

anarchist fortnightly

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FIFTY PENCE

"Liberty is the doctrine, harmony the way of life."

Sebastian Faure

## THE NEW EXPROPRIATORS AN ANARCHIST APPROACH

At the Tory Party's conference last October the Prime Minister, John Major, made it quite clear what he had in mind when he said the Conservative Party would "lead the country back to basics right across the board". And these basics are:

"Sound money, free trade, traditional teaching, respect for the family and the law. *And above all, lead a new campaign to defeat the cancer that is crime*" (our italics).

'Sound money' and 'free trade' to ensure that the rich get richer (inevitably at somebody's expense – and without the colonies to bleed white it means the unskilled workers and the unemployed here) is certainly a basic requirement of the capitalist system. After all, it is well known in the right circles that the top brass will only give of their best if they are paid more, just as the ordinary worker will

### REPORT ON MEXICAN REVOLUTION SEE PAGE 3

only do so if threatened with a wage cut or the sack!

The rest of Mr Major's basics obviously refer to the young. Traditional teaching means the three Rs (no objection to that!) and respect for Queen and Country and one's betters. 'Respect for the family' has been misunderstood (?) by the Tory activists and the media to mean that the family is sacrosanct 'till death do us part', whereas in fact Major was directing his 'respect for the family' to the children – not to the parents. And

'respect for the law' is obviously directed to the young who are proportionally the largest 'breakers of the law'. And we refer to the italicised passage where he made it clear that "above all" the government was launching a massive campaign "to defeat the cancer that is crime". Let's be clear as to what 'cancer' is giving the government so much concern.

Parents who leave their children unattended for hours or days, or who murder them or each other: this is all part of the *bête humaine*; there's nothing they can do about it (they even seem to be discharging seriously mentally disturbed people – to save 'taxpayers' money – who then end up on the streets and/or committing another ghastly murder).

The 'crime' they fear most is that  
(continued on page 2)

## NO MORE HIROSHIMAS (PERHAPS) BUT DEADLIER 'CONVENTIONAL' WEAPONS (UNLIMITED)

Clinton and the other political leaders have been discussing in Brussels future membership of the Warmongers Inc (also known as NATO) and even apparently talking of reducing the nuclear armaments of East and West to the point of eliminating them altogether – which of course makes twisted commonsense. After all, if you have the means not only to destroy the 'enemy' but at the same time can be destroyed there is no point in waging war. Nuclear war unlimited means literally the elimination of mankind. So, since the objective of war is for one side to prevail, nuclear war is a dead loss. Years and years ago we told our friends of CND\* (the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) that the greatest threat was conventional war. Indeed, as we write, some twenty or more civil and conventional wars are raging in the world, which the

dis-United Nations can do nothing to halt.

Assuming (which we don't) that the United Nations is organised for peace in the world then, if it has any influence, its first priority should surely be to eliminate the arms industry ... Yet more and more sophisticated, and deadly, weapons are being produced internationally and, apparently, because they are considered to be conventional weapons (by which we assume that any weapon that does not eliminate the human race is classified as conventional) they are okay because they are part of war and war is okay! Which clearly indicates that mankind is living in a madhouse! Well, have a taste of the latest conventional weapon.

The Sunday Times (9th January) gives us a clue of what technology let loose can inflict on mankind. The latest in man's barbarity is the laser gun. Leaving out the technical details and concentrating on the objectives of

this triumph of our scientists and the consequences, a few quotes from the article.

The purpose of the laser gun is "to blind enemy troops by burning out their eyes". Do we need to go into more detail!

The International Committee of the Red Cross is demanding a ban on "futuristic laser guns". Also "a four year enquiry by medical, military and legal experts will be put to United Nations delegates in Geneva next month".

Not only should the United Nations ban these 'laser weapons'. We demand that the scientists who are engaged in such research should be named so that the world can denounce them as *Enemies of the People!*

## GOSSIP COLUMN

If 'Lady Bracknell' had been around recently she might well have summed up the domestic problems of one Tory worthy thus: "To father one illegitimate child, Mr Yeo, may be regarded as a misfortune; to father a second illegitimate child looks like carelessness."

\* *Protest Without Illusions*, Freedom Press, 168 pages, £3.00.



# THE NEW EXPROPRIATORS AN ANARCHIST APPROACH

(continued from page 1)

property. The respect they demand, and seek to instil in the schools and by the proposed draconian penal punishments, is a blind respect for private property. And this is because there are now millions of our fellow citizens who are denied by the system, the right of having an employment which provides them with the only means capitalism recognises - money - to provide for their daily needs. Yes, the state doles out a pittance to prevent them from starving and for some, with families, allowances to survive. For instance, *The Observer* (2nd January) gives one typical example among thousands:

"Michelle Boothe, 17, and her 14 month old daughter, Chelsea, spent Christmas in a house without anything except a mattress on the living room floor and borrowed curtains. No cooker, beds, chairs, tables, fridge or carpets; no television, radio, kettle; not even a towel. She and Chelsea sleep together under an open sleeping bag.

They are just one family among the thousands on social security who have been denied a grant from the government's Social Fund to buy basic furniture. Some have lost their possessions in burglaries or fires.

The Social Fund is discretionary and cash-limited. Most payments are loans, with repayments deducted from income support. Claimants in abject poverty can be refused help if the local budget is running low, or if they are unable to repay. Some 37,000 people were refused loans last year because they were too poor, and 243,000 because the local office deemed them of 'insufficient priority' within the budget."

But what the government - as stooges of the well-heeled minority and the multinationals<sup>1</sup> - are aware of is the discontent of an ever-growing minority - especially of young people - who see no future for themselves in the consumerist society but are constantly made aware by television and the media of all the tempting gadgets, holidays in the sun, beautiful homes and furnishings on the never-never interest-free, cars galore (last week even Education Minister John Patten was displayed at the wheel of a £50,000 job giving his considered opinion on performance).

All that is missing to make this capitalist utopia possible: well paid JOBS! And this is something Major and his gang not only have no means of

providing but have no intention of so doing. As we pointed out in *Freedom* ('The Feast is over', 8th January), unemployment is part of the weapon with which capitalism clobbers the working population: to keep down wages and increase productivity (Barclays Bank spokesman announcing that a further 3,000 employees would be joining the 18,000 to be axed by 1996, added that, as a result, customers would be provided with a more efficient service!).

But the government, and the ruling class, are beginning to realise that the Opposition they are having to face is not the Lib-Lab bunch, nor, alas, a revolutionary movement of the people

"Really, if the lower orders don't set us a good example, what on earth is the use of them? They seem, as a class, to have absolutely no sense of moral responsibility."

Algernon Moncrieff to his butler in *The Importance of Being Earnest* by Oscar Wilde (1895)

determined to replace the unequal, greedy, beggar-my-neighbour society by one where competition will be replaced by cooperation; narrow individualism by solidarity; economic privilege and power by equality and diversity; but by a whole generation of the young, politically innocent or indifferent, worshipping Mammon (God is out!) and all the goodies that Mammon can provide if only they had the money. They are the potential 'expropriators of the rich' in this capitalist jungle. Sure enough in the first comprehensive study of pre-sentence reports since the 1991 Criminal Justice Act, senior probation officers found that only one in five offenders in the first half of 1993 was in recognised paid employment (our italics).<sup>2</sup> We welcome confirmation of what any thinking person (other than government ministers) would assume without a scientific survey. It's surely so obvious?

