to the Liberation of Learning (Lib Ed) £1

KROPOTKIN, P. The Great French Revolution (Black Rose) £11.50 (with intro by George Woodcock)

PAZ, Abel. Durruti: the People armes (Black Rose) £7.95

ROUSSOPOULOS, D. (ed) The Anarchist Papers 2 (Black Rose) £7.95

KNABB, Ken (ed) Situationist International Anthology (Bureau of Public Secrets) £9.90

TEFLON, Zeke. A Manual of Pirate Radio (See Sharp Press) £1

WINSLOW, Kent. Dream World (from *The Match*) £5.50

WOODCOCK, George. Aphra Benn: the English Sappho (Black Rose) £9.95

WOODCOCK, George. Oscar Wilde: the double image (Black Rose) £9.95

**Section 2 — inland 10%, overseas 20% part postage and packing**

\*Anarchism and Ireland (Workers Solidarity Movement) 90p

DE LIGT, Bart. The Conquest of Violence (Pluto Press) £7.95

DOLGOFF, Sam. A Critique of Marxism (Soil of Liberty, USA) 90p

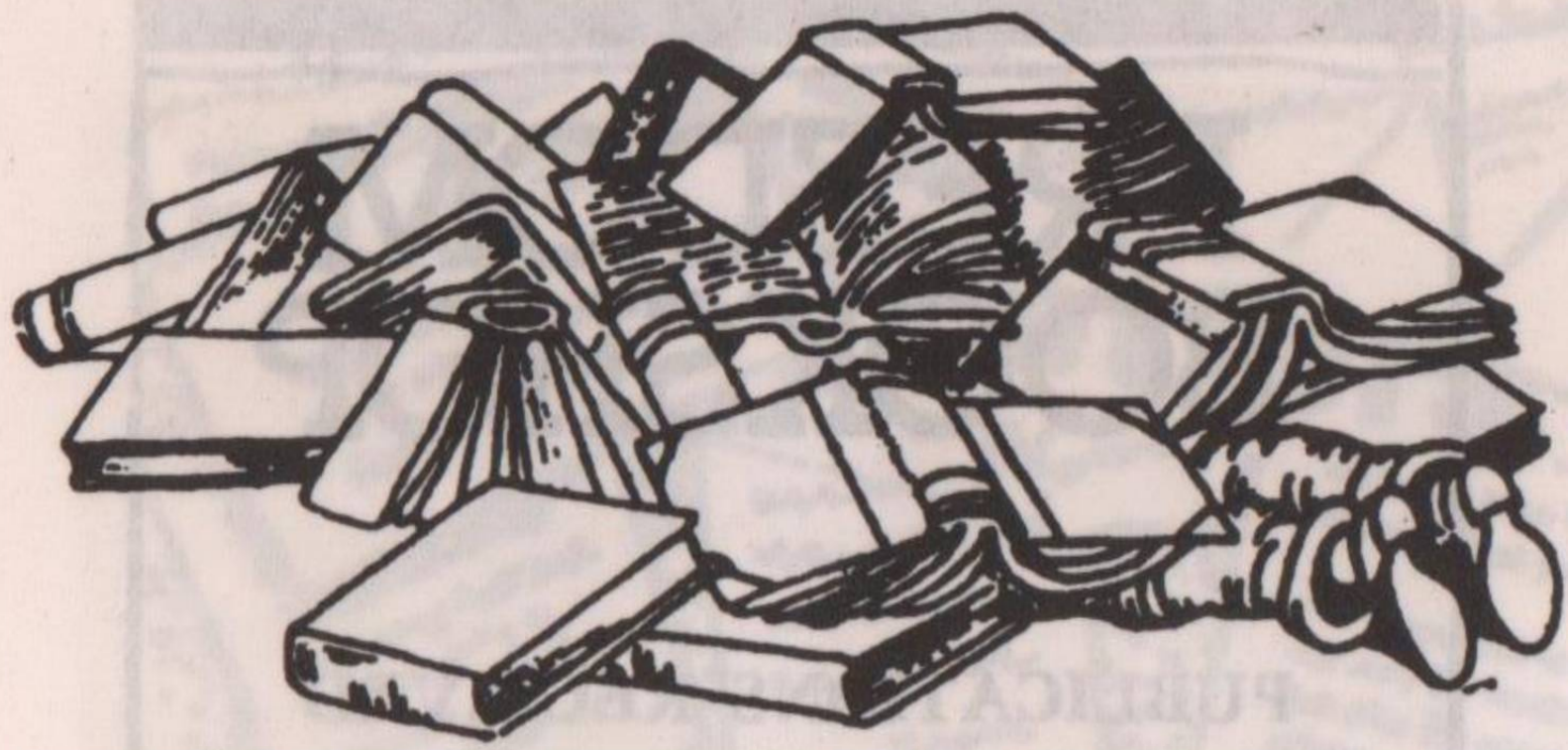
FONTENIS, Georges. Manifesto of Libertarian Communism (Anarchist Communist Federation) 60p

