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FIFTY PENCE

*"In vain you tell me that government is good, but that I fall out only with the abuse. The thing itself is the abuse."
Edmund Burke*

THE FEAST IS OVER 1994 UNEMPLOYMENT GALORE!

Effective though the government's legislation has proved, in finally destroying the already bankrupt trades union movement in this country, their master stroke was to ensure that there should be a large permanent pool of unemployed – not only among the so-called unskilled – for there is nothing like it to make those still in work work harder for less pay.

In 1979 the Thatcher government inherited high unemployment (remember the 'Labour isn't working' poster?) and high inflation. They eventually reduced the inflation at the expense of a massive increase in unemployment so much so that the then chancellor launched his, now notorious, 'spend-spend-spend' policy: plastic cards galore, the banks falling over each other to lend money, and Mrs Thatcher's 'property-owning democracy' was launched with gusto. Property prices were rising so rapidly that some people changed houses once a year and made a profit on each transaction.

THE PRICE OF THE FREE-FOR-ALL CAPITALIST SOCIETY

A Norwich manufacturer of 'aromatic products' was labelled by the Low Pay Unit as 'Scrooge of the Year'. He is threatening to sue them for libel.

They say he seeks full-time clerical workers for £50 a week – which is less than even a pensioner receives. It was also alleged that he pays homeworkers 7p a sachet for making the products, which is an hourly rate of between 28p and 42p according to the unit.

Among the 'Scrooge's' rivals for the title the Low Pay Unit includes:

"... a company paying a security guard £1.19 an hour for an 84-hour week; a butcher's shop which gave a 17 year old £1.37 an hour for working 56 hours. Other cases included a 23 year old beauty therapist in a hairdressing salon who worked 66 hours at 53p an hour; homeworkers employed at an hourly rate of 28p; and a sale representative who worked 60 hours a week for 80p an hour."

in this issue

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SPAIN
FRANCISIMO TO
FELIPISIMO
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THE EX-USSR
MEET THE NEW BOSS

But all 'good things' in the capitalist world end up benefiting a very few at the expense of the many.

True, for three years or so unemployment went down, but when all the bills had to be paid the great Lawson-Thatcher dream soon turned into a nightmare. Unemployment went up and small businesses went broke. Revenue from taxation on profits and employment decreased. Even the banks had to write off billions of pounds in unpaid debts. (In

the case of one or two banks, such as BCCI which went broke, the bosses helped themselves with 'loans' that have 'disappeared'!)

Thatcher's 'property-owning' devotees are having their homes repossessed in tens of thousands annually by the moneylenders, and finding themselves homeless, the 'lucky' ones into bed and breakfast temporary accommodation, other joining the cardboard box residents in the big cities.

The price of the Lawson 'bonanza' in the '90s is that the balance of payments (that is imports-exports) has escalated (in spite of the fact that Britain boasts that it is now the second largest exporter of weapons of destruction, mainly to the starving third world!) and successive chancellors – Major, Lamont – can only boast that in their wisdom and expertise the debt that their latest successor – the apparently cheerful beer-drinking Ken Clarke – inherited was £50,000 million. *But the sacred cows for this government are on*
(continued on page 2)

WILL BRITISH WORKERS HAVE TO COMPETE WITH THIS TO KEEP THEIR JOBS?

An example of the price workers are paying for the so-called Chinese Economic Miracle received some publicity when the Zhili toy factory was destroyed by fire caused by an electric short circuit. Eighty one workers died, mostly young women from distant provinces, according to Simon Long, *Guardian* correspondent in Hong Kong.

The high death toll can be explained when one learns that:

"On the upper two storeys, the heavy wire mesh over the windows survived the blaze. The blocked windows contributed to the high death toll. Many suffocated in the poisonous fumes. Even the doors were locked to keep them at their work."

But this was no isolated case of a

dangerous factory in China.

"According to official statistics, probably understated, 11,600 people died at their workplaces in the first eight months of this year."

The Zhili factory, as with most of industry in Shezen, described by Simon Long as "the boom town that has arisen almost overnight on Hong Kong's border", is *Hong Kong owned*. Indeed:

"Much of Hong Kong's manufacturing industry, including an estimated 90 per cent of its toy production, has relocated across the border, in China."

No wonder the Hong Kong Stock Exchange is booming ... on slave labour. And how much of that capital investment came from London?

THE FEAST IS OVER 1994 UNEMPLOYMENT GALORE!

(continued from page 1)

course: inflation has been kept within the declared limits (only because workers' wages have been frozen and retail prices slashed) and interest rates have come down several points in the year which is 'good news' for all those who owe money to the banks and other moneylenders, and not least the government (they will argue that we the public benefit thereby) having to service the £50 million debt they have landed us with! The bad news is for some pensioners who have savings to supplement the £56 a week on which a single pensioner is expected to keep fit and enjoy all the perks that the advertisers dangle before our noses daily!

But Christmas is over and 'the (City) pigs are getting (too) fat'. but it's no use thinking that government will 'put a penny in the old man's hat'. They are not even doing so for the young, why bother about the old who are still getting their generous Christmas bonanza of £10 - unchanged for how many years?

The Tories have been in office for fourteen years but in power (meaning the 5% of the population who own 60% of the nation's wealth) for hundreds of years. No Labour government, nor trades union nor well-meaning middle class professional-dominated would-be pressure groups, such as Charter 88 (a *New Statesman & Society* creation now boasting a membership of 50,000 of obviously well-educated well-established people with at least a bad conscience) will even dent the status quo until they have the courage to attack the capitalist system and private property.* Most realist anarchists are only too aware of the fact that a system even approaching that envisaged by anarchists cannot be attained via the ballot box. We are also more than conscious that most people are

* For the sake of some nit-picking anarchists, we believe that everybody should have a roof over their heads as of right for life, just as they should have the means to provide their daily needs in food and clothing as a minimum.

THE POLICE OPT FOR THE NARK

It was one of the characteristics of the fascist regimes in Italy and Germany, and Stalinism in Russia and satellites, that the patriotic citizen was prepared to inform not only on his neighbour but even on members of the family. In Britain our police have relied on paid informers to do the dirty work. And they even have the nerve to publish in their annual report that "increased use of informants may be more cost-effective than surveillance operations".

Not even 'solidarity' among the crooks!

neither aware nor sympathetic to the anarchist alternative even though most of them are the victims of capitalism.

As realist anarchists we also know that, with rare exceptions (which we hope will find their way into our 'Good News' column), most 'right-thinking' people in the Western world are not prepared to go beyond manifestoes, protest meetings and demonstrations at weekends and May Day marches on a non-working day!

The ruling class, which as we have explained earlier need not necessarily be the government, recognises only two kinds of opposition: violence (which they denounce as 'terrorism' but their own violence is 'law and order') and workers' organised resistance, which in our opinion becomes irresistible only and when it is based on solidarity. We are neither playing on words nor idealising the 'working class'. We are simply saying that until all the millions of people who are dependent on somebody with the power to hire or fire they have a common enemy - not just the bloke who takes that decision; in a sense he too can be a scapegoat for the system - and yes, you have guessed, we are saying it is the capitalist system that must be destroyed.

Equally important, it cannot be destroyed until enough of us agree as to what the alternative should be. But even more important, that we are prepared to do something - and something means more than just attending lectures or the attractive summer schools in Glasgow, Venice and the latest one in Barcelona where as many as a thousand people attended, including a contingent from Glasgow! More than we have readers in Glasgow these days!

But ultimately capitalism (nor government for that matter) will give up its power and privileges because a majority so wishes. In that case reason cannot prevail because any government or ruling class will in the end have to resort to force.

We go on repeating, as often as we can: government is violence, depending as it does on laws, mainly based on property, and which are enforced by the police, the judiciary, the prisons and ultimately the armed forces. Anarchists are opposed to the use of violence to impose their ends. What we do say is that if, and when, a majority of the people have no time for the parliamentary circus, which anyway only rubber-stamps the privileged capitalist society, then the people will be faced by the military and presumably the pacifists among us will seek to reason with them and we hope that the revolutionary anarchists will take a leaf out of the history of their Spanish comrades in 1936 and go the whole hog and avoid their mistakes!

We are only too aware that we are a long way from even the Spanish situation of 1936. But in our opinion the capitalist system in 1994 is in a greater crisis than it was in 1936. Then the crisis

was European. Today the crisis for western capitalism is the competition from the Far East which is being financed by capital from the West. It also coincides with the ratification of the GATT treaty which again is in the interest not just of the United States but of the transnationals. After all, 500 of the latter control 80% of world trade.

The 'health' of capitalism depends on the expansion of the economy - that is of the markets. Western European markets are virtually saturated, more so since the Far East is swamping them with all the technology - radios, videos, televisions, the lot - which could never be produced in Europe at the slave-waged prices of China, Taiwan, etc.

There could be three possible solutions to save government face and the unemployment problem which, however, this government is not prepared to take. The first has to be to halt the export of capital to Eastern Europe and the Far East. The government and the opposition are all the time talking about investing in industry here. At the same time we came across a news item (*Guardian*, 4th December) which reads:

"Britain has purchased more companies in the privatisation of East Germany's industry than any other country, it emerged this week. The UK has bought 121 firms ... with £806 millions of investment guaranteeing over 17,000 jobs."

Another *Guardian* item refers to "an entire redundant Welsh steel mill" which is being "floated through the port of Liverpool towards industrial revival in China". Presumably the steel produced in China will then be imported to this country.

The second 'solution' is to encourage production locally, regionally and nationally and exclude imports which compete. We will be told that this is 'protectionism'. What these same defenders of free trade don't tell us is that for these cheap imports, often subsidised either by the taxpayers of those exporting countries or by slave labour wages, the public is paying by the back door for unemployment here!

The third 'solution' - which is so obvious but escapes the government, perhaps because they may think that votes are involved - and it is that of work-sharing. Sooner or later, as technology takes over more and more repetitive and boring jobs, surely the leisure society is on the horizon and we should be demanding a shorter working week. On the continent they are already introducing a 35-hour or the four-day week, but here not only has parliament voted a seven-day week for shops, but any proposals for work-sharing or a shorter working week are being resisted by employers and vigorously by the government. Understandably, but a freedom-loving lot of wage-slaves would surely accept even a reduction in wages in order to have an extra day or two a week away from the office or factory. Or were we so consumer-orientated as to be money worshippers? If that is the case, dear anarchists propagandists, you've got a rough job on your hands!

But the anarchist message is surely the only one that makes sense.

OUR 'GOOD NEWS' COLUMN

A traveller is a traveller is a traveller ...