As anarchists we neither condemn nor applaud what we call the New Expropriators. We don't condemn them because they are victims of a corrupt system which is rotten and can only breed rottenness. (Note how in the Eastern bloc the demise of the so-called Communist regime liberated all the vices of capitalism overnight - millionaires, property dealers, drug mafia, the lot - at the expense of the ordinary working people. Liberation of the

2. The findings "given exclusively to *The Guardian*, were described as very significant by the Association of Chief Officers of Probation, which commissioned the study of 30,000 offenders across 30 of the 55 probation services" (*Guardian*, 8th January 1994).

rouble meant mass inflation while those who smuggled in the dollars made fortunes!)

We don't praise them because, so far as we can assess the political scene, they are rebels (in the capitalist context) and not revolutionaries (in the anarchist context). But it is the young that will be most receptive to anarchist ideas if only we, anarchist propagandists, can communicate to them in a language they can understand, and accept, and be prepared to adopt, in a war against capitalism, privilege and corruption.

The Major government's campaign "to defeat the cancer that is crime" is a campaign against petty crime by the have-nots who in desperation resort to break-ins, muggings, hold-ups, car thefts, etc. But the real criminal surely is the capitalist system - the system that protects a privileged minority with the force of the law, the police, the prisons and the military. How can one condemn those who have nothing, not even a job, using the same violence to grab their share?

This writer (pace our 'non-violent' comrades) is not objecting to the means, but the targets. Obviously the desperate young unemployed, some homeless, go for the easy targets which - alas are also the features for the media - are not the multinationals, or the stinking rich in their castles, but ordinary folk (including, after all, *Freedom* Press. We cannot recall how many times but we hope that our analysis of the 'crime' problem will, at least, be recognised to be objective!).

But to attack the capitalist system at its roots demands more than slogans and wishful thinking (such as Nick Heath's contribution to *Freedom's* 'Reader's Letters' columns, 8th January).

## 'Creeping Privatisation' of the police?

Sir John Smith, Deputy Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police and president of the Association of Chief Police Officers, told a Fabian Society conference that "the philosophy of free market thinking may affect safety in the community".

He maintained that the police were being diverted from "important work" to affluent areas in response to calls from private security guards. He pointed out that the private sector dealing with security had had a total market size of £807 million in 1987. By 1992 that figure had reached £2,100 million and it was estimated that between 100,000 and 250,000 people were employed in the security business. This meant there were more security guards than police officers (source: *Guardian's* crime correspondent Duncan Campbell).

Obviously the police don't like the idea of a rival in the crime business. From our point of view what is interesting in these statistics is that "crime against property" is all the time on the increase in spite of more police and ... anything up to 250,000 security personnel in the private sector!

We wonder how many crooks actually join the police? It would seem to us to be the easiest way of a successful career in the safe-cracking world.

The police are at all levels people with power and no one in such positions can be sure of resisting temptations to abuse that power. Why, only last week Italy's chief of police resigned when Rome magistrates disclosed that he was under investigation for "embezzlement and aiding and abetting". So who can you trust? Back to Basic values boys!

## Cartoon Tories go Back to Basics

Tim Yeo, the MP for South Suffolk who has been forced to resign as a minister and is liable to be deselected by his constituency Conservative Association, was a notorious insider trader in the 1970s.

When a public limited company is taken over by another, its share price goes up. Anyone who knows of a takeover before it is announced can buy shares at the pre-takeover price and make a big profit. This is known as insider trading. In Britain in the 1970s it was not a criminal offence, but was generally considered dishonest. Following a civil suit which made him repay £40,000 of ill-gotten gains, Mr Yeo was expelled from the stock exchange, and asked to withdraw from selection as Conservative candidate for Abingdon in 1979.

His record was known to South Suffolk Conservatives in 1983, but they selected him as their candidate despite his dishonesty. But this year some of them have proposed to sack him for having girlfriends and fathering

babies. They correspond to the left-wing cartoon image of Tories: the hang 'em, flog 'em, castrate 'em brigade. Sucked-lemon faces indifferent to dishonest schemes for making the rich richer, but excited to paroxysms of joyful hatred by anything to do with sex.

Not all Tories are like that. Indeed, a full meeting of South Suffolk Tories expressed confidence in Mr Yeo. But with Michael Howard as Home Secretary and John Paton as Minister of Education, the cartoon wing of the party seems to be in the ascendant.

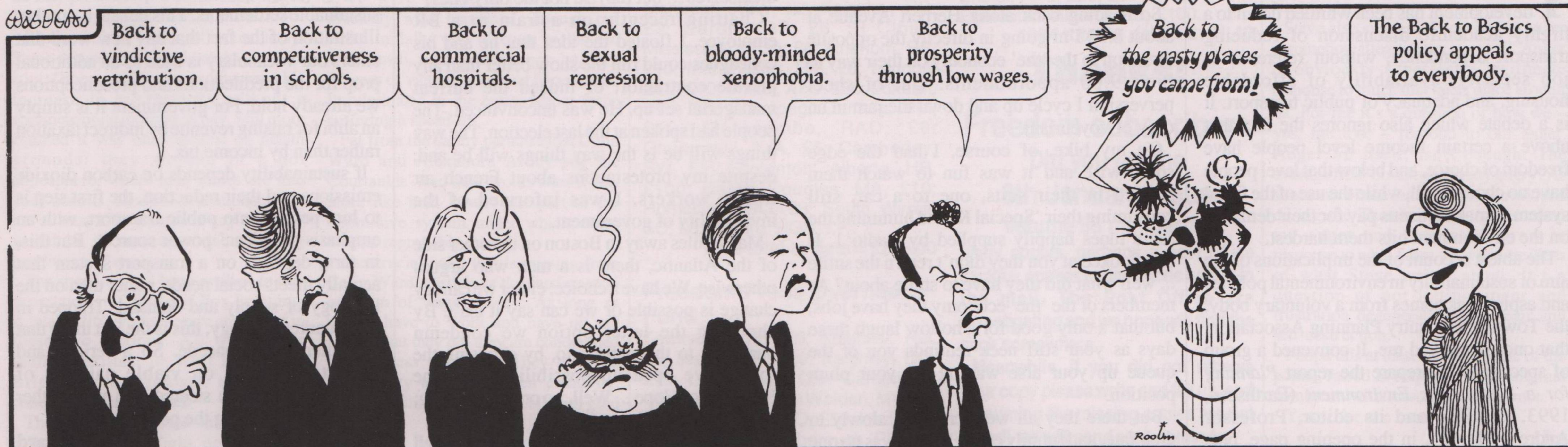
It has recently been the habit of judges to treat rich financial criminals leniently.

One such had his sentence reduced, to allow his immediate release, on the grounds that he had Alzheimer's disease. Convicts who develop Alzheimer's are always released, usually by executive release on the recommendation of the prison governor, (continued on page 7)

## CORRECTION

The second paragraph of the editorial in *Freedom*, 8th January, reads: "In 1979 the Thatcher government inherited high unemployment and high inflation".

It should have read "low unemployment and high inflation".





## — ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

# The Debate on Sustainability

Green activists, geographers, town planners, governmental and international bodies are all discussing the concept of *sustainable development*, and their opinions will eventually affect us all. The phrase was put into our vocabulary by the Brundtland Commission's report in 1987, and has taken over from a series of attempts to define the same notion, like 'the steady-state economy', which have been current since people began to take out environmental dilemmas seriously in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Brundtland defined the idea of sustainable development as "development which meets present needs without compromising the ability of future generations to achieve their needs and aspirations" (World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*, OUP, 1987). It was given a particular emphasis on the pattern of towns and cities by a document issued by the Commission of the European Community in Brussels in 1990 called the *Green Paper on the Urban Environment*. In the following year I chanced to be at a meeting of the Institute of British Geographers at which Brian Wilson, Chief Planning Adviser to the Department of the Environment, was asked his opinion of it. I found myself obliged to agree with his warning when he explained that:

"The European Commission strongly advocated the high density, compact city. The Green Paper puts forward the idealised view of the urban core, culturally diverse and exciting to live in. This is to ignore the fact, however, that many in Europe do not live in the urban cores of our older, finer cities. Certainly these should be maintained, even reproduced where the opportunity occurs, but the reality of much modern living cannot be ignored. Nor is it possible to envisage a return to a close relationship between place of work and residence. Job mobility is a characteristic of modern society and people increasingly change their place of work while continuing to live in the same location."