GOODWAY, David (ed). For Anarchism: History, Theory and Practice (History Workshop series) (Routledge) £14.95

\*Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists (Workers Solidarity Movement) £1.50

PROUDHON, P-J. General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century (Pluto Press) £7.95

RETY, John. Song of Anarchy and other poems (Box Two, London) £2.50



**British Imperialism & The Palestine Crisis — Selections from the Anarchist Journals FREEDOM & WAR COMMENTARY (1938-1948)**  
Freedom Press £1.95

HERE is an important book. This will remind people of what *Freedom* and *War Commentary* writers wrote, their misgivings, their advice and their concern. What they said then unfortunately has come true today. The same difficulties remain.

The first thing to understand is that the conflict was not, in the forties, between the 'Jews' and the 'Arabs' — two peoples with similar outlook and predicaments, the desert, the sea, the nomad life, the incredibly frightening and exhilarating scenery, the lands of milk and honey, the olive groves and citrus fruit, the ships of the desert. They shared the same history of pomp and magnificence followed by subjugation and dire poverty. They saw the same mirages, which fuelled and confused their imagination. Of the three choices of Art, Science and Religion this made them distrust the first two. The 'Jews' only allowed for 24 books to explain everything and those books have not been added to for thousands of years. The 'holy books' have ground to a halt. I cannot dwell on this long but the treatment given to Salman Rushdie's lyrical hymn to love (dreadfully mistitled) was a recent proof of the 'closed book' also of the 'Arab' religion, where nothing can be added except praise. This is not to say that the other two choices, those of Art and Science, have at all produced a satisfactory mode of life. Science and Art reinforce each other in producing the beautiful, the exact, the heartless, the imaginationless, artificial, love refusing, barbarous, cruel world we call 'Western civilisation'. We have given up life for the sake of survival.

Bertolt Brecht in his *Galileo* equates life with survival. 'Life is the common heritage of all' goes the phrase. For the people in the desert, where the wind and the sand whirl around, where towns appear upside down in mirages, life is being alive; it is the greatest treat of all.

So what about this insane conflict? The *Freedom* writers Albert Meltzer and Reginald Reynolds both, from

their different viewpoints, worked against the superimposition of States (here is 'treatment in depth' for contemporary readers). Both 'anarchist' and 'Jewish anarchist' agreed on the essential premise that *the creation of another State*, the State of Israel, would bring chaos to that region. Let me repeat that the present conflict did not exist in 1938-48. The forces of barbarism have since gained a beach-head.

From dogs they make alsatians, from alsatians they make soldiers. And everybody else is a terrorist, for nothing terrorises the State more than the suggestion that the State is not needed;

that it is a false concept.

But then what about the poor people under the vast sky, their lacerated bodies, their flesh and bone existence, the devouring hunger. I can hear their wail, I see their brown sorrowful eyes, their withered arms outstretched, their head turned to the heavens, why punish us 'O Lord' while others are in the lap of luxury controlling our lives forever.

I haven't mentioned the oil.

John Rety

(John Rety is an ex-editor of *Freedom*. His book *Song of Anarchy* is stocked by Freedom Bookshop. Box 2. £2.50.)