It is gratifying to be able to contribute to the 'Good News' column so soon after my account of the predicament of the travellers at Yoke Farm in Herefordshire who faced immediate eviction subject to the outcome of the local public inquiry.

The inspector has made his report earlier than expected and found for the farmer and against the council. The enforcement notice is quashed and a planning permission granted, albeit for a limited period of two years. The advantage of this qualification is that it enables the inspector to side-step a danger I had foreseen. I was fearful that the council would try and impose unwanted and unnecessary arrangements for hygiene that would torpedo the travellers' and the farmer's intention of preserving the unspoilt natural beauty of the site. But the inspector says: "I do not consider that harm to any interest of acknowledged importance would result from allowing the site to continue in its present manner for a comparatively short period of two years".

So no ablutions blocks or ring roads for fire engines. All he is insisting on is that numbers are kept down to present levels and that a better, safer access to the site be made. This last point had already been the subject of an amicable conversation with the best of the council's witnesses, the highways engineer who has agreed to a reasonable, practical proposal for improving sight lines.

I think that the inspector, in his enlightenment, might have published his findings particularly promptly in order to be able to give planning permission before the (imminent) repeal of the 1968 Caravan Sites Act. This Act, with its accompanying ministry circulars, as well as making it a duty on local authorities to provide adequate accommodation for gypsies residing in or resorting to their area, also gave travellers special status when local authorities were considering planning applications.

The inspector acknowledges in his report that under the proposed new legislation gypsies will have to suffer their applications being "treated on the same footing as other developments",* in the words of the government's draft planning guidance notes.

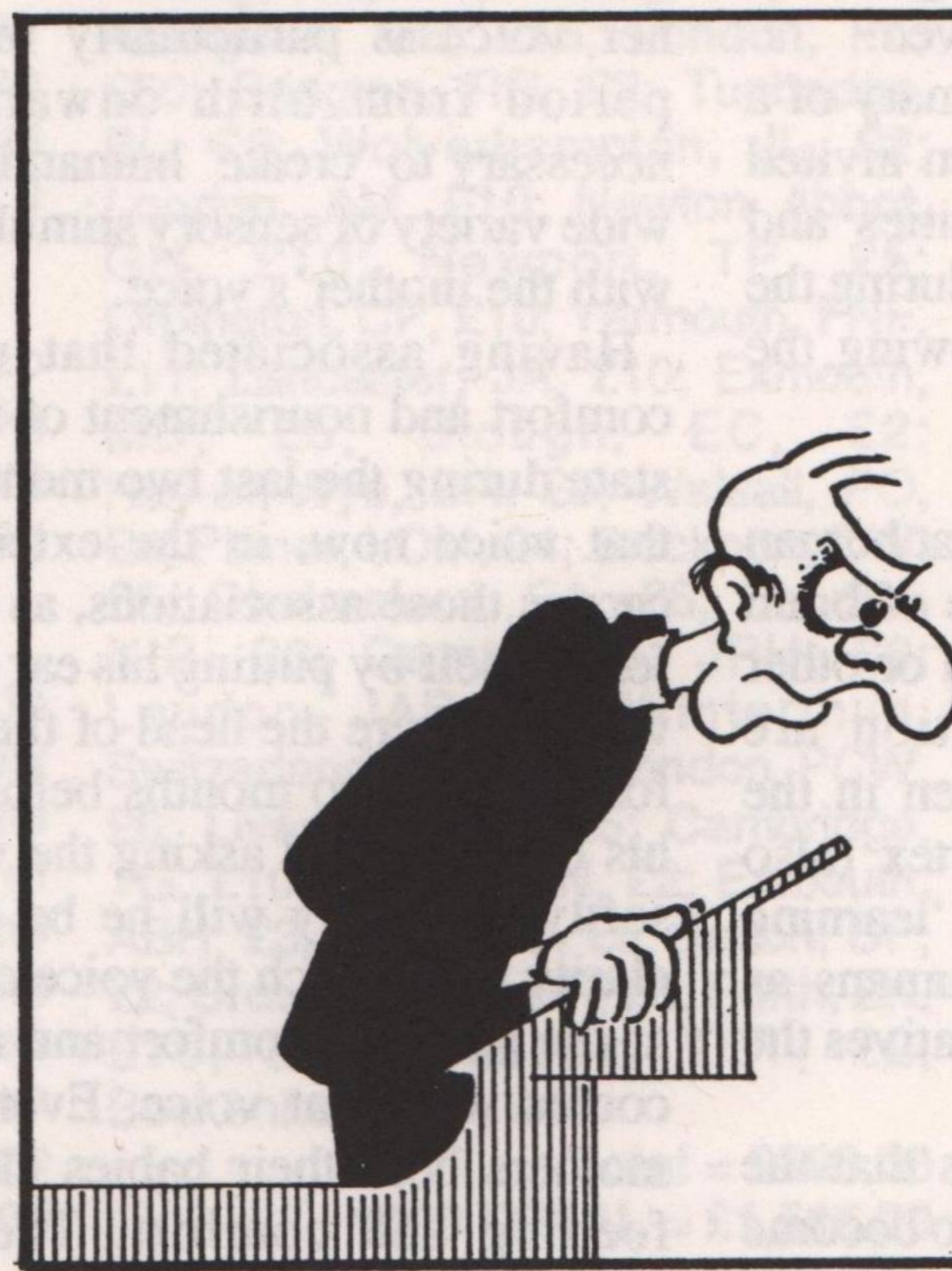
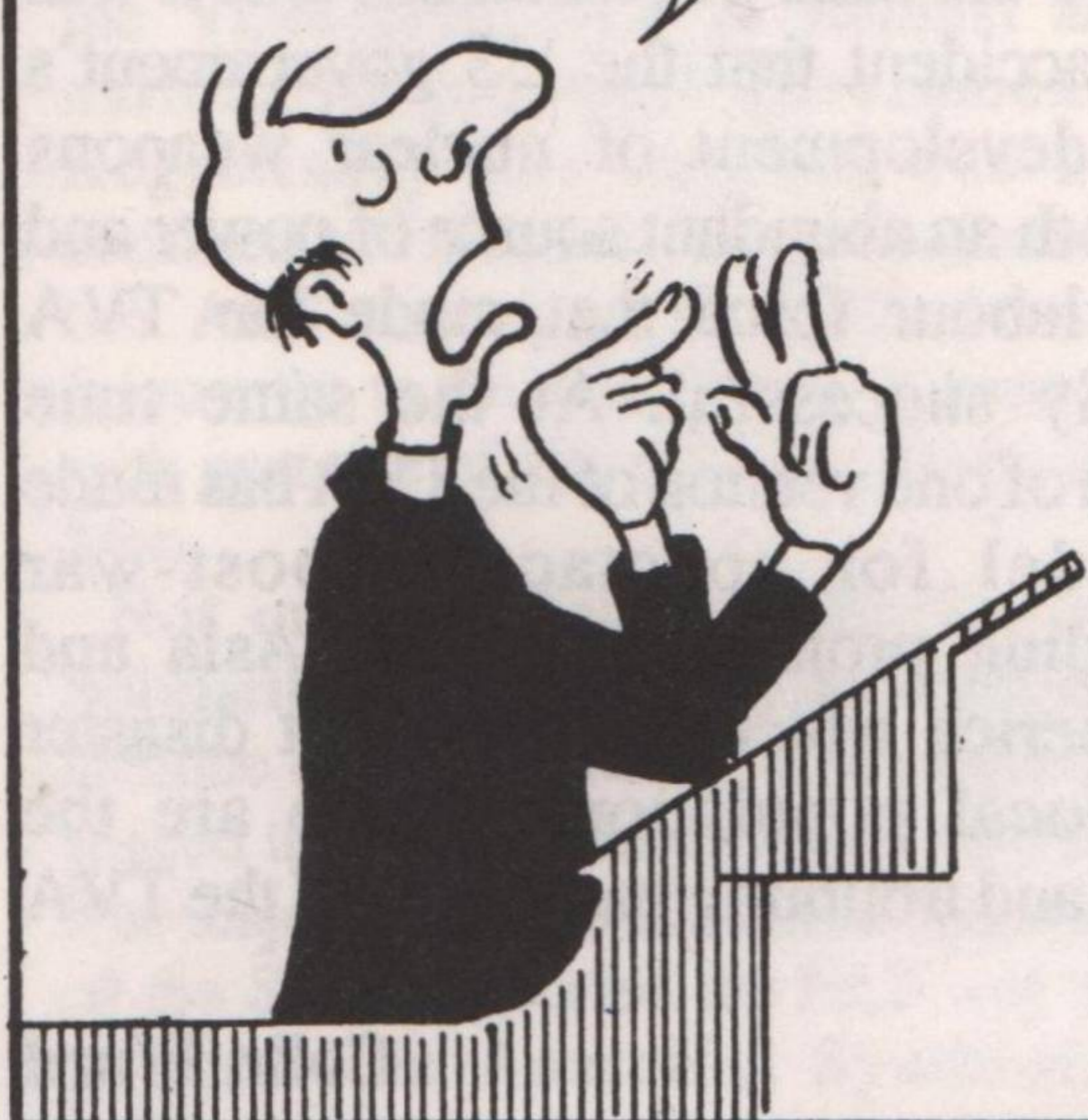
(continued on page 7)

* This sounds okay until you consider the unrestrained prejudice which gypsies experience at the hands of the settled majority, manifesting itself as vehement opposition to any gypsy proposal; and the absence, in a development plan led system, of provision in the laid-down 'structure plans' for any such development.

WiddGCAD

The bomb throwers of Northern Ireland - on both sides - are 1) godless, 2) selfish, 3) anarchic, and 4) cowardly.

Rubbish! They're 1) religious, 2) prepared to sacrifice themselves, 3) highly disciplined, and 4) willing to die for the cause.



... And worst of all, 5) they think of those qualities as praiseworthy.



— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

Paradoxes of TVA

As the European union enters a new year with twenty million unemployed workers, those politicians who aren't totally enslaved by free market dogmas look back longingly at Roosevelt's New Deal of sixty years ago, the Keynesian policy of public works intended to lift America out of the Depression. Its most lasting monument was the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), a vast programme of water control in the poorest part of the poorest region of the United States, intended, as Percy Goodman noted, to provide an area the size of England "with hydro-electric power, flood control, a navigation system, soil and forest conservation, from which followed rural electrification, manufacturing industry, model farms, educational and health services".

By 1933, as Herbert Agar put it, the area's livelihood had drained away with its topsoil. "The balance of nature was upset. A land of abundance had become a land of rural slums." The isolated valleys were occupied by subsistence farmers attempting to grow cash crops, and as yields diminished they cut down the trees, burnt off the vegetation and ploughed the hill slopes, moving further and further up the mountain sides. The heavy rainfall, the failure to replace the land's fertility and the removal of the forest cover allowed the soil to wash away into the rivers.