His observations could be expressed far more strongly. The inner city as a place of residence belongs to the very rich or the very poor, because of speculation in property values. Most European, or British, or American children grow up in suburbs, and the fact that by their teens they yearn to be somewhere else does not affect the likelihood that with a rational choice among the options open to them, they will not choose to rear their own families in the high-density compact city. Only above a certain level of affluence does freedom of choice arise. It is the same with the issue of job mobility. The days when people spent a working lifetime in the same job, and consequently lived close to it, are over.

This is a matter, not just of economic trends, but of deliberate government policy. Ministers use the phrase 'flexible labour markets' to describe their policy. This is a euphemism for the absence of job security, and it explains the whittling away of legislation for labour protection, from minimum wage agreements to conditions of employment. People desperate for a job as a source of income have no choice but to undertake long journeys to work and very often, because of the inadequacies of public transport, to undertake them by car.

Yet, somehow, the debate on sustainable development has been whittled down to a highly academic discussion of reducing transport dependency, without reference to job security, availability of affordable housing, and adequacy of public transport. It is a debate which also ignores the fact that above a certain income level people have freedom of choice, and below that level people have no choice at all, while the use of the fiscal system to make citizens pay for their demands on the environment hits them hardest.

The ablest account of the implications of the aim of sustainability in environmental policies and aspirations comes from a voluntary body, the Town and Country Planning Association, that once employed me. It convened a group of specialists to prepare the report *Planning for a Sustainable Environment* (Earthscan, 1993, £15.95), and its editor, Professor Andrew Blowers, in the opening page, puts

our situation in a world context, stressing that:

"the richest countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) – with only 16% of the world's population – consume about eleven times more energy per head and create half the carbon dioxide from fossil fuels, three-quarters of the industrial waste and four-fifths of the hazardous wastes."

In other words, it is the rich who should change their habits before imposing even greater deprivations on the poor. This, of course, is the opposite of what happens in the real world. We can all cite examples of the deliberate export of hazardous waste from the rich consuming countries to the poor world, which usually has less stringent and less enforceable standards of control of dangerous processes and dangerous materials.

But wealth and poverty co-exist in both rich and poor countries. Dr Janice Perlman, from the Mega-cities project of New York University, stresses that "every first-world city has within it a third-world city of malnutrition, infant mortality, homelessness and unemployment. And conversely, every third-world city has within it a first-world city of high tech, high fashion and high finance". You and I can watch the increase in this contrast in the cities of both the poor world and the rich. I rely on the testimony of a former Conservative cabinet minister, Ian Gilmour, for the evidence that "relative poverty grew significantly during the 1980s, encompassing nearly one-tenth of the population in 1979 and nearly one-fifth in 1987. Even more disturbing, children fared worse than society

as a whole during this period, the proportion living in poverty doubling to reach 26% in 1987". He goes on to relate the growth of impoverishment to the enrichment of the rich:

"In the 1980s, for the first time for fifty years and, possibly, for more than a century, the poorer half of the population saw its share of total national income shrink. In 1979 the poorest fifth of the population had just under 10% of post-tax income and the richest fifth had 37%. By 1989 the share of the poorest fifth had fallen to 7%, while the share of the richest fifth had risen to 43%. The rich got richer and the poor got poorer" (Ian Gilmour, *Dancing with Dogma*, Simon & Schuster, 1992).

Information of this kind is bound to affect our approach to the measures taken by governments to approach the goal of sustainability. When Professor David Pearce addressed the Royal Society of Arts in 1991 on the topic of 'A Sustainable World: who cares, who pays?' he argued that:

"We are not, for example, going to achieve

## THE LAST MIRACLE!

An electronic rosary has been invented by Father Pasquale Silla of Rome. The hand-held device keeps track of recited prayers, can be switched off at any time without losing the place, and offers musical versions of prayers.

**L'Ultimo Miracolo!**

## Dorset Diary

I'm still essentially a product of my Presbyterian upbringing – apart from anything else I'm a Hearts and not a Hibs supporter – and getting up early still gives me a sense of satisfaction knowing that I'll have more hours to implement the work ethic. But not in any conventional manner of course. It's hard now to disentangle the Protestants from the Bourgeois background (both rejected but still there) in determining which brought me to the 'other' economy rather than 'the' economy ... but I'm digressing as usual (although all threads will be drawn together ... as usual). I was talking about that revolutionary activity ... getting out of bed.

Down here in the south in midwinter it's not light until about seven, thus allowing for a lie in, before I head for the allotment as the rest of town is awakening. There I was this morning, forking away, pulling a few carrots, digging some Jerusalem artichokes and celeriac and gathering the kale for an hour or two before heading home for the rest of the days work.

So heading back along Herbert Avenue at about 8.35 I'm going in directly the opposite direction to the 'the' economy on their way to their 9.00 appointments. Out of sheet perversion I cycle up and down the jam in an orgy of voyeurism.

On my bike, of course, I had the edge speed-wise and it was fun to watch them stuffed in their suits, one to a car, still consuming their 'Special K' and humming the same tunes happily supplied by Radio 1. If they looked at you they didn't return the smile ... well what did they have to smile about? As members of the 'the' economy they have jobs, but that's only good for a hollow laugh these days as your stiff neck reminds you of the queue up your arse waiting for your plum position.

But there they all were crawling slowly to their fate, and funnily enough there was no one

around with a machine gun to make them ...

Seemingly to change the subject, the tallest Shouse in Poole was sold this week. A picture of it appears in the local freebie with accompanying history. Apparently it once belonged to a different voyeur with other perversions. Mayor Carter, the owner, also owned a local tile and brick factory and had a cunning plan. He mounted a telescope on his roof (the highest point in town) and from there he would "watch his staff. Anyone spotted malingering or taking an extra break would be dismissed immediately by the foreman who had received a phone call from his irate employer."

An early version of Orwell's Big Bro, Carter is once again, ten years after 1984, an anachronism. Today we have a self-disciplined, almost Presbyterian, workforce. Those in the traffic jam on Herbert Avenue, dream little of an alternative and seem to impose their own nightmare upon themselves ... but they're not the only ones.

Chatting recently on a train to a BR employee, I floated the idea that he and his colleagues could run the show better than any private contractor, or indeed the current managerial set up. He was unconvinced. The people had spoken at the last election. The way things will be is the way things will be and, despite my protestations about French air traffic workers, I was informed of the invincibility of government.

Many miles away in Boston on the other side of the Atlantic, there is a man who argues otherwise. We have a choice: either we can say change is possible or we can say it isn't. By choosing the latter option we condemn ourselves to the status quo, by choosing the former we open up possibilities and the Highway of Hope ... Well, no one's watching; the choice is yours.

Neil Birrell

internationally agreed targets for reducing global warming unless we tax greenhouse gases, and especially carbon dioxide. That means taxing coal, oil and gas, with the highest tax being on coal, the lowest one on gas, since that is the ranking of their carbon content. If we adopt such 'carbon taxes' then we have once again made the polluter pay. But, however we make the initial polluter pay, they will pass some, not all, of the regulatory cost on to the consumer. That is exactly what the polluter pays principle requires. We, the consumer, must also pay. If we do not, we shall not send the right signals back to the producer of the polluting product. The higher the price, the less we will buy – that is a piece of marketing information for the producer. It tells him or her to change technology – to become green."