INCORPORATES  
WAR  
COMMENTARY

# FREEDOM

through Anarchism

CONSTITUTION  
OR  
REVOLUTION  
  
(see page 2)

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Vol. 7, No. 21.
10th AUGUST, 1946.
Fortnightly, 2d.

## GOVERNMENT & TERRORISM

### Hypocrisy in Palestine

THE Moving up of the King David Hotel on July 22nd has resulted in an official... (text continues)

human feelings. But to raise one's hands in an attitude of pious disapproval is just and... (text continues)

Magical operations, they are a completely inevitable... (text continues)

## British Imperialism & The Palestine Crisis

### Selections from the Anarchist Journal FREEDOM 1938-1948

WHAT BRITISH TERROR INVOLVES... (text continues)

quatters' Victory... (text continues)

THE... (text continues)

## FOUR MONTHS IN RUSSIA

We are publishing here extracts from a pamphlet written by a French worker who was prisoner of war in Germany and, after having been "liberated" by the Red Army spent several months in Russia before being sent back to France.

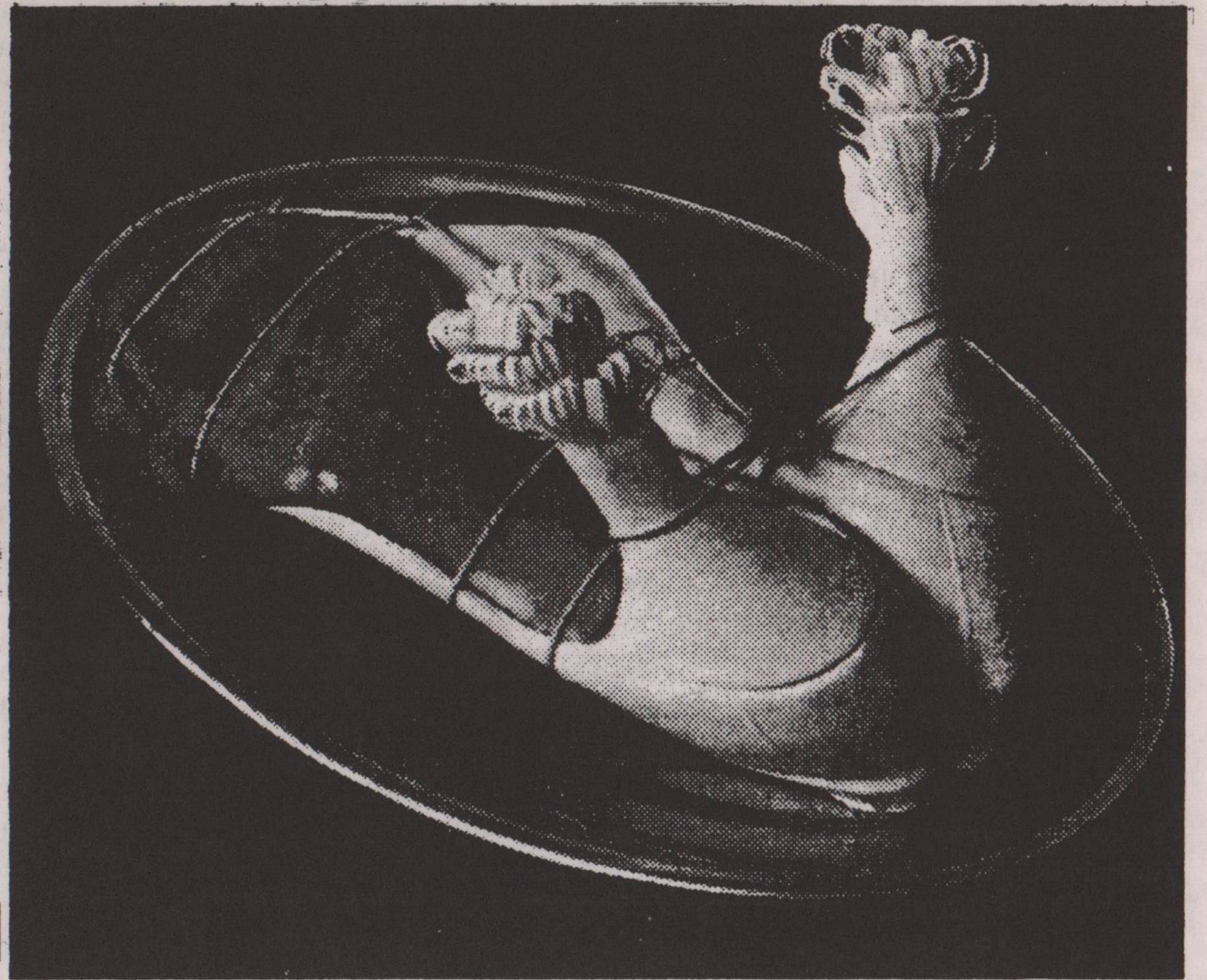
This volume is one of a set which celebrates the **FREEDOM PRESS Centenary** by reprinting articles from anarchist journals published by the press between **October 1886 and October 1986.**