There are two possible explanations for the programme of rescue that followed: anarchist and governmental. The geographer Peter Hall traces what he calls "the anarchist roots of the planning movement" through a tradition which flows from the founding fathers of French geography, Paul Vidal de la Blache and Elisée Reclus, to the Russian Peter Kropotkin and the Scottish biologist Patrick Geddes.

"For Vidal and his followers, as for Geddes, regional study gave understanding of an 'active, experienced environment' which 'was the motor power of human development; the almost sensual reciprocity between men and women and their surroundings was the seat of comprehensible liberty and the mainspring of cultural evolution', which were being attacked and eroded by the centralised nation-state and by large-scale machine industry ... For Geddes, as for Vidal, the region was more than an object of survey; it was to provide the basis for the total reconstruction of social and political life."

Peter Hall explains that "one of the most crucial insights that Geddes borrowed from Kropotkin" was the impact of technical change, the prospect that "new sources of power, hydraulic and especially electric, meant that a big central unit of power was no longer needed; industries that depended chiefly on skilled labour had no economies of

scale; observably the newer industries tended to be small in scale". He cites Kropotkin's view in *Fields, Factories and Workshops* that the big industrial concentrations of the nineteenth century were destined to die out (as indeed they have, to the immense cost of the populations, by the end of the twentieth century) and he noted how Geddes directly followed Kropotkin in anticipating an era in which we would "apply our constructive skill, our vital energies, towards the public conservation instead of the private dissipation of resources, and towards the evolution instead of the destruction of the lives of others."

In the small, specialist world of American advocates of these ideas, the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) was started in March 1923 as a result of chance meetings between Geddes' most influential disciple, Lewis Mumford, with the architects Clarence Stein and Henry Wright and the proposer of an Appalachian Trail, Benton MacKaye. In June that year, Patrick Geddes visited New York, and the RPAA adopted a programme which included the creation of garden cities within a regional plan, development of regional project, "and surveys of key areas, notably the Tennessee Valley basin".

There was also a quite different governmental range of enthusiasts for the Tennessee Valley. Theodore Roosevelt, re-elected as president in 1904, was famous for his bellicose, imperialist policies abroad, and for his concern with the conservation of natural resources at home. It was his ideas that led to the establishment of both military and civilian bodies given the task of studying the problems and potentialities of the American regions.

During the First World War the federal government had built nitrate plants in the Tennessee Valley for the production of explosives and had begun a dam to supply them with electric power. The post-war Republican governments of Coolidge and Hoover proposed to sell the plants and dam to Henry Ford, but the sale was blocked by Senator George Norris, whose bills for federal control were, in turn, vetoed by the presidents. Meanwhile two army engineers, General Brown and Major Watson, had by 1930 published a comprehensive 734-page report on *The Tennessee River and its Tributaries*. Armed with this and the studies made by the

RPAA, Norris waited for a change in the political climate.

With F.D. Roosevelt's New Deal promising to get America back to work, the TVA was created on 18th May 1933. To its board he appointed three men who made, as Hall explains, "a totally, explosively incompatible mixture". The chairman was A.E. Morgan, who "had much in common with the early utopian communitarians" and "saw the job as his life's opportunity to realise his personal vision of a new physical and cultural environment: a vision he believed FDR to share". He hoped that the new town of Norris would follow the Kropotkinian vision of a place where the inhabitants would combine agriculture and industry. He was soon in dispute with his colleagues and was dismissed by Roosevelt in 1938.

The second member was David Lilienthal, described by Hall as "an immensely ambitious, driving young man with the reputation of stealing any show he joined". He wrote the official account of the TVA (a best-selling Penguin in wartime Britain) and was in charge of power generation and the engineering works concerned with water control. These were a vast technical achievement. By the end of its first twenty years, the TVA had built twenty dams across the river and its tributaries and these, together with those which existed before 1933, form a system of 28 reservoirs controlling the flow of water by a defence-in-depth system of flood control which, along the Tennessee River and the lower Ohio and Mississippi, brought annual savings of many millions of dollars worth of otherwise unavoidable damage. The locks and reservoirs form 630 miles of navigable canal from Paducah to Knoxville.

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The Moral Maze – another view

In a recent discussion in Radio 4 entitled 'The Moral Maze', a majority of the participants expressed the view that 'God' (undefined) or 'Religion' (also undefined) were necessary to endow mankind with morality. One or two made passing reference to 'the family' but without indicating how it operated or, indeed, why it had evolved.

The following is a very short summary of a set of ideas which I expounded when invited to lecture in some twenty universities and almost all the colleges of education during the period of nearly twenty years following the closure of Risinghill School.

The first thing to understand is that human beings have evolved a structure of brain of such a kind that language, speech or other forms of symbolic communication are essential. Physically this can be seen in the much greater proportion of neocortex (also known as 'associative cortex' or 'learning cortex') to sensorimotor cortex in humans as compared with even their nearest relatives the higher apes.

The second thing to understand is that the human being takes a very long time to become

an adult because language, if it is to be effective, has to become part of the psyche of the individual – a process that has to start from before birth and continue for many years. It is by now almost universally known that the child can hear its mother's voice for at least two months before birth and that the sound of her voice is particularly important in the period from birth onwards when it is necessary to 'create' human intelligence by a wide variety of sensory stimulation associated with the mother's voice.

Having associated that voice with the comfort and nourishment of the intra-uterine state during the last two months before birth, that voice now, in the external world, still carries those associations, as anyone may try for himself by putting his ear on the belly of a woman where the head of the baby would be for the last two months before birth, closing his other ear and asking the woman to speak softly. Not only will he be surprised at the clarity with which the voice can be heard, but at the sense of comfort and reassurance that comes with that voice. Even after the birth mothers hold their babies close to them for feeding and comfort. They continue to

comfort much older children in the same way, as women always have comforted their distressed men.

The family, whose very centre is the mother and her voice, is the birthplace of morality for every new infant. There he is loved and nourished for many years, not only by his mother but by his father, by older siblings, aunts, uncles, grandparents, close friends of the family, old and young. This constant love and nourishment gives him his sense of his own worth. The daily example of similar love and care extended to other babies and young children powerfully builds into his psyche the theme of equality in love. He, in return, feels affection for all those who care for him, whether they are members of the family or friends. Whoever ministers creates love.

It was only with the discovery by Alexandr Luria and his colleagues about the importance of the mother's voice that we have begun to understand the deep psychic bonds created within the family, and thence the importance of small groups such as the village and the small town in extending to civic organisations the lessons learnt in the family.

Michael Duane

In 1933 transport on the Tennessee River, ruined for navigation by the soil washed down from the hillsides, was less than 33 million ton-miles.

By 1951 it was over 589 ton -miles. In terms of power generation the TVA was over-successful. When the Authority began its dam building activities it was prophesied that there could be no possible use for the power generated. The electricity producing capacity of the region in 1933 was under 815,000 kilowatts. By the mid-1950s it was four million kilowatts, but already in 1951 power had to be borrowed from other systems, power cuts and load shedding had to be introduced. The Authority began building five steam-generating power stations intended to burn eight million tons of coal annually. Subsequently it added nuclear power stations. I commented in *Freedom* in 1954 that:

"If you can conceive of an ecology of industry, then the Tennessee Valley had already moved from the unbalance of wasted resources to the over-exploitation of resources. The difference between power generated from water and that generated from burning coal is obvious. One is inexhaustible and the other uses material which cannot be renewed. When coal has to be imported by the largest producer of hydro-electric power in America, something has gone wrong."

Something had indeed gone wrong, but before revealing it we should turn to the third board member of the original TVA triumvirate. This was Harcourt A. Morgan, no relation to the chairman, and characterised by Peter Hall as "President of the University of Tennessee, representative of the conservative agrarian interests at Vanderbilt, obsessed with the idea of rural extension services and in particular with a scheme for a phosphate fertiliser programme. He readily made common cause with Lilienthal ... But of regional planning – especially that radical variant espoused by the RPAA – there was an imperceptible residue: community development, health and educational services got a minuscule sliver of the total budget."

The TVA exists to this day, with a staff of 24,000, and its main source of revenue is the sale of electricity to 160-odd municipal utilities and corporations that use it as a wholesale supplier. But there is one more political truth to reveal. When it was created, the military programme of nitrate production for explosives was changed to the production of nitrate fertilisers. But in the Second World War the Atomic Energy Commission selected it as the place for the production of plutonium for the atom bomb. Peter Hall, again in his useful book *Cities of Tomorrow*, comments on the irony that "the one element that Roosevelt had removed from the TVA prescription, munitions production, was now driving the economic development of the Valley".

Thousands of people worked night and day in the largest users of TVA power, the plants at Oak Ridge and Paducah, to produce the bombs that fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, without the slightest knowledge of what they were making. Its story is full of such contradictions. It was a creative harnessing of water power, the realisation of the dreams of the pioneers of regional planning. It accomplished a great deal in changing the prospects for the most poverty-stricken region of the United States. The chance that it was a visible symbol for Roosevelt's New Deal enabled him to over-ride both the universal faith in private enterprise and the conflicting interests of the state governments. But it was only the accident that the US government's wartime development of nuclear weapons needed both an abundant source of power and a docile labour force that made the TVA financially successful. At the same time emulation of one version of the TVA has made it a model for spectacular post-war dam-building projects in Africa, Asia and Latin America which have brought disaster for the local populations. These are the awkward and troubling paradoxes of the TVA story.

Colin Ward

Sasha Kabakov, a Russian satirical writer, when asked recently what good news there was in the ex-USSR replied: "The Soviet system had collapsed". And the good news? "The Soviet system hasn't collapsed ..."

Ex-members of Politburo at the time of the anti-Gorbachev coup ... and where they are now

- Stanislav Gurenko – Leader of Ukrainian Communist Party
- Islam Karimov – President of Uzbekistan
- Peter Luchinsky – Speaker of Moldovan Parliament
- Absamat Masaliyev – Senior Member of Kyrgyz Communist Party
- Vladimir Movsisyan – Member of Armenian Government
- Nursultan Nazarbayev – President of Kazakhstan
- Saparmurad Niyazov – President of Turkmenistan
- Yegor Stroyev – Governor of Oryol province
- Geidar Aliyev – President of Azerbaijan

The elections

That the Liberal Democrats should have done well in the recent elections is no bad thing for the West. With results still to come in, given

Oil versus Indians

The Texan oil company Maxus is intensifying its research with a view to an underground exploitation of the land of the Huaorani Indians in Ecuador. Up until now four petrol companies have pulled out of the region because of damage to the environment and the deleterious effect their activities have on the local people.