When we translate this point of view into the real world we find the Chancellor seizing upon the chance to raise revenue by flat rate taxes on domestic fuel users, with a token increase in state pensions, and attempting to silence criticism with the claim that the measure is "Britain's strategy for meeting our Rio commitments to restrain carbon dioxide emissions". I think there are two things to be said about this and about Professor Pearce's stipulations. The first is that the domestic consumer of electricity has no means of knowing whether his or her source is derived from burning coal, oil, gas or rubbish, nor the type of filter on emissions, or whether, as in Scotland, it is hydro-electricity, or indeed whether it derives from nuclear power, or the new and welcome burgeoning of windfarms. The consumer is unable to send the right signals back to the producer.

The second point relates to our government's preference for regressive as opposed to progressive taxation. Patricia O'Donnell pointed out last year that "The poor spend nearly 10% of disposable income on heating, twice the proportion of better-off households" and that "more people in the United Kingdom die of hypothermia than in any comparable European country" (*New Statesman & Society*, 13th August 1993). A disproportionate share of the cost of achieving sustainability is to be carried out by those least able to bear it. I am reminded of the message sent on a postcard of an ocean liner by Noël Coward during the Second World War: "We may all be on a sinking ship," he wrote, "but there's no reason why some of us shouldn't travel first class."

When the British government issued its consultation paper *UK Strategy for Sustainable Development* (HMSO, 1993) Vicky Hutchings drew attention to the all too evident fact that sustainability is in the eye of the beholder, citing the remarks of our endless succession of transport ministers. One of them declared that: "To halt our present plan is to ignore the needs of industry, to ignore the right of every person to choose how to make a journey and to ignore the fact that, as living standards improve, there will inevitably be growth in road traffic". And another transport minister told the House of Lords that: "Road traffic growth is largely linked to economic growth. It would be unreasonable to set a ceiling on this".

But the attempt to set a ceiling on road traffic growth is at the heart of the academic debate among geographers and planners about sustainable settlements. This debate is another illustration of the fact that any new word that enters our vocabulary is used as an additional prop for the predilections and preconceptions we already hold. For government it is simply an alibi for raising revenue by indirect taxation rather than by income tax.

If sustainability depends on carbon dioxide emissions and their reduction, the first step is to lure people onto public transport, with an emphasis on 'clean' power sources. But this, in turn, depends on a transport system that actually meets social needs, rather than on the ideology of supply and demand. Trapped in their market ideology, this is the last thing that our rulers will concede. So a serious and important debate on viable patterns of settlement has been steered into yet another policy for penalising the poor.

Colin Ward



New Year's Day 1994, in Mexico, brought with it the introduction of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the prize for the multinational corporations, and an old style peasant rebellion tooled up with machetes and weapons from the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

Some reports make the uprising seem as mysterious as a magical realist novel. Officials claim not to know where the rebels came from or who they were. Rebel soldiers interviewed were not always clear about their movement's aims, but they said they felt they had no choice other than to act violently against the authorities.

Preferring to call themselves 'revolutionaries', rather than guerrillas, they have labelled their organisation the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN). In a statement they said "... it doesn't matter [to the government] that we possess nothing, not a home, not land, not work, not education".

These armed peasants, said to be some 2,000 strong, took over six towns in the poor southern state of Chiapas. In the town of San Cristobal de las Casas the rebels freed 179 inmates of the local jail. Many of these were Indians, like the peasant fighters themselves, who had been jailed in land disputes. The rebels claim they are protesting at abuses by the authorities against Indians, who are being robbed of their land by swindlers and having their traditional way of life destroyed.

#### History roughly repeats itself

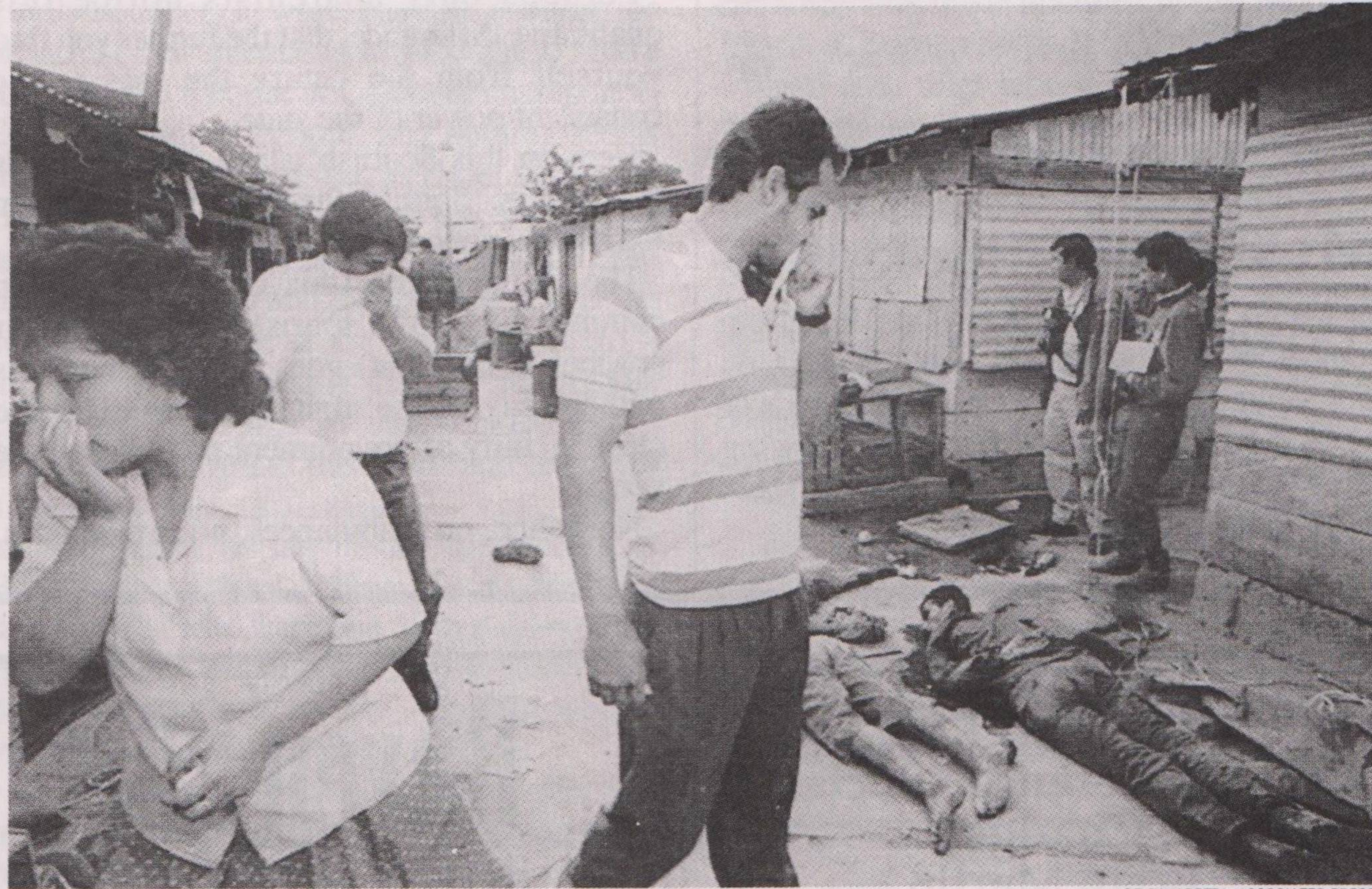
The Bishop Samuel Ruiz of San Cristobal, one of the towns taken over by the Indian rebel peasants, has been warning for some time of the growing militant consciousness of the indigenous Indians in the jungle areas around Chiapas. The rebels who are now returning to their jungle retreats appear to be mostly Indian peasants from three tribes descended from the ancient Maya civilisation. Journalists say these have the backing of most of the other Indians in the area, but less sympathy among white and half-castes in the state capital of Tuxtla Gutierrez.