The main volume of which this book is a supplement is **World War - Cold War** Selections from the Anarchist Journals **WAR COMMENTARY & FREEDOM 1939-1950** Published September 1989, 430 pages. £6.95. ISBN 0 90038 448 4

# FREEDOM PRESS

## £1.95

# Meret Oppenheim



**Meret Oppenheim Retrospective**  
ICA, The Mall, London SW1  
13th October — 3rd December

IF you thought Switzerland's contribution to the civilised world was confined to a type of cheese with holes in it and the cuckoo clock (admirable in themselves) then a look at this exhibition will enlighten you.

Meret Oppenheim had the 'misfortune' to create at the age of 23 the *Dejeuner en Fourrure* (furry teacup), a unique contribution to the collection of Surrealist objects. All other works that followed in a career spanning over 30 years were categorised as Surrealist and although Meret worked with the Surrealists in the 1930's she strove to defy categories. This truly revealing exhibition shows a wide range of sculpture, painting, drawings, photography and furniture and is, remarkably, the first retrospective exhibition of her work in this country.

This exhibition is also the latest in a healthy trend over the last few years of presenting the work of female artists whose careers were overshadowed and dominated by the men they lived with. Other artists included Frida Khalo, Tina Modotti, Dorothea Tanning, Remedios Varo and now Meret Oppenheim.

**Francis Wright**

**Undermining the Central Line**  
**Chatto Counterblasts No 7**  
*Ruth Rendell and Colin Ward*  
Chatto and Windus £2.99

THE latest book in a series designed to give Britain's finest writers and thinkers a chance to confront the crucial issues of the day, written in a style to question, to surprise to stir up debate — and to change people's minds. So goes the theory.

This particular book (54 pages) is subtitled 'Giving Government back to the People' and is an attempt to show in six short chapters how the insidious central government mentality and actions impinge on our daily lives and deny us real democratic choice. As to be expected from two writers who live in one of England's finest counties (Suffolk) and who, in most ways, are separated from the hurly-burly that affects most city dwellers; this book is written in a utopian, almost laid-back, style (some unkindly would say wet). It is not the style one would expect from a series designed to be in the tradition of pamphleteering, no hard hitting show of anger, not even one four letter word!

Starting with a 'flash back' view from the 21st Century of two Suffolk villages, Polstead and Kersey (where the writers live), it goes on to show how two local issues — housing and schooling — are dealt with. How the local school was closed because there weren't enough children, there weren't enough children because young people

couldn't afford the local housing, no new low-cost was/is being built etc. How control over all these local issues is being dealt with by an increasing central government machinery that denies local democracy.

In the last chapter the threads are brought together to link those issues with similar issues and how they are dealt with in urban areas. It would be foolish however to suggest that they can be dealt with in a similar manner, for I would suggest a well organised campaign in rural areas, given genuine local support, would have more impact and chance of success.

Subsequent chapters look at how European Countries, particularly Switzerland, have much more local participation and democracy and, with the exception of Romania and Albania, put the United Kingdom as the most centralised State in Europe. Despite a nice quotation from William Morris writing in 1890 on how decision making can be reached amicably, it would appear that since the last decade of the 19th Century when local government structures were completely reformed, it has been one long decline towards centralised control.