Despite the protests of the Indians and their supporters in the outside world, the Ecuadorian government has given the company permission to lay down 400 kilometres of road in the forest, given its necessity in order to carry out the oil exploitation.

Apart from Maxus, other companies such as Arco, Orix and Elf-Aquitaine are responsible for severe damage to other Indian peoples: Quechuas, Shwas ...

On the other hand many organisations are calling for a boycott and other actions against Texaco for the widespread contamination this company left behind last year in Ecuador.

Madrid UPA bulletin number 176

INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

The readership survey early last year revealed a perceived lack of international news coverage in *Freedom*. We therefore set out to rectify the situation. We feel we have made progress, last year carrying articles on a dozen or so countries with news either of the movement abroad or information of interest to our readers. We also started 'Focus on ...' particular regions and countries.

We are now getting into our stride. A steady flow of shorter articles will continue to appear and there will be focuses on the former USSR, trade and the Middle East during the next few months.

How you can help

What you read in *Freedom* is one half of the equation. We are also now on a regular basis sending information to our comrades overseas. We are therefore asking readers to provide us with short (500 words is ideal)

Focus on the ex-USSR

Meet the new boss ... same as the old boss*

the low turn-out, the far right seem to have secured about 12% of the vote of the Russian people. It is hard to think of a European country where they would have done much worse. There is nothing exceptional in all this. More importantly the fact that the new constitution makes the parliament little more than a talking shop means that economic reform is not threatened and our chum Boris can be presented as the only 'democrat' left on the stage. It was surely going to be hard to present a man who shut down an elected parliament, silenced media criticism, proclaimed a state of emergency and dissolved his capital's city and borough councils all in the space of a few hours as a 'democrat' or 'moderate' – now it's easy.

Of course it comes as no surprise to anarchists to learn that the elections were a joke before they were held. Almost a quarter of the candidates were from Yeltsin's executive branch, either government ministers or heads of regional administrations; 22% represented Russia's new business class as directors of newly privatised companies; 3% were journalists and only 1% were industrial workers. Boris was onto a winner before the vote was cast. Either he got a bunch of sycophants or he got a parliament he could ignore. And he disdained the process throughout (the one and only thing we have in common). The people didn't get a look in (and they knew it – witness the low turn-out). Indeed we were informed (*Financial Times*, 7th December 1993) only five days before the elections that they didn't matter anyway and the privatisation programmes which are increasing unemployment and poverty would continue come what may.

However, we wouldn't want those readers who are perhaps new to the anarchist position to feel that we dismiss fascists lightly. On the contrary, we are alarmed by the rise of the right ... we simply ask the question: how will Boris and the West react, not just in the immediate aftermath, but rather in the medium and long term? Our opposition will continue. Will theirs?

G7 support

Part of the answer to this question will be provided by the West's investment strategy. Of course now, more than ever, Boris needs our support and so we are of course willing to waive the global economic rules in this 'special' case. This was demonstrated by the decision made by the G7 countries to help

Russia provided the reformists won the elections (note: if they go ahead, as they will, then the liberal democrats are 'acceptable' to Western capital). Initiatives should include a waiving by the World Bank for the first time of the 'negative pledge' rule, which means dropping its insistence that countries give priority to the bank over other creditors. This apparently charming act of charity loses its sheen when we learn that the first result will be an agreement by US Eximbank to provide £1.3 billion of loans to Russians wanting to buy oil and gas equipment from the US. Thus the US corporate interest is more important than the World Bank and third world economies struggling to pay back crippling debts. The US ambassador said the agreement was the base for further investment in energy and other fields: "There must be no doubt of the desire on the part of US industry to play the leading role (in extending assistance to

* Pete Townsend

— TURKEY —

Arrested anarcho-syndicalist interviewed

Just recently *Freedom* spoke to Guy Cheverton, an anarcho-syndicalist member of a trade union backed human rights delegation which was arrested in the Kurdish area of Turkey on the last weekend in November.

As part of the 12-member human rights team, Mr Cheverton was visiting the village of Birek in the Kurdish zone, which had just been burned to the ground by Turkish troops. The official Turkish explanation for the arrests is that the delegation was taken into custody for its own protection.

Guy Cheverton tells us the manner of their arrest was far from friendly. The arresting troops had balaclava helmets over their faces, and the team was first taken into a field and lined-up against a grassy bank. Only after about a quarter of an hour, when the officer in charge got instructions over the field telephone, were they taken off and held in secure premises by the Jandarma (Turkish army security) overnight.

Clearing the Kurdish countryside

Guy said the Turkish authorities have a policy of clearing out the Kurdish villages and forcing the country people into the big towns and cities. It seems the Turks feel the Kurds can be controlled better centralised in urban areas. Mr Cheverton told us: "It's ethnic cleansing on a grand scale; far worse than is happening in Bosnia". He claims the small town of Lice, which the delegation also visited, had been flattened.

Because of this policy of transportation from the land to the cities, the city of Diyarbakar, the Kurdish regional capital in Turkey, has had a population rise of one million in the last year. The population is now 1½ million. Even in this city, where the human rights team were held, there has recently been more than a dozen killings by 'persons unknown'.

While the team itself was treated in a firm and slightly rough fashion, two Kurd women journalists with the team were, says Mr Cheverton, "beaten black and blue, and one had her hand smashed. Both were threatened with death if they reported the incidents to the paper".

Of the fourteen villagers arrested with the team when the village of Birek was burned, Guy tells us "six were killed overnight".

Russia) in the exploitation of its oil wealth". This new charitable approach again will only fool those who wouldn't delete the bracketed reference to it in the quote.

Stability and the role of Russia

Meanwhile, away from the elections and back in the real world, the West must continue the search for 'stability'. For stability is what the West wants and for stability, of course, read repression. The lessons learnt in South America are proving useful. In a moment of frankness referring to Aliyev, President of Azerbaijan, who won his election with 98.5% of the vote (hardly the right credentials for a 'democrat') a Western diplomat said he could be "Azerbaijan's General Pinochet, creating an environment for the seeds of democracy to grow". This we understand may help in a region where the countries deep divisions are causing a big headache for international oil companies trying to secure exploration deals worth billions of dollars.

Or perhaps we should look to the likes of Islam Karimov, the President of Uzbekistan, where the old KGB is called the National Security Service, former communists are called the People's Democratic Party and trade delegations can only visit with presidential approval. Seemingly this is the

(continued on page 7)

When the Jandarma tried to interview the human rights party some, including Guy, refused to co-operate. These were shackled when they declined to participate in a propaganda film being prepared by the Turkish army security force.

Boycott Turkish tourism!

At Istanbul airport on Sunday 28th November, as the human rights representatives were waiting to leave Turkey, they were met by trigger-happy soldiers. Mary Brodwin, a London freelance journalist, was shot at as a sample of soldierly horseplay.

Guy says the British Consul representative in Istanbul was useless and unsympathetic. When someone suggested that our Consular officials are in bed with the Turkish authorities, he flounced off saying "If that's your fucking attitude you can look after yourselves".

Mr Cheverton, who was in Turkey for Hull Trades Council, is involved in the *Syndicalist Bulletin* group and has been an anarcho-syndicalist for over ten years. Human rights reports are being prepared with evidence collected on the trip and he says that a campaign to boycott tourism to Turkey is underway.

He points out that Turkey, with four million army conscripts, has the largest army in Europe. Much of this army, he claims, is being used against the Kurds. In the EC both Britain and Germany are massive arms suppliers to the Turkish government.

The comparison is made by Mr Cheverton between the plight of the Kurds in Turkey and the wartime Jewish resistance in the Warsaw ghetto. The Turkish regime argues that to give the Kurds self-government would be to cut off a finger of the unitary state.

Guy Cheverton asks the Turkish anarchists to make their views known to us on the Kurdish question. "How", he says, "do anarcho-syndicalists operate when their every move is the focus of death squads?" Guy tells me that his trade union contacts involved in the Kurdish human rights campaign would be glad to send speakers to interested anarchist or libertarian organisations. Those interested contact: Guy Cheverton, 62 Westbourne Avenue, Hull (tel: 0482 861679).

BB

— BOOK REVIEW —

Fugitive Writings

Fugitive Writings

by Peter Kropotkin, edited by George Woodcock

Black Rose Books, paperback, £11.99

Volume 10 in the 'Collected Works of Peter Kropotkin' being published in Canada is a collection of five essays, with individual prefaces and a general introduction by George Woodcock. The title is curious, for none of the items is minor or obscure, all of them were serious writings, four of them have been published many times, and the texts of all have been taken from two widely circulated previous American collections – Roger N. Baldwin's *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets* (1927) and Martin A. Miller's *Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution* (1970).

'Must We Occupy Ourselves with an Examination of the Ideal of a Future System?' was a long memorandum which Kropotkin wrote in 1873 in a vain attempt to convert his comrades in the Chaikovski Circle to revolutionary socialism. It was seized when he was arrested in 1874, preserved in the police archives until the Revolution of 1917, and first published in Russia in 1921. The first English translation (by Victor Ripp) was published by Miller, and this painfully literal version is used by Woodcock. The essay is relevant to the ideological history of Russian Populism and to the intellectual biography of Kropotkin, but it was very much a tract for the times and is rather a waste of space here.

'Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Principles' was first published in an English liberal magazine in 1887, republished as a Freedom Pamphlet in 1891, and frequently reprinted; it is currently available (with the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on

'Anarchism') as a Freedom Press Anarchist Classic, edited by Nicolas Walter. Woodcock has used Baldwin's version which contains minor errors and alterations and major omissions. The essay is a useful exposition of Kropotkin's political and economic views.

'Anarchist Morality' was first published in a French anarchist magazine in 1890, published as a Freedom Pamphlet in 1892, and frequently reprinted. Woodcock has used Baldwin's version, which again is drastically abridged. The essay is a useful exposition of Kropotkin's ethical views.

'Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal' and 'The State: Its Historic Role' were lectures intended to be given in France in 1896, immediately published in French, published in English as Freedom Pamphlets in 1896 and 1898, and frequently reprinted. Woodcock has used Baldwin's version of the former, which was yet again drastically abridged, and Miller's version of the latter, which was complete – it was taken from the 1969 translation by Vernon Richards, which is currently available as a Freedom Press Anarchist Classic. The essays are useful expositions of Kropotkin's scientific and historical views.

So, of the five items in the book, one isn't really worth reprinting, three are inferior versions, and two are easily available elsewhere. Meanwhile the 'Collected Works of Peter Kropotkin' ignores dozens of his genuinely fugitive writings – articles and pamphlets which have never appeared in book form. The editorial material is readable but unreliable. Altogether this is a very disappointing addition to a rather disappointing series.