A spokesman for Mexico's President Salinas commenting on the rebellion declared:

Obviously this has to do with the poverty and backwardness in the area, but that is a problem that has gone on for 500 years".

Reports say the rebels are members of the Tzontil, Tojolabal and Tzenta tribes who appeared on New Year's Day as if out of thin air. But Jack Munoz, president of the 'left-leaning' opposition Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) in Chiapas, believes white, non-indigenous Mexicans from the north have been working for years to promote revolution among the Indians of the Chiapas jungles. Others argue that leftist rebels of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Party (URNG) over the southern border may be involved, though the

## Mexico: magical realism confronts heroic materialism



Residentes de Ocosingo pasan ante varios cadáveres en el mercado del pueblo.

JOE CAVARETTA (ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Muchos de los cadáveres encontrados tienen las manos atadas a la espalda

### Una comisión de derechos humanos investiga las ejecuciones sumarias de zapatistas por el Ejército

(from *El País*, 7th January 1994)

URNG has issued a statement denying any link with the Zapatistas.

There may be outsiders involved. An appeal issued at the time of writing seems designed to draw the urban poor into the conflict. This notice put out by a group calling itself the Urban Front of EZLN, says it will hit targets in the Mexican capital, and calls on trade unionists and students to join the fight. The appeal, addressed to the twenty million residents of Mexico City, adds: "We are fighting against the violence of poverty, against the violence of hunger and of electoral farce. Mexicans, blood brothers, are we condemned to be miserable forever?" The Urban front claims it will not harm civilians but would strike at "the brain centres of the oligarchy".

The sprawling suburbs of Mexico City are full of people of Indian stock, as is the Mexican army itself. The appeal took care to call on the soldiers as well: "We warn you, Mexican soldier, young like we are, that this struggle will go on for years. Your generals do not care about you. They are using you. Don't kill innocent people." This appeal to the wider public of Mexico, including the urban poor, students and trade unionists, may suggest an

outside influence – though the straightforward simplicity of the message is not of the kind of tiresome and boring tract we have come to expect from Marxist groups in the West.

In its immediate general appeal the movement also differs from the original Zapata campaign. Eric R. Wolf in his book *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* says: "Zapata ... had no comprehension of the needs and interests of the industrial workers and never knew how to attract their support."

Yet by invoking the image of Emiliano Zapata the rebels are identifying with a sacred icon of Mexico's revolutionary past. Robert Quirk, in 1960, argued: "the inarticulate ... Zapata accomplished in death what he could not win in life. His spirit lived on, and in a strange illogical but totally Mexican twist of fate, he became the greatest hero of the Revolution. In the hagiography of the Revolution the caudillo of Morelos continues to ride his white charger ..."

Before Zapata there had been an earlier revolt in 1810, led by José María Morelos. Like Morelos before him, Zapata also called for the break-up of the haciendas and the return of land to the Indian communities. In the revolt from 1810 to 1815, José Morelos, like Zapata, operated from the south tier of the central Mexican mesa, and represented, says Wolf, through their use of the symbol of the dark-faced Virgin of Guadalupe, Mexican hopes "for a supernatural deliverance ..." and for a return to a golden age. The Zapatistas carried the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe in their battle flags, thus, claims Wolf, "validating their demands for a return to an old agrarian order with symbols which promised a return to a more pristine supernatural state".

Some say, including members of the Mexican government, that the current campaign is being influenced by the Catholic Church. Others speak of the spread of teetotalism and Protestantism among the Indians, and one can't help but hear echoes of the history of anarchism in Andalucía.

#### Do we need leaders?

With all this talk of rabble-rousing priests, and even Maoists, one is bound to ask do the peasants need leaders from outside?

Two elements have an interest in fostering the idea of the need of outside interference. The Mexican government denounces outside troublemakers for using the Indian peasants to

gain power for themselves. At the same time Marxists, who want to justify their concept of a party led mainly by intellectuals grabbing power for themselves, have long argued that peasants without outside leadership cannot make a revolution.

What distinguished the Mexican Revolution from the Russian 'Bolshevik' Revolution was that the intellectuals didn't become the bosses of the movement as the party did in Russia. Eric Wolf identified the two vital ingredients of the Zapatista revolution as:

1. The participation of disaffected intellectuals with urban ties.
2. The importance of a peasant group endowed with sufficient independent resources of its own to embark on the road to independent political action.

And binding these two elements together, Mr Wolf argues, was the "anarcho-syndicalist idiom". The anarchist language of 'Land and Liberty'; so sweet "to the ears of the Indians who had risen to regain their lands".

Do we need leaders? I'm with Sartre on this one! Leaders are alright so long as they are leading us where we want to go.

Do we favour revolution? It depends what is meant by revolution, but some anarchist writers like Tolstoy and Camus contrast rebellion more favourably against the reoccurring dictatorships springing from revolutions.

If I may quote Eric Wolf's essay *The Peasantry as a Class*:

"Where the peasantry had successfully rebelled against the established order – under its own banner and with its own leaders – it was sometimes able to reshape the social structure of the countryside closer to its heart's desires; but it did not lay hold of the state, of the cities which house the centres of control, of the strategic non-agricultural resources of the society. Zapata stayed in his Morelos; the 'folk migration' of Pancho Villa simply receded after the defeat at Torreón; the Ukrainian rebel Nestor Makhno stopped short of the cities; the Russian peasants of the central agricultural region simply burrowed more deeply into their local communes.

The peasant utopia is the free village, untrammelled by tax collectors, labour recruiters, large landowners, officials. Ruled over, but never ruling, they also lack any acquaintance with the operation of the state as a complex machinery, experiencing it only as a 'cold monster' ... Thus, for the peasant, the state is a negative quantity, an evil, to be replaced in short shrift by their own 'home-made' social order. That order, they believe, can run without the state; hence peasants in rebellion are natural anarchists."

By becoming a centralised power the urban Russian Bolshevik regime degenerated into something as bad as, if not worse than, the Tsarist system which preceded it. By focusing on the cities and urban class struggle, at the expense of the countryside, the Spanish anarchists have slid into decline.

José Peirats, the anarchist historian, insists that the anarchists there lost the civil war owing to their obsession with the struggle in the cities.

#### Root disturbance and anarchism

How can we explain the current peasant campaign in Chiapas? Perhaps I should caution about too much excitement by anarchists. Much of the stuff coming out of Mexico in the English press seems to be from freelance reporters. The exceptions are *The Independent*, which has sent their Madrid correspondent Phil Davison from covering the revolt in the remote jungle of southern Mexico, and Hugh O'Shaughnessy of *The Observer*. Both have given accounts sympathetic to the rebels.

Reporters on the spot may be tempted to blow up incidents in order to justify their job and to get stories published. These reporters have tended to play up the threat to the Mexican regime. Mr O'Shaughnessy claims: "Mexico's revolt has unnerved politicians from Alaska to Patagonia, and calls for human rights are unlikely to be easily silenced". Commenting on a government reshuffle in

(continued on page 7)





## Yeltsin: Tsar Elect?

**The Two O'Clock Knock Now Comes at Three: how democratic was Russia's 'democratic' coup?**

A Syndicalist Bulletin publication, price 50p plus postage

When last October's Russian coup was attempted was President Yeltsin pissed out of his head and were most of his staff politically and militarily paralytic as the rebels in the street moved towards the Ostankino television centre? Or was the President manipulating events like some latter-day Rasputin? I see that 'Rasputin' in Russian really means 'debauchee', so perhaps the distinction is not so stark.)