This is an interesting pamphlet which deserves to be widely read. I am sure I will not be the only one to find a certain irony in the combination of our finest crime writers with on of our finest anarchist writers, writing about the need to undermine the authority and thinking of Central Governments.

**Francis Wright**

# Bonanno and Stasi

AS WE reported in the March *Freedom*, Alfredo Bonanno and Guiseppe Stasi were apprehended on 2 February in the course of robbing a jewellery shop in Bergamo. They pleaded guilty and on 2 October they were sentenced — Bonanno to five years six months, and Stasi to four years eight months. Serving these sentences, they await trial on other charges, of which they declare themselves innocent.

Bonanno is known to English-speaking anarchists as the author of *From Riot to Insurrection* and introductions to other books. 'Pippi' Stasi is prominent as an anarchist activist in Sicily. Elsewhere on this page we publish a letter which they sent to the movement in June but which did not reach us — translated into English — until after the October *Freedom* had gone to press.

In the letter they make it clear that the robbery was undertaken exclusively for personal reasons. We

had heard a rumour that they intended to make a political defence, claiming that the attempted expropriation was a contribution to the anarchist revolution, and we are pleased (though not surprised) that our comrades did not after all give the gutter press such a splendid opportunity to misrepresent the anarchist message.

We all need money in this money society, and every one of us acquires money in a way which could be characterised as dishonest. In the

matter of covering our private expenses we all live in glass houses, and none of us can afford to throw stones.

Robbery always carries the risk of prison. The anarchist demand that prisons should be destroyed is for the benefit of *all* prisoners, and we commend Bonanno and Stasi for their honour in not demanding a special campaign on their behalf, simply because of their prestige in the anarchist movement. It remains to be seen whether the state will respect this honour by leaving their opinions out of the evidence in the forthcoming trials.

In any event we wish our comrades well and hope for their acquittal. Anyone who wishes to contribute to their legal costs can do so through *Insurrection*, BMElephant, London WC1N 3xx.

WE ARE speaking out to say a number of things about our case, few but clear.

We were arrested here in Bergamo on 2 February during an *attempted robbery* in a jeweller's shop in the town centre. Taken to police headquarters we were immediately charged with robbery and, a few hours later, when they finally discovered our names, they informed us that due to our being anarchists they intended to 'fit us up' by charging us with other robberies and a murder.

While we were held by the police we were also given the usual treatment of being beaten up for a number of hours, but we do not want to insist on this 'torture' here as we have no intention of adopting a victimistic position.

We declared that we had attempted the robbery *exclusively for personal reasons*, in a word because we did not have jobs and needed the money.

Finally, we stated that we are anarchists and revolutionaries.

Carrying on with the frameup that they had announced right from the start, two Bergamo judges are now accusing us of a robbery with murder that took place in that town in 7 April 1987, and another robbery still in Bergamo on 9 March 1985, and things might not even stop there. Needless to say we have nothing to do with these other robberies or the murder.

These new and quite unfounded

accusations that have been made against us as forecast by the head of the Bergamo flying squad are intended to strike us not because of our failed attempt at robbery, but because we are anarchists.

At this point it seems obvious that the intention of the police and judiciary is to strike all our revolutionary work and our involvement in the social struggle over the past years.

We have seen that a divergence of opinions has developed in the anarchist movement concerning this case, when not simply a convenient silence. We obviously maintain the thesis of those who say that when anarchists 'need money they go and take it', and in fact that is what we tried to do. But now it seems to us that, as was foreseeable, the problem has moved away from that aspect.

Now things are clear: we are now accused of offences that carry life sentences, because we are anarchists. They want to make us pay for our anarchist activity, accusing us of things we have nothing to do with.

We are not afraid. We are proud to confirm our anarchist militancy loud and clear, both before the State and in the face of all those who in the name of a misplaced respectability want to have us buried.

Alfredo M. Bonanno  
Pippo Stasi



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

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GLASGOW Anarchist Group, PO Box 239, Glasgow G5 0LW

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