MH

Through the anarchist press

It was at the annual Freedom Bookshop party when it occurred to me that it was a good time to think about new year resolutions. It was probably the good company and sparkling conversations which induced the thought, although I have been thinking about it for some time previously, that I shall stop reading any other than anarchist literature, that is newspapers and periodicals, for the coming year and that I shall experiment relying entirely on news percolating through the anarchist press. In other words, I will not bother my head with the news unless I read it in *Freedom*. I am one of those rare people who haven't got a television and only turn on the radio to listen to the weather forecast and although people around me listen to the radio all day long I would be more interested to tune in if it was a pirate broadcast.

There is nothing much I can do about seeing the headlines as I walk around town, but I shall try to avert my eyes as much as possible. Should Major resign, I would wait to be officially informed until *Freedom* deigns to announce the great news, although come to think of it Harold Wilson could still be prime minister for I cannot remember *Freedom* ever having disclosed to us that he wasn't.

I hope people won't accuse me of becoming parochial, for the news that is dished out in the national press is already tendentious stuff and as long as it has not become compulsory to read their wretched propaganda I shall not be sent to a place of correction.

But that is as maybe. For I am reliably informed that the law-making industry has never been so busy, that ministers now first commit atrocities then have a law passed to make their action legal and even if it is played according to old Erskine May (look it up) these gangsters can push through their government by decree in less than a day.

It was good to meet so many anarchists crowding out Freedom Press, and of course I made my pilgrimage to Arthur's court where I was reliably informed that our esteemed art correspondent had not missed a Saturday yet in twenty years. Again there is no better table talk in London.

I hope I can keep this up for a year even to the extent that if there was going to be an anarchist revolution in this country I shall only believe it if I see it printed in *Freedom*.

John Rety

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Spain: Francisimo to Felipisimo

The Raven 23: Spain Under Franco, and After & Emma Goldman (a voice for women?)

Published by Freedom Press at £3 (post free)

As I was doing this review a small news item caught my eye – Spain's Interior Minister, José Luis Corcuera, an old friend of the Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, confirmed that the Socialist Prime Minister had just accepted his resignation. Señor Corcuera had staked his job on a law allowing the police the right to enter homes without a warrant, but the country's Constitutional Court had rejected key clauses in the law, saying they infringed citizen's rights.

Of course this police right of entry law was designed to deal with drug cases, yet the application of such a law would have been open to obvious cases of abuse by the police with fishing expeditions, etc. It would have been open season for a police state rivalling Franco's Civil Guards at their worst.

History on a yo-yo

Gerald Brenan, the 'historian', told in his book *South From Granada* how a Spanish drinking crony claimed that the 'rhythm of life' in Spain was a tussle between love and politics. In this age of post-modernism, someone who just had a skin-full carousing in one of Yegen's delightful bars can be considered as potentially profound pundit as the distinguished academic historian. As Brenan recounts; this view argues that in Spain every dictatorship is born under the sign of Venus, and homo hispanicus is forced into a period of compulsory happiness as he becomes aware of the opposite sex and goes off on the paseo after polishing his shoes and cleaning his teeth under the watchful gaze of the Civil Guard, whose shiny winged hats represent *las alas de Cupido*.

But the real Don Juan who on his off days goes round breaking voting urns, on his on days needed plenty of pesetas in his pocket to be effective with women. Love would be the order of the day, and Brenan says: "... for many people utopia would have already arrived if it were not that to provide for these things more money has become necessary". No rise in salaries can keep up with the demand for pesetas, duros,

gordos to sustain the Spanish love bug; and discontent with the dictatorship breaks out, and, adds Brenan: "... the democratic orchestra strikes up again, every instrument magnificently out of tune, while the streets are littered with discarded novias and mistresses".

Hence Spain in this century has staggered from the 'dictadura blanda' of Primo de Rivera to the Republic in the 1930s; then Civil War leading to the dictatorship of General Franco (1939-1975) followed by a drift (rather than a 'ruptura') into a kind of democracy under a constitutional monarch. Today with the 'Socialist Party' (the PSOE) in power since 1982, pursuing the policies of 'Felipisimo' of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, Spain is coming to look increasingly like an elective dictatorship.

José Peirats in his *Raven* essay 'Spanish Anarchism in Exile' commenting on this drunken drift between dictatorship and democracy says: "There was a time, in a Spain swinging between progress and decadence, a thread linking the generations, fathers to sons, individuals and families, clans and dynasties – a thread which allowed traumas to be forgotten". And if the history of Spain was to yo-yo around, so, Peirats argues, anarchism, "one of Spain's popular manifestations", could not be excepted. He adds: "The patched-up rope which held the Regional Spanish Federation together from 1870 to 1910 and from 1910 to 1939 when the civil war ended tragically, was vacillating wildly like the lines of a cardiogram".

This rope broke at the National Congress of the CNT in 1979 in Madrid, and has been unravelling ever since. Peirats calls it "a real disaster: a clear split!"

'Principles without dogma'

The second *Raven* contribution, 'Which Way Forward for the CNT?', charts the developments after the 1979 National Congress – the problem of trade union elections; more splits; the 'Reunification' Congress of 1984; the battle over the CNT name; the judicial process and the claim to legitimacy by the CNT. This account ends by describing the activities of the CNT, including the serious impact of the organisation in

Puerto Real in the 1980s; the strikes in education by a quarter of a million teachers which hit centres in Barcelona, Madrid, the Asturias and the Canary Isles in the late 1980s; and an outline of the successes of the CGT (breakaway CNT) at the SEAT motor company.

The above account was first published in Lausanne in 1988. In another essay Neil Birrell ('La Fundacion: reality and appearance in Spain') tries to bring us up to date. He is depressed, as many of us are, by the disputes both within the Spanish libertarian movement and in the anarcho-syndicalist CNT, which have gone on since the death of Franco. Yet he is hopeful that the CNT could once again become a force of inspiration, and he says: "... it will need to get in amongst the people of Spain, abandon its dogmatism ... without abandoning its principles, which it must reapply to the new situation".

When in 1963 I lived in the Spanish fishing village of Denia in the province of Alicante, I was puzzled by the initials CWS (Co-operative Wholesale Society) stamped into the stonework of a building in the marketplace. I wasn't then aware of the impact of the co-operative movement on northern Spain up to the civil war. Gerald Brenan claims: "One may safely say that nowhere else in Europe has collectivisation been so successful, yet because this work has been carried on quietly in an unpolitical atmosphere little has been heard of it". Under the influence of the federalist principles of Pi y Margall the co-operativists had set up eight large co-operative shops, each with its café, billiard room, gymnasium, reading room, cinema and baths, in Barcelona in 1933. Like the Denia CWS I suppose all these were closed down after the civil war; but in the 1950s, in the Basque country, an industrial co-op was established which later moved to Mondragón. Mike Long reviews the status of this now massive industrial co-operative complex in *Raven 23*, detailing the history of the project which grew quietly under the Franco regime.

Mike Long has covered the literature relevant to the Spanish co-ops very thoroughly. Again, just as in the CNT and so much else in Spanish society, he tells us of a split between those who want the co-ops to return to the basics of the

— LETTER FROM ROTTERDAM —
More of Big Brother

Ian Borrows' comment (*Freedom*, 27th November 1993) on the ongoing process of revitalisation of our authoritarian society – firmly controlled by Big Brother himself – has made us libertarian readers clear again that Power is determined to liquidate our personal lives. In the roaring '60s Raoul Vaneigem showed us that the rise of "the great Kafkaesque machine of cybernetics" has given way to planners, managers and organisers who form a new rational elite, specialised in the dictatorship of consumption. This cybernetic organisation of consumption (in which production is reduced to the slave of consumption) urges public and private planners and managers to control everyday life. Daily life is stolen from us and we're forced to work and consume till the day we die. Irrational rulers have become rational managers, the working class has become a consuming class, creativity has become routine, routine has become force, and force has pushed us back to slavery. Our aim can no longer be to liberate work, our goal must be to liberate life itself.

As in Leeds, in my city – that is Rotterdam – police helicopters and searchlights pollute the nightly air. They're not interested in joy-riding over here, but like giant flying pitbulls they keep an eye on coffee shops and drug houses. In the subway stations you'll find big screens telling you: 'Hello, you're on television now'. Cameras follow your traces in the public spheres, and the army of 'Minor Big Brothers' is gradually increasing. As in the United Kingdom, unemployment in the Netherlands has reached its post-war climax and the ruling Christian and Socialist politicians have introduced a new strategy to combat the unemployment. Local governments have developed the so-called 'jobpools' for people who have been unemployed for many years. As anywhere in authoritarian consumer societies, capitalism has a long history of eliminating unskilled

work, and trade unionism refuses to loosen its dominant grip on the organisation of labour and wages. Therefore the local governments and the unemployment bureaux are allowed only to 'create' jobs that don't compete with the 'official' jobs in society. Since the production sector is closed for the jobpools, the new jobs are 'necessarily' created in the spheres of everyday life. In the last couple of years we've seen a rapid growth of street guards, wagon assistants, housekeepers, shop guards, safety agents, prison guards, environmental police officers and ticket controllers. It's a sad thing that the authoritarian society uses 'losers' and 'drop-outs' for the defence of its system of production and consumption. Women, young workers, migrants and other perspectiveless unemployed people are degenerated to a flock of 'little masters of today' whose only task is to discipline social and personal life. More and more people are earning their living by interfering in the lives of their neighbours and closed cities with well protected neighbourhoods are emerging. We do all know who in return receive the misery of this catastrophic development.

In the '90s Big Brother is a complex system of relationships between managers and consumers – the cybernetic society – and as a result it has become more and more difficult to recognise the face of Big Brother himself. You encounter Big Brothers everywhere in your personal and daily life and I don't need to explain who they are. There might even be a Big Brother inside of you. If you're unemployed these days, there's a big chance you'll become a member of Biggie's family: you'll get paid and you'll feel yourself a true working member of society again. Big Brother enjoys an enslaving society because it gives him a human face. But this Big Brother of a

cybernetic kind is nothing else than a democratised and dehumanised Stalin or Mao.

Ian Borrows is right when he notices that we are becoming more isolated in this atomised society. Unfortunately many leftists still consider this atomising as a result of the ongoing individualism of the people and their society (a bottom-top process). This authoritarian explanation is useless for libertarians who consider the atomising of contemporary culture as a steady growth of anonymity that is forced upon us (a top-bottom process). Today, all of us are reduced to anonymous products on the shelves of the enormous supermarket we call life. Anonymity still means lack of individuality. Life has been degraded to survival and survival is the true base for any Big Brother society. We kill time by staying at home, by driving to work and back home again, by closing our doors and curtains, by protecting our possessions, and by watching television while the streets become more and more suspect. If you're out there after eight o'clock at night you must be either a criminal looking for victims or a coloured foreigner searching for shelter. As Ian writes, the outside has become something less familiar to us. In other words, we're locking ourselves in our own prisons and are screaming for Big Brothers to protect our alienated life.