Some reports have suggested that Yeltsin's office at the time of the coup was in chaos. This pamphlet by the Syndicalist Bulletin in Hull, and based on eye-witness accounts in Moscow, takes the view that the events of last October were in part a stage-managed fit-up to dispose of obstacles such as Yeltsin's opponents in the Russian Parliament.

According to one report: "We have heard that KAS [Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists] has been outlawed, despite the fact that it had issued a statement saying it supported neither side in the conflict."

The Syndicalist Bulletin was critical of the management of news during the failed August 1991 coup. They said: "We thought then, and still believe that there must have been collusion between Yeltsin and at least the Moscow representatives of the coup plotters."

This is a very Russian view! It's the idea of bluff and counter-bluff, double-cross and double games. The Russians are used, I suppose, to duplicity on a grand scale.

I am not convinced by the argument. But I am concerned that the Western media always

tends to back the office holder, whether it be Yeltsin, now, or Gorbachev yesterday. It is also a bit worrying that President Yeltsin seems to be swelling into a new elected Tsar of all the Russians.

BB

### Mushroom Bookshop

As we go to press, we hear that Mushroom Bookshop in Nottingham was attacked on 15th January by a gang wearing armbands of the AWB, the South African right wing movement. Three people were injured. Some of the attackers were arrested.

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## On the Move

It is easy for people who live in big cities and scarcely leave their boundaries to forget that there is another life outside the walls.

Perhaps only anarchists notice this qualitative difference, that the further you find yourself from the centre the less is the consistent power of the state.

Here on this Scottish island, nobody reads the papers. Should the government resign tomorrow, nobody would toss a caber.

The whole island (this time of year - in summer when the tourists arrive in their coaches is different) goes about its business without any of the nightmarish burdens the close vicinity of government produces in the people.

No police, no ambulances, no fire engines,

no cop cars racing about. On the contrary, front doors are left open. People call on each other, you can return to your home full of visitors. Somebody is blowing a bagpipe in the kitchen, who he is and how he got there nobody knows. A bit of a contrast with the big city, where powerful lights go on if you stop for a second in front of somebody's precious front garden.

People here display a common courtesy for each other, an innate sympathy that makes you not want to return to the big city. The air in your lungs is worth all the chemist's prescriptions. At night you can actually see the stars. The big city is a bad smell in your memory. Its broken down system, its purposeless noise, authorities' heavy hand cannot be imagined here.

"All of us are born equal, none of us are born to be slaves" the old revolutionary slogan has some meaning here.

You mention the town you come from and people look at you pityingly. "I can't imagine living there, not me thank you," they say, not in that conurbation of many millions, breathing in the exhaust fumes of its filthy air. Its poor children shoved into schools for consumers, a great proportion of its good people in useless jobs or on the dole, its mean rich leading their futile lives behind the barbed wire of their 'security'.

"[But] here's a hand, my trusty fiere,  
And gies a hand o' thine;  
And we'll tak a cup o' kindness yet,  
For auld lang syne!"

I walk down to the harbour, Robert Burns's song ringing in my ears, there is an eerie light over the black hills and the lights of a nearby island glow in the distance.

Waiting for a coach connection in Glasgow, I wandered down Sauchihall Street and into the excellent Centre for Community Arts (surely a place where a copy of *Freedom* or

(continued on page 6)

## Raven 23

on  
SPAIN SINCE FRANCO  
and  
EMMA GOLDMAN

96 pages (illustrated) £3.00 (post free)



# A Free United Europe

Slogans about European unity have been imposed on the public for years. Among anarchists it is a highly suspect subject because of the one-sided character of the discussion. It is dominated by the economics of capitalism. It suppresses ecological thinking and blocks the way to social change. Anarchists are not alone, neither in their opinions nor in their ideas about the desirable political organisation of a 'New Europe'.

### Municipal autonomy

The discussions about a New Europe concentrate on different concepts of federalism. But how new are these 'new' ideas about the political organisation of Europe? In the second half of the last century well-known anarchists like Proudhon and Bakunin paid attention to the political organisation of the New Europe. The interesting thing is that their federalist ideas are not getting serious attention in non-anarchist circles. For instance, an author called J. Bancal presents the views of Proudhon in a memorial volume dedicated to a Swiss constitutional lawyer, Adolf Gasser, and concludes his contribution rhetorically: "Proudhon, prophet of the 21st century?"

The volume called *From the Free Municipality Towards a Federalistic Europe* (Berlin, 1983) celebrates Gasser's fifty years of advocacy of a communalistic view of democracy. His first book on the subject was called *Municipal Autonomy, the Redemption of Europe*, dated 1938. The contributions demonstrate how his ideas were influenced by those of Proudhon, and how they have turned out to be fruitful for later authors. It is a manifestation of a cultural tendency against the grain of political thinking.

The kernel of these ideas is the following line of thought: people must be able to determine their own destiny and to move freely. They therefore have to cooperate and undertake a number of activities together. Individual freedom and the necessity of cooperation lead to organisational patterns of voluntary coordination. Individual freedom has to be shaped within clear organisational structures, in order to call upon the social responsibility of every person. The principles of smallness of scale and transparency are not applied out of small-mindedness, but on rational and practical grounds: one knows that one can hold others responsible for their actions.

This principle can be elaborated systematically in the field

of political organisation, leading to a new image of the political structure of Europe. This task engaged both Proudhon and Gasser. Put briefly, the principles of small-scaleness and transparency are served by municipal autonomy. And in line with this, the connection between municipalities has to take a federal form.

### The province

The concept of the province serves several different goals. One is that of the retention of the identity of local and regional communities. Another is the protection of the individual against 'the state', just because the local community is interpolated between them. It is in this respect that federalism is used as a structuring principle. It is this very principle that Bakunin chose as his point of departure when he deals, for instance, with the role of the province.

Just like Proudhon, Bakunin made use of theoretical ideas about federalism in the political debate of his day. In his reflections on federation, the province gets a mediating role on behalf of the municipality. In his day Bakunin was involved in the topical political debate about the unification of Italy. The unifiers sought to neutralise the many little states. Those who played down the role of the province were at loggerheads with Bakunin, whose starting point was that a municipality on its own cannot stand up against a central authority. So he allots to the province the task of protection against the centre.

Thus advocacy of the importance of the province in political structures is not the result of small-mindedness (even though small may be beautiful or sociable). It originates from ideas about the necessity of 'checks and balances', and it has links with views about the formation of systems with a balance of power.

Schemes for balanced power originate from the notion that some matters must be centrally regulated. One cannot decentralise air traffic, as the American anarchist Paul Goodman once remarked. In such cases counterforces must be developed; counterforces which can bring to a halt unjust pressures from a central power. This entails the institution of a balanced power system. The federal principle fulfils an organisation function here.

### Federalism

We are witnessing a revival of notions about federal structures. One reason is the attention demanded by the attempts to evolve a system for the political organisation of Europe as a whole. There is also a process going on in Belgium where the decentralisation of power is putting a strain on the existing political spectrum. That country shows a tendency towards exchanging the unitary state for a federal union.

Noting these developments in European politics it is not surprising that the philosophical concept of federalism also gets attention. So we see non-anarchists reverting to the ideas of Proudhon, for example. What precisely do they derive? For an answer I summarise an article by Van Bellinghen, a philosopher of law at the Free University of Brussels (published in *Rechtsfilosofie en Rechtstheorie*, no 3, 1991). He discerns a pragmatic character in Proudhon's version of the federalistic principle: a federal unity is founded for a practical purpose in which many participants bring their resources together without giving up diversity. As opposed to American federalism, aimed at the constitution of a state, the theory of Proudhon in the context of the Europe of his days, refers to a kind of state-dismantling federalism.