The degrading of everyday life has sold us the cybernetics and with bowed heads we consume and consume until we die (even death has become a commercial activity since you have to save money for your own funeral). Christmas shopping today is the ultimate and excessive expression of survival in a consumer society.

The Orwellian concept of '1984' is still improving and it won't stop unless we find

ways to redefine our everyday life. Big Brother's ideological grip on the past and the future can only be combated by the recognition that the authoritarian social context in which we find ourselves impoverishes our lives. So our answers can be found in a different approach to daily life, not in mindless activism or in writing intellectual tracts in academic armchairs. We'll have to learn about the nature of authority, our relationship to it, its trajectories and tendencies, and how we can fight it. As Feral Faun recently rightly wrote (*Anarchy* no. 38, 1993): "Radical theory is thinking becoming sensually integrated into an insurgent life and learning, however slowly, to express itself with precision and fluidity. When developed it cuts like a well-honed knife." In our post-modern society culture and economics have become one cybernetic whole. Fighting separate aspects has lost any meaning and we need to confront this whole as holistic as it presents itself. And this means finding ways to live authentic lives and thus promoting an insurgent lifestyle. The libertarian press finds itself a beautiful task here.

Big Brother feeds himself with ignorance and we'll have to learn to live a life against conformity, authority and hierarchy. This 'lifestyle approach' is pragmatic and dynamic and will never end because it's a continuing process of creativity. Your life is what you make it, not what you get. Society is not where you're born (Biggie's territory), society is the libertarian network you build yourself. Let us fight Big Brother, but let us also find out who he is, where he lives, and when he strikes. Should we be pessimistic? I don't think so. When fighting Big Brother I always remember Vaneigem's optimistic words in his *The Revolution of Everyday Life* (1967):

"Utopia? Not in the least. Enough whining condescension! There's no-one who does not cling with all his might to the hope of such a world. Many, of course, lose their grip on this hope – but they put as much desperate energy into falling as (continued on page 7)

original idealism, and 'experimentalists' who, he says, "see Mondragón not as static but as continually developing, and so requiring constant innovation and change to keep the founding principles alive". In Long's view the co-ops work democratically, based on one worker, one vote, and within each co-op authority is vested in the General Assembly of Workers, which consists of all co-op members. Daily operations of the co-op are dealt with by an unpaid elected board, the Governing Council, which meets each morning, after which its members join their workmates on the shopfloor for a day's grafting.

Mike Long feels that some of the recent literature on Mondragón, such as Roy Morrison's *Mondragón, a co-operative system* (1991) and William Foote Whyte's *Making Mondragón*, are weak on criticism. Long lists ten snags in the co-ops from the anarchist point of view, including the growth of bureaucracy and hierarchy, the lack of job rotation, employment of non-members, substantial pay differentials, absence of industrial unions and right to strike. But these are reservations, and Mike Long is right to argue that "participatory democracy and efficiency are natural partners".

Red blooded Emma

The last two essays focus on Emma Goldman. David Goodway, the academic and organiser of the anarchist strand of the History Workshop, has written an informative brief biographical account of her life, especially in exile. Indeed, given that she left her homeland (the old Russian Empire) at 16, she was almost a lifelong exile. In 1925, she did gain British citizenship through a marriage of convenience to James Colton, an anarchist miner from Scotland.

She never much cared for England or the English, who she found frigid, thriving in "the barren spiritual soil" of their institutions. It seems she much preferred the Americans and the Russians, and pined for the South of France "where one might meet people with red blood in their veins and not water which the British certainly seem to have".

This unashamed lust for life seems to have put her out of step with most of the more puritanical Anglo-Saxon feminists. Donna Farmer's essay shows her as a woman determined to follow instincts, while Goodway says: "Goldman's originality lay ... in her life – uncompromising

and pioneering new forms of freedom – and so it is that her splendid, frank autobiography *Living My Life ...* is her outstanding work".

The Anglo-Saxon feminists have never forgiven her for enjoying bedding her men, and being bedded by them. They will never forgive her for upholding the value of motherhood, and sneering at the empty careerism of middle class women. Instead she identified "with the needs and desires of the working class women she helped organise".

Anarchism in modern times

When I was first in Andalucia in 1964 – the year of the celebration of Franco's 'Twenty Five Years of Peace' in Spain – they were digging up the vineyards all over and planting orange and lemon groves. Today there are mountains of lemons rotting unsold and poisoning the land and streams outside Estepona. That's progress!

It is also a kind of progress that brings the drug crisis that got Señor Corcuera, the Interior Minister, the sack, and is ruining big towns like La Linea in the south and the fishing ports in Galicia in the north. It is the progress of market economics which created 25% unemployment in Spain, the highest rate in the EC. To tackle the drug crisis the government tried to introduce draconian measures, giving the police free right of entry into homes without warrant. To deal with the economic problems the Gonzalez government is preparing labour reforms, which will represent an assault on the workers.

Last week *El País* reported that "hundreds of thousands of people had turned out into the streets against the proposed labour laws" and for work. In all there were fifty demonstrations throughout Spain. *El País* notes the anarcho-syndicalist CGT was active in the campaign in Barcelona and Valencia region.

We seem to have come a long way, but we haven't got very far!

A clue to what both José Peirats and Neil Birrell are groping for is in the text where Peirats says: "Our activities had created a collective way of life, a small traditional civilisation which could be disrupted but not broken. The civil war, with its huge movement of people from one region to another, shook it violently ... the countryside moved to the city; *Spaniards grew taller but their minds shrank.*"

This sense of the 'degeneration brought by modern life' is vital to Peirats' critique, and elsewhere (Preface to *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution*) he says: "... the Spanish anarchists [in the civil war] suffered from an excessively urban orientation in their revolutionary, or rather insurrectionary, plans."

Neil Birrell agrees with me that the libertarian spirit is somehow woven into the Spanish character. When he argues for "principles without dogma" he is calling for rules or values which are sensitive to social situations. Julian A. Pitt-Rivers, the anthropologist, sees an important element in the history of Spain as a development in the relationship of the pueblo (village) to the state, in the conflict between the values of the community and those of the central power and its allies. He sees the CNT as a national organisation and the anarcho-syndicalist doctrine of the General Strike as part of this urban trend, and he claims: "The resistance to becoming a national organisation is very strong, for it was recognised that it involved the sacrifice of essential value, the sovereignty of the local community." The state continues to encroach control over the local community, state education, television and other media carrying the urban culture, but Pitt-Rivers says "the fundamental values of Andalusian society persist, for they are common to the whole culture, the whole population of the south".

While it is possible to see this shift to central control as part of the march of progress, a glance at the Balkans shows that local communities can soon start to reassert themselves.

In a letter in Emma Goldman quoted in *The Raven*, Aldous Huxley wonders if new small scale technology could undermine "the tyranny of political and big business bosses". But he laments that "... so obsessed are modern men by the idea of centralisation and mass production that they can think in no other terms".

Another possibility is Mike Long's Mondragón – which he quotes as standing for "a revolution without violence built from below". But this approach has its own flaws and would be too much of a compromise for some of us.

However things shape up in the years ahead, it seems to me that anarchism is central to all the arguments and dilemmas which confront our era. Whether the anarchists are up to the job is another matter.

Brian Bamford

When I wrote my article on 'Anarchist Organisation' (*Freedom*, 2nd October 1993) in response to the call for a new Anarchist Federation of Britain I was stating what I knew of the AFB of the '60s and '70s as honestly as I knew how and to me, as one of the ones who helped with the organising and the production of the internal bulletin (whatever Heath says), I found Nick Heath's rejoinder appallingly ignorant and biased. I do not know Heath very well, I certainly do not remember knowing him in the '60s and on the last occasion when we met I even got his name wrong. If he wishes to disagree with the facts of what I said that is up to him, but there is no need for him to try and buck up his case by lying about me. He accuses me of racism, despite my being involved in anti-racism most of my life, and of advocating corporal punishment. When, how and whom? And he quotes what certain comrades said about me completely out of context. This kind of bigoted cant should not be how we as anarchists conduct business.

I am reminded of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. When Christian starts for the Celestial City he has a great burden on his back which lightens as he travels. One's move towards anarchism is like that. When people become anarchists, enter the anarchist movement, they do not do so as innocents but come from other backgrounds which have socialised them, contaminated them, into particular ways of thinking. I came into anarchism in the late '50s as a militant atheist. Most of those I knew who were involved in the groups who formed the AFB in the '60s came from the nuclear disarmament movement or established pacifism. Very few of us had a leftist background or had the faintest interest in Marxism but this did not prevent us from becoming anarchists. We had no ideological burden weighing us down. Heath and his like and the dogmatists who went into ORA had. They were either syndicalists or ex-Marxists or both.

When I read Heath's response to my article he appeared to be shooting himself in the foot. Whatever else he knew about anarchism and what he thought had happened over twenty years ago, he had simply not read the extract from Malatesta lower down the page for had he done so he might have given pause for thought. As Malatesta says:

"We would certainly be happy if we could all get along well together and unite all the forces of anarchism in a strong movement ... [but] ... better disunited than badly united."

It did appear to me that there were those individuals in the Anarchist Federation of Britain who wanted to impose their ideas on others come what may even if it destroyed the whole movement. But they did not indicate where the rest of us were to go unless it was to perdition. It might have been far better for them to either have gone their own way or formed a specifically identified faction and indicate to the rest of us at what level they might be willing to co-operate as Laurens now says ORA was originally intended and as Heath says ORA eventually went. But those who composed ORA acted as though they were trying to do a thorough house cleaning of the AFB of just those people whose approaches to anarchism its members disliked, perhaps what Heath today calls "individualists, liberals and pacifists", in other words, other anarchists who views differed from their own. People with a background such as my own.

I am willing to meet with anyone, work with anyone, so long as we are open and honest with

More of Big Brother

(continued from page 6)

into hanging on. Everyone wants his own subjectivity to win out; the unification of people ought therefore to be founded on this shared desire. Nobody can strengthen his subjectivity without the help of others, without the help of a group which has itself become a focus of subjectivity, a faithful expression of the subjectivity of its members."

Ian Borrow's article was a fine one and I hope it will stimulate other readers to comment on this issue. Our libertarian perspectives can be found in a radical analysis of the Big Brother phenomenon. Maybe one day we'll find out life really exists beyond the borders of survival. Start off with a daily walk through your own neighbourhood, make as many friends as you can, keep a notebook, support the free press, and kill your television.

Siebe Thissen

The Blasted Heath

each other and can find a common ground in discussion, study or action. Ideological dogmatism is, to my way of thinking, unanarchistic.

The late Jack Robinson was right if in response to someone's comment that the AFB was losing good libertarian militants to the IS he was quoted as saying they could not "have been up to much anyway!" How could people who had genuinely accepted anarchist ideas have been so attracted to the revisionist Marxist, Trotskyist, authoritarian socialism of the International Socialist group? Or to the enterist Socialist Labour League? Only if they believed it was necessary to create a revolutionary elite, a 'vanguard' as they say, to lead the masses, but as Malatesta says in the same extract:

"... we anarchists do not want to emancipate the people; we want the people to emancipate themselves."

Those who see the Trotskyists as having an answer could not have understood anarchism and those who bewail the leavers appear to have lost an understanding of why they themselves ever called themselves anarchists.

Heath asks sarcastically what I have done in the intervening period. Quite a lot, but doubtless nothing which might interest people such as Heath. Sufficient to say I have as a sociologist been putting forward a libertarian position against numerous entrenched Marxists and other authoritarians. Have I converted numbers of people to anarchism? I am not King Midas with the golden touch, but through my teaching, through my trade union work and working through professional societies I gave people an example of service to the working class so that I brought them on, so they could themselves

accept responsibility and conduct their own actions in a positive manner. As an old friend and comrade John Pardoe once said something like: "You do what you believe to be right and if someone later says 'What motivates you to put in so many hours to care for other people and their lives?' well then, and only then, you say 'I am an anarchist and we do this kind of thing' and the way is open for further discussion." And that is what happened to me.

Of course I have not been on many demonstrations shouting slogans in empty streets. Or publishing papers and pamphlets designed specifically for a Marxist audience. I take a kind of Tolstoian view here that the anarchist revolution is not a cataclysmic event in time but is being created in the here and now by our present thought and action. Each move we make now affects the whole future.

If Nick Heath wishes to reject the notion that the creation of ORA, in its several reincarnations, caused the collapse of the AFB he might be correct, but perhaps its collapse was caused by just such people who made up ORA and their dogmatic attitude. They drove people away from the AFB.

Heath expresses sentiments I have often heard at the London ACF - the last time I attended I was the sole audience - a completely humourless dogmatism which rejects any view that deviates from political correctness. Perhaps it justifies the authoritarian's main secret weapon, a weapon which may be constantly recoiling against them. This weapon, of which Nick Heath is a practised master, is the art of boring people to death.

If we have a picnic, have a party, socialise, they never turn up. The ACF even refuse to drink at the same pub as the London Anarchist Forum. They

Focus on the ex-USSR

(continued from page 3)

kind of 'democrat' we want to do business with, given that Lonrho has signed a contract to mine the counties gold reserves, worth a penny or two to the West of course. The underlying reality of Karimov's regime is repression which brings the much-needed stability. Karimov has said: "We are prepared to set straight the brains of hundreds". Political adversaries are beaten up in the streets, political parties are banned.

But where the locals can't be relied upon to do the dirty work, a strong Boris will be able to help by forcing 'independent' states to rely on Mother Russia either economically or militarily or both. Those nasty liberal democrats will leap to his support on this one.

Let us take as one example the Ukraine, whose dwindling energy supplies have prompted the Prime Minister to call for an "economic state of emergency". Energy supplies were only good until the end of '93, by which time they will have needed to start importing gas and oil. Businesses have already reduced gas consumption by 30% and some factories have halved energy consumption.

This bankrupt regime is reliant on Russia for about 90% of its oil and gas and is now in debt to its eastern neighbour to the tune of some £470 million. The Russians came up with the snappy idea of swapping the debt for the Ukraine's share of the Black Sea fleet. Another winner with those nasty liberal democrats.

In an effort to make its neighbour see reason on this issue Russia has been raising energy prices. So public heating is going off in the Ukraine as the government resorts to Soviet-style policies to try and repay its debts for Russian fuel. How long will it be before the Russians get what they want?

A similar story repeats itself in the Caucasus. For five years the peoples of the Caucasus were the most ardent proponents of independence from the ex-USSR (Azerbaijan and Georgia, not Albania). They felt the CIS was just another form of Russian domination. Their rejection of Russia has proved disastrous. The two years since dissolution of the Soviet empire has seen violence, economic chaos and, finally, a less spectacular return to the sphere of Russian influence. Economic

statistics are shocking. In Armenia a monthly old age pension will not buy a kilo of meat. Georgia's currency is the weakest in the ex-USSR and despite oil reserves the size of Kuwait there are petrol shortages. Russia is being called in to bring 'stability' thanks to her military might, this being seen as the only way to avoid economic collapse. Since September the Russians have helped end one civil war in return for permanent bases in the three countries. (The Russian military had already considered the Turkish question before those nasty liberal democrats came in with their support.) Although Georgia had hoped for food there is little evidence of the benefits the grouping is supposed to produce. Again, not all of us will share their surprise.

In other parts of the empire independence at first may seem something of a possibility. In Yakutia, for example, they have a virtual monopoly of Russia's diamond production and of the 21 republics it is the one most able to survive on its own.

Yeltsin's decision to take away sovereignty from the republics that make up the Russian Federation is accepted there with calm. Artamonov, the Minister for Economic Relations, put it bluntly: "We are more interested in economic independence than political slogans". Indeed it succeeded in October in negotiating the seemingly enviable position of being the first republic to pay no taxes to Russia at all. However, it is clearly the political loyalty of the leadership, marked by two visits by Yeltsin to the area, which will guarantee their economic survival. "None of our leaders has ever said we want to leave the Russian Federation" says Artamonov. So we're all good chums together and the mutual back-scratching can continue.

Independence is, of course, deceptive and not such a winner for the people of Yakutia, for although they pay no taxes 5% of diamond sale royalties and much of its gold production go to Moscow, who in return give back less in the way of subsidies. This means the region is less well off with the rulers sitting cosy playing the ethnic card between the Yakuts, who are given the managerial jobs, and the 20% Eskimo and other ethnic groupings. Independence at its best turns out to be a power trade-off with the people losing out.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

have not realised that to be an effective movement anarchism must also be a social movement too. Anarchism must appear attractive. Being grim, grey and self-righteous only influences the authoritarian personality.

To quote Michael Foot's comment on the Labour Party: "We are a broad church". We in the anarchist movement have a rich diversity of viewpoints, of talents and creative skills, of loves, interests, of aims and intentions. We do spend much of our time bickering with other other, and I for one have always made a practice of using controversial issues in order to get an informed debate going and induce progress, especially against the closed minded authoritarians who will not accept that there are often more than one perspective, perhaps equally valid but coming from different directions, and I attack those exhibiting pomposity, but ultimately all genuine anarchists know what's what. We work together on an array of issues. We are for good and against evil. Our anarchism is a kind of non-religious religious sentiment. I have a feeling that people like Nick Heath will not have the faintest idea of what I mean, but I do and so do many comrades.

Many of the people who support the views of people like Nick Heath want to turn the anarchist movement, wanted to turn the AFB, into some kind of political sect with a rigidly imposed doctrine of political correctness, and we would not allow them to do this and protested against it because it is antipathetical to anarchist thinking and acting. Try to take over a really anarchist organisation which had no hierarchy and no centre and it falls through your fingers. Anarchists will not wear the take-over. Like with ORA, those that try end up only with themselves. They can do damage it is true. Meanwhile, we go on to rise again as new.

I wish success to any new Anarchist Federation of Britain, but again I counsel, beware the dogmatist trying to take over and expel those of you who will not toe the line. And apart from putting further back that social progress we call the anarchist revolution, it will not do them the slightest bit of good and we all know why. The trouble is, as Heath has now indicated in two letters, they never appear to learn.

Peter Neville

A traveller is a traveller ...

(continued from page 2)

On that basis he would not be able to grant permission for an (ordinary) caravan site in such a 'protected' beautiful situation.

The status of the appellants therefore became a matter of prime importance. The inspector deciding that he should rule "in the light of current legislation and advice" had to consider the question with which I opened my previous article: "When is a traveller not a traveller?"

He brushed aside the sophistries of the council's barrister and said: "Having considered all the facts I conclude, as a matter of fact and degree, that a number of travellers at Yoke Farm could be appropriately defined as gypsies within the meaning of the Caravan Sites Act 1968."

So he had accepted our contentions that travelling was indeed nomadism, that gift-work was indeed work and that habit-of-life and not ethnic origin was the crucial factor. This established, he was able to use the Caravan Sites Act to justify the exception to the structure plan.

I spoke before about the vigour and intellectual quality of the resistance to the council put up by the farmer, his tenants and the band of volunteers supporting them at the hearing.

Reading the inspector's report encourages me to think that all this effort was worthwhile. He took account of all our arguments and in most instances preferred them to the dead hand of the authorities.

Hardly the stuff of revolution, you may think, but the contest was between authoritarianism and libertarianism and we don't often win that one.

I rejoice at the lease of life given to this idealistic little community and the opportunity it gives them to pursue their utopian vision a little further.

Brian Richardson

Malatesta on Violence

Dear Freedom, Messers Gibson and Crosswell mounted a two-pronged attack on Malatesta's defence of revolutionary violence in the 11th December issue of *Freedom*. They might just as well have attacked Bakunin, Kropotkin, Makhno, Durruti and the thousands of other anarchist thinkers and militants who have taken the same view down through the years. Take for example Alexander Berkman in his *ABC of Anarchism* (published by Freedom Press) who argued: "Revolution, in some of its stages, is a violent upheaval" and "of course, the obstacles in the path of social reconstruction have to be removed. That is to say the means of that reconstruction must be secured by the masses. Those means are at present in the hands of government and capitalism, and these will resist every effort to deprive them of their power and possessions. That resistance will involve a fight. But remember that the fight is not the main thing, is not the object, nor the revolution. It is only the preface, the beginning to it." If you deny the arguments put forward by the thinkers and activists of revolutionary anarchism, then you are left with nothing but a liberal pacifism that tolerates the evils and inequalities of capitalism and is content with a spineless, acquiescent quietism.

On several organisational and tactical questions I have severe disagreements with Albert Meltzer, but with his argument that the British anarchist movement was hijacked by liberal

pacifists in the late '50s and early '60s I am in complete agreement.