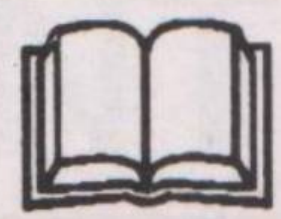
Proudhon does not confine his ideas to political organisation. His federalism is more extensive. For example, to realise political federalism he thinks it necessary to tackle the social problem along the same lines. Because of this he advocates mutualism (reciprocal service) in the social-economic field, in the form of an agrarian-industrial federation. Here anarchism and federalism unite in an 'integral federalism'. On the one hand, a fair and efficient organisation of the economy would make the state, as a one-sided imposed power, superfluous. On the other hand a truly democratic style of political organisation would be built up as a federal structure, based on the level of municipalities.

Van Bellinghen writes appreciatively of the impressive and rich attitude of mind that characterises such works of Proudhon as *Du Principe Fédératif* of 1863. He advises us to re-read Proudhon while such issues as federalism and the political unity of Europe are under discussion again.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

Thom Holtermann  
(translated by LV)



**The Madness of Kings**

by Vivian Green

published by Alan Sutton, £17.99

**Sweeney Todd**

by Peter Haining

published by Boxtree, £14.99

Concerning the matter of madness one should declare one's vested interest, and mine cannot be questioned for my grandmother was raving mad and was, wrongly, sent to prison for trying to murder my bog-Irish grandfather with the kitchen poker. My uncle spent the latter, greater part of his life as an inmate within Hanwell Lunatic



Asylum as it was officially named, my aunt flipped her skull by ending up stark naked and screaming on the bedroom floor, and my drear cousin ended up with the NHS drooling and burbling, and they were the rational ones.

I had always believed that the anarchist movement held more than its entitlement of those who believed that they could walk on water or that swinging on the chandeliers was the physical arm of ideology, but Mary Canipa, a long-time worker and activist within the anarchist movement, argued convincingly that this was not so for she made the point that she had spent a day at a Fabian lunch and

**On the Move**

(continued from page 5)

*The Raven* would look good on the shelves) where I had the chance to look at one of the best photographic exhibitions I have seen for a long time. The photographer Owen Logan being a Glasgow Italian took as his subject the life of exiles.

The central focus concerned the sinking of the SS *Arandora Star*. The story is worth re-telling for in its brutality it rivals the Belgrano. When Italy entered the war on 10th June 1940, within hours the Glasgow Italians (no doubt many anarchist exiles among them) were rounded up, their dwellings and workplaces looted and set on fire and many of the men were detained and interned prior to their deportation to Canada. The *Arandora Star* carrying these men left Liverpool for Canada and was torpedoed by a German submarine with a loss of 700 men. After fifty years this dreadful incident is not forgotten by the descendants. One of the most poignant photographs depicts just a hand holding a snapshot of a relation who perished at sea. The story is told of one of the remaining Italian organ-grinders who, to avoid the ire of the crowd, pinned a notice on his barrel-organ: "I'm British, and the monkey is from India."

John Rety

**A Touch of the Royals**

talk-fest and she maintained that within that Fabian grouping there were more Fabians in need of the soothing hand or the gentle grip of kindly bouncers in white coats than within the anarchist movement and its associates. I have just finished a bottle of Lindauer champagne, £6.99, Oddbins, 3.20pm, and nothing seems important, but to press on, as Hitler said to his cowardly generals. There is this awful fear among the working class and the middle class of certain physical and mental diseases for the social stigma that it carries. Suggest to a member of the working class or the middle class that a member of their family had 'a dose' or was 'round the bend' and they will scream 'my solicitor!' yet every autobiography of the landed aristocracy or Bloomsbury School of Fine Writing boasts of the relations who were one degree short of the Nobel Prize for their belief in cold fusion, flat earth, an anarchist 'society', the vote will set you free or spoon bending.

Our mind is a fantastic piece of physical machinery, but from the moment as week-old babies we are trained to communicate we live out every moment of our daily living constrained by an artificial discipline enforced by our social background. Only the lunatic, the drunkard or those gone on hard drugs have a free and normal mind no longer answerable to the physical body or their society. In an ungovernable rage or terror the mind is beyond control but still answerable to the discipline of the emotions, for the week-old baby does not fear the flame or the tiger.

Vivian Green had compiled a sympathetic study of those monarchs whose interests range from talking to the flowers to torching the city of Rome, but the list of those of the blood royal who were definitely medically certifiable, even by political standards, would make my small-time relations suitable carrion for any Tory political cabinet. Most of the fly-catching royals that Green lists deserve our sympathy for they were harmless individuals who were born into a social position they were never able to understand and though they are the jokes of history they were, as today, always surrounded by self-seeking advisers. If we have a fear it is, and always must be, those men and women who by their own dark brilliance take over and hold control of their society and see the solution to every economic or social problem in organised mass murder. For every Hitler or Stalin there are a thousand willing to kill better for the cause and, comrades, they permeate every political ideology from animal lovers with their firebombs to the inane nationalists with their 'heroic' slaughter of the uninvolved and the uninterested. Every society needs a unifying cord to unite each succeeding generation, be it the Church Political or the Holy Soil of our dear Motherland or Fatherland, and the unfortunate royals – bad, mad or mystical – were born and bred into a social position they never sought for no other reason than a five minute hard-on by the reigning monarch under the imperial purple sheets and, comrades, if you wish to check the umbilical cord that closets the message for every wash and wave of every intake and out-take of the anarchist associates, then run the fingers along the fingered spines resting within the pulpits of those long canonised as official Holy Writ. Do I agree or disagree, comrades? Nay, with all the arrogance of youth I merely state. So shun the bookshelves, comrades, the answer to anarchism is not there.

Madness does not always dictate the horror of the age for the rack rent landlord, the sweatshop owner or those who deal in the exploitation of children or the distribution of drugs are simply people who reject the mores of their particular society in relation to pure self interest. They are not Nietzsche super-kid or one who is unable to control their sexual appetites but Ma Thatcher's free market carried to its logical conclusion in which the

law must be bent to conform to their economic need.

Sweeney Todd was the entrepreneur extraordinaire made manifest in that he killed 160 men. Born in Stepney in 1756, he became a small-time thief who did his five years in prison and would have been forgotten in the slums and stews of old London. but Sweeney was a man to rise to the challenge of the hour. Having leased a barber-shop for £125 at 186 Fleet Street, Sweeney constructed a simple barber's chair that swung backwards over a trapdoor having first cut the shavee's throat. Under the shop to the right of St Dunstan's Church is a maze of tunnels that led to Bell Yard where a Mrs Lovett used the human flesh of the victims to fill her baked meat pies. Peter Haining's book on Todd is extraordinarily well researched. The prose may be slightly pedantic and pedestrian, but for me the facts cannot be faulted. Sweeney was exposed because of the continual complaints about the

stench from his shop and in the Bow Street Runners' check and raid on the barber-shop and beneath the bones and clothing of some 160 victims were found. Sweeney was tried and executed in the front of Newgate Prison and his tragedy, apart from being hung, is that his life and living have always been treated as a joke. The facts about his life, crimes and execution are contained in all the relevant papers of the time and the gallows literature of the day told the public all that they wanted to know.

Mrs Lovett turned Queen's Evidence and committed suicide while in prison 'helping the police with their inquiries'. For those wishing to check the authenticity of Sweeney's facts, then Haining's book is for me the definitive work, that and Montague Summers 1940 *A Gothic Biography*. Summers, an alleged unfrocked Roman Catholic priest still able to perform the mass using a pork pie and a cup of hot tea and an authority on Satanism, speaks for Sweeney Todd a man before his time who put into practice John Major's call of 'Back to Basics'.