One of the finest figures of anarchist communism is subjected to brutal attacks by Gibson and Crosswell, the latter of whom patronisingly says that he was "not a deep thinker". Perhaps not, but Malatesta's thoughts were infinitely more profound than the shallow arguments put forward by Crosswell. The slaughter in ex-Yugoslavia is put forward to justify Crosswell's quietism. The horrific circumstances there are a direct result of capitalism, of the crumbling state capitalist bureaucracies jumping onto the nationalist bandwagon, and of the various interests of the power blocs of the USA and Germany/France. If anything they are a further spur to work towards the speedy destruction of the state and capitalism. These horrors in Yugoslavia are but a sampler of the terrible things capitalism has in store for us, as it increasingly falls into crisis, and as the old ghoul of fascism and nationalism are summoned from the grave. But at the same time, with the collapse of Stalinism, the failure and disarray of labourists and social democratic parties throughout the world, the conditions are created for the re-emergence of the revolutionary anarchist movement. This movement is even now re-emerging in Britain, and is breaking the hegemony of people like Gibson and Crosswell over what is laughingly described as British 'anarchism'.

Nick Heath

Our 'Good News' Column

Dear Freedom, Your 'Good News' column in *Freedom* (27th November) is to be encouraged. We all need some 'good news' to keep us going in these difficult times. I'd like to respond to some of the things about 'Doctors for the People'.

The medical profession as stated is generally reactionary. However, this is as much because of its institutional and authoritarian nature rather than because medicine itself makes doctors so. With the contraction of the welfare state, increase in poverty and widening of inequalities, GPs or workers in primary health care are confronted with the realities of people's lives even more than before. Many GPs in inner city areas struggle with providing a good service and are also not that well paid. There are more rebel doctors, and others like the three you named, and not just doctors but nurses, health visitors, therapists, etc., than you think.

In Sheffield there is a group of practices who over the years have certainly been regarded as radical and rebellious. When struggle becomes more difficult radical ideas become diluted and less possible, but they are still there. One of the Sheffield practices works an equal pay policy and collective management which has now survived for thirteen years - all through the Thatcher years. Equalising pay for all staff and minimising authority to free people to make decisions regarding their work and how they treat patients has really worked, although more needs to be done. The move to

involving patients more has been more difficult and 'Peckham experiment' ideas involving regeneration of local communities are probably the way people can take health issues and their own health away from professionals.

Occupational health is a strong element in the philosophy of this practice, as it is in many of the other more radical practices in Sheffield. The occupational health project grew from its involvement with the trade unions and shopfloor involvement with the steel industry in the early 1980s. Talking to people in working men's clubs it became apparent, in the same way as it did to Alice Hamilton, that much ill health is due to people's work. The Sheffield occupational health project has continued in her footsteps and advocates for workers with deafness, occupational lung disease, repetitive strain injury, pollution, benefits, black health workers and all aspects of patient's work related to lives. We certainly do not regard people as 'customers'. They are still patients. We would like them to cease being patients and become healthy people, but the prospects of this at the moment are remote.

Few, if any, of the people involved in this work would regard themselves as anarchists. I don't think this matters. What matters is there are more people than you think, including doctors doing positive things in a socially and politically rotten world.

JC

Racism in East London

Dear Freedom, I have just seen MB's semi-hysterical reply (*Freedom*, 13th November) to my letter of 16th October. Just for the record:

1. Nowhere in my letter did I advocate (or even mention) a "hidden agenda" within which "I called for the reproduction of coloured people to be controlled".
2. Nowhere in my letter did I express approval of the people in Harrow (not Hackney) who have recently become racists.
3. What I *did* ask in my letter was whether the undeniable fact that some communities practise birth control and some don't leads to ill will, racism and violence, and used Fiji to show that unhappily I think it does.
4. I firmly believe in *voluntary* worldwide birth control.

Rather than attempt to answer a difficult question MB prefers to scream abuse at the questioner. He reminds me of one of those kings of old who, when he received bad news, had the messenger cut down. MB, whoever you are, grow up.

Mike Montrose

Mipsrint

Dear Editors, When last writing you I said, in replying to Tim Francis, that the principles of the French Revolution included an 'unspoken' condition. In your issue of 11th December the word underwent a magical transformation into 'outspoken', making nonsense of the sentence.

In a recent correspondence I pointed out that there are no social freedoms which do not interfere with the freedom of others; freedom and limitation come together, so that the exercise of any freedom imposes a corresponding limitation. Here we have a neat illustration of that point. For writers to enjoy freedom of communication printers have to accept the limitations entailed by accurate transcription.

George Walford

Anarchist Organisation

Dear Comrades, Nick Heath (11th December) rightly points out that I conflated two splits when I said that his entry into Big Flame was at the same time as Keith Nathan's to the WSL, and this time correctly identifies the WSL. (It was he not I that had said Keith had joined the SLL so his magisterial insistence that it had by then changed to the WRP is hardly relevant.)

ORA may not have finally decided - until October '72 - to adopt the Platform; but the document was translated and circulated in December '71, and also a number of dissenting arguments, including my own, were circulated during that winter, and it was clear by the spring that only a minority rejected it, and the syndicalist members left.

We had in fact opposed the initial adoption of the name, which had suggested the direction in which the group was going. As in *French the noun precedes adjectives and adverbs, the literal translation overstressed organisation suggesting a move away from being a ginger group.*

The document was written in the '30s and the fact that the French paper published it in May '72 did not mean it was unknown before; indeed I was in the early '50s a member of the FCL, from which the French ORA was descended, and at that time I would have endorsed the Platform.

Curiously, however, Nick omits to mention the major omission in my letter: the reason for the formation of ORA.

During the late '60s the majority of the 'revolutionary left' supported organisations demonstrating in favour of the Vietnamese NLF (a stalinist and nationalist incipient government). Regrettably this support was not confined to Leninists. Large sections of the AFB took part in VSC demos, frequently to be seen carrying banners with portraits of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

Not only the loose AFB! Though Solidarity had published an excellent critique of Ho Chi Minh, it nevertheless played this down and affiliated to VSC. The majority of the Manchester members of the SWF supported the NLF and left to form the Anarchist Syndicalist

Alliance (which Nick Heath subsequently joined) as a pro-Vietcong group; and a section of the London membership (which, though voted off the executive, was in '69 left in charge of the property of the group and so expelled all the anarchist members) expressed support for Mao.

There was considerable pressure. IS (now the SWP) sent a party to try and break up a Freedom meeting at Easter '67, alleging that anyone who did not support the NLF was an American agent. A faction pushing this line broke up the Committee of 100 a few months later.

It got quite rough. One pro-NLF

member of the LSE anarchists threatened to knife Mike Mallett; Ralph Rosenbaum (who has subsequently boasted of having been employed by the CIA to disrupt the British left) amongst other things used to pass anti-NLF members of the Committee of 100 notes saying that while meetings were on he was sending down friends to beat up their wives and children. *I had to explain to him somewhat forcibly the distinction between believing that anarchism can only come by non-violence and being a personal pacifist.*

ORA was intended to represent those who insisted that anarchism was about revolution, but that this did not mean tail-ending stalinists.

Laurens

Obscure and boring

Dear comrades, Historians of anarchist factions may make use of the recollections of Peter Neville, Nick Heath and Laurens Otter of the AFB, the ORA and the rest, twenty or thirty years ago. But it strikes me as obscure and boring. Can't it be stopped?

Donald Room

Please keep sending in your letters and donations

Unpublished letter to The Guardian

How can anyone be expected to learn the difference between right and wrong from either politicians or clergymen? They spend so much of their time telling lies - politicians about this world, clergymen about the next - that the state and the church must take much of the blame for the ethical corruption which pervades so much of our society.

But the media must also take their share of the blame. The stream of spectacle, sensation, competition, violence, greed, falsity, ugliness, rubbish which runs through radio, television, videos, cinema, music, art, fiction and the press - including *The Guardian* - is a cause as well as an effect of the aesthetic corruption which pervades so much of our culture.

Back to basics, indeed! But the first basic is to learn the difference between truth and falsehood about the situation we are in. Millions of ordinary people try to live decent lives in this country, but are continually betrayed by those above them. When such people talk about morality, the rest of us should metaphorically count our spoons. Think on!

Nicolas Walter

News from Angel Alley

Because of the Great Shutdown of postal services this Christmas the list of donations to the end of December in fact had to be closed on 23rd December. We mention this for the benefit of those readers who renewed their subs and sent donations in the last week of December. They will appear in the first list for January. Meantime our warm thanks to all who have contributed to our three funds, plus the special Damage Repair Fund, a record £6,273 in 1993.

The Great Shutdown has also delayed the printing of *Raven 24*, but we are assured by our printers that it will be available for dispatch this month.

Also this month we are hoping to announce publication of two new Freedom Press titles. One volume consists of political writings of Herbert Read to commemorate the centenary of his birth last month. The second volume is of writings by Alex Comfort. Both volumes have been compiled with exhaustive introductions by David Goodway and

each will be not less than 160 pages and the cover price will be £5 each (post free to readers ordering from Freedom Press, cash with order please). More details in the next issue.

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10th December - Discussion on Equal
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7th January - General discussion

14th January - Anarchism and Love
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21st January - Discussion on Anarchism and
Sexuality

28th January - Anarchism After the
Revolution or Anarchism as a Way of Life
(speaker: Andrew Linton)

4th February - Discussion on Anarchism in
the Nineties

11th February - Can we Return to Earth the
Treasure Wasted in Heaven? (debate between
Peter Lumsden and George Walford)

18th February - Discussion on Anarchism
and Morality

25th February - Anarchism and Ecology
(speaker: Gideon Kossoff)

4th March - Discussion: With what other
groups should anarchists work?

11th March - An Experiment in Cognitive
Therapy (speaker to be announced)

18th March - General discussion

25th March - General discussion: Bringing
together the strands

SUMMER TERM

15th April - General discussion

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22nd April - Anarchism and the Gift
Economy (speaker: Michael Murray)

29th April - General discussion

Sunday 1st or Monday 2nd May - May Day
Picnic

6th May - Anarchism and Utopia (speaker:
Jason Wilcox)

13th May - General discussion

20th May - Talk by a member of the Socialist
Party of Great Britain (specific details later in
the year)

27th May - General discussion

3rd June - Vacant slot

10th June - General discussion

17th June - History of Native Americans
(speaker: Jim Baker of Boston BAD [Boston
Anarchist Drinking Club])

24th June - Vacant slot

1st July - General discussion

8th July - Drawing up the 1994/95
programme

Monday 29th August - Summer Picnic

If anyone would like to give a talk or lead a
discussion, overseas or out-of-town speakers
especially, please contact either Dave Dane or
Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville
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081-847 0203), not too early in the day please,
giving subject matter and prospective dates
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These could be sometimes instead of a general
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