Arthur Moyses

**Food for Thought ... and Action!**

*In the Shadow of the Silent Majorities: or, the end of the social and other essays* by Jean Baudrillard, published by Semiotext(e). The High Priest of post-modernism argues that the social has 'imploded' – i.e. no longer exists – and that it may never have existed in the first place. Reads a bit like a hyperbolic version of Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* (1967) without the society: reality and its representation have become indistinguishable. That parts of these essays may correspond to reality seems almost incidental. Like all good priests, this old faker's words seem designed more to mystify rather than clarify. Baudrillard has since taken a giant step down the road to senility when, in the lead-up to the Gulf War, he claimed that the war would not take place, and when it did (surprise! surprise!) that it had not (taken place). Very profound. 123 pages, £4.00.

*Sheikh Abdul Rahman, the World Centre Bombing and the CIA* by Robert I. Friedman, Open Magazine pamphlet series. This essay explores the relationship between an Islamic fundamentalist Egyptian Sheikh, whose followers allegedly carried out the bombing of the World Trade Centre last year, and the CIA. As the author asks: "Why would the US government protect a militant Sheikh linked to numerous acts of terrorism?" Although this question is not fully answered, some interesting facts are revealed. As Noam Chomsky wrote on the same subject: "The accused left a remarkably transparent trail and chose a curious way to bomb a building. Two possibilities come to mind. The first is that this was an amateur job of the most extraordinary ineptness. The second is that it was a highly professional operation by efficient and practised hands, using a group of people that was easily penetrated and manipulated for these purposes." The answer, now as then, is open. 16 page pamphlet, £2.95.

*Scrape Tool* premier issue. This all-too-short pamphlet uses the words of corporate propagandists, and their critics, in an attempt to look into the minds of those whose job it is to get inside our minds. Includes a short blast directed as 'green' consumption. 8 page illustrated pamphlet, 75p.

*Culture Jamming: culture jamming, hacking, slashing and sniping in the empire of signs* by Mark Dery, Open Magazine pamphlet series. In a world of endless opinion polls, virtual reality, 'information sickness', etc. – an empire of signs – this well written pamphlet explores strategies for subverting the hypnotic contents of the media. The problem with focusing on content, as opposed to form (technology), is that the author overlooks the possibility that media ideology is induced mainly as form and not content – 'the medium is the message'! This oversight leads the author to celebrate new 'information' technologies (for instance computer mediated 'virtual communities': non-tactile pseudo-communities where the primary human senses are eliminated)

as potentially liberating in themselves. If only this was the case! 17 page pamphlet, £2.95.

*Lobster # 26* (December '93) edited by Robin Ramsey. Bi-annual magazine dealing with para-political themes. This issue contains the last of four interesting articles on aspects of British fascism over the past two decades (by Larry O'Hara). Also in this issue: Cyberspace Wars by Danil Brandt (about the electronic storage of information, privacy and power); LSD testing by the British military; MI5; bibliography on the JFK assassination; more on the *Searchlight* saga, plus lots of snippets and reviews. Always an interesting read. 34 page A4 magazine, £2.

*The Band Lecture: Gilles de Rais to have been delivered before the Oxford University Poetry Society on the evening of Monday 3rd February 1930* by Aleister Crowley, Chronos Publications (The Boomerang series no 666). Once "the most hated man in England" – by the press of his time anyway – the famous occultist, and (if this pamphlet is anything to go by) great wit, talks about another occultists' and object of people's (projected) hatred, Gilles de Rais, the fifteenth century French aristocrat, soldier, alchemist, magician and (alleged) necrophiliac child-murderer. In this time of media induced and (partly) Christian inspired hysteria concerning alleged ritual satanic child abuse, ritual murder and panic about serial killers on the loose – note all the theological claptrap about 'evil', etc. – Crowley's talk has gained renewed relevance: "Whenever questions arise with regard to black magic or black masses, invocations of the devil, etc., etc., it must never be forgotten that these practices are strictly functions of Christianity." Nicely produced, with an afterword about Gilles de Rais. Unfortunately a bit expensive. 26 page A5 pamphlet, £2.95.

*Earth First! action update* issue no 7 (October '93). A short newsletter, produced by the Manchester branch of the radical environmental group Earth First! Includes latest Earth First! and related actions, as well as a long list of contacts. 4 page leaflet, 20p.

**Please Note:** The reprints of the Freedom Press titles *Malatesta: Life and Ideas* and *Mutual Aid* by Kropotkin are now available. The new prices are £5 and £6 respectively.

The pamphlet *Green Anarchism* listed in the 11th December 1993 edition of *Freedom* should have read 'origins' and not 'rights' in the subtitle. *Fascism/Anti-fascism* by Jean Barrot is £1.50 and not £1.20 as listed in the 18th September 1993 issue of *Freedom*.

Jez

Titles distributed by Freedom Press Distributors (marked\*) are post-free inland (add 15% for overseas orders). For other titles please add 10% towards postage and packing, 20% overseas. Cheques payable to FREEDOM PRESS please.



'... I always felt that the spontaneous emergence of self organisation ought to be part of physics.

Here was one coin with two sides. Here was order with randomness emerging, and then one step further away was randomness with its own underlying order."

J. Dooyne Farmer, Astrophysicist

When I first came across the term 'Chaos Theory' I immediately connected it, quite wrongly, with the wacky pseudo sciences like Dianetics, Astrology, etc. Chaos Theory is serious science. When it emerged in the 1970s it aroused a good deal of opposition from the academic establishment, who were unsettled by the attack mounted on what the Chaos Theorists saw as the narrowness of standard experimental procedures, and by the ability of the new approach to span several disciplines, thereby breaking down their exclusivity. Nowadays, with its bona fides established, it attracts heavy funding for further research. Contrary to that implied by its name, it showed itself to have a well structured basis, which, like the natural world, could cope very well with change and proved to be enduring. The only thing that hasn't endured is the name - I've recently been advised that researchers in the field prefer the term Complex Theory. From here on, I'll refer to it as CT. What follows, based on the reading of one popular science book, is hardly authoritative, but I think the connections with anarchism are clear enough - others with more knowledge of the sciences could handle the subject in more depth.

CT begins where classical science stops, and indeed starts where the latter is often afraid to venture. I'm talking about getting to grips with randomness, with variables that are difficult if not impossible to control in the laboratory, or which upset the tidiness of purely theoretical discourses. Classical science tends to ignore those very real aspects of the natural world, like vibration and turbulence, which are not fully within its grasp. Awkward variables which got in the way of theory have been

## Chaos Theory and Anarchism

consistently ignored for the sake of being able to extract predictable results.

Modern computer science enabled more and more complex 'models' to be developed to engage with extremely complex phenomena, the problem remained, though, that no matter how good the model it could never match the infinity of randomness which the real world has to offer. Thus, while short-range weather forecasting is now quite good, long-range forecasting, which inevitably involves more random variables, is clearly hazardous to the point of being hopeless.

It is obvious then that the real world has a great deal of chaos within it, but it is equally obvious that the eco-system as a whole is stable, despite the seemingly random behaviour of its billions of component parts. Furthermore, it has an intrinsic beauty which is self-sustaining - those parts of it anyway which have yet to be despoiled or even destroyed by human activity. The models used by the natural and social sciences are caricatures of reality, which attempt to impose human concepts of order on a seemingly disorderly world; they are expressions of the reductionist and authoritarian cultures from which they spring. This firm refusal to work with the grain of the natural world has left the results we are all painfully aware of.

The early pioneers of CT were regarded by the scientific establishment as oddballs, of course, they had to be. They were the kind of researchers who didn't seem to be producing much in the way of papers published and experiments completed. Their usually young minds retained much independence of

thought, flexibility, and a willingness to cross borders into disciplines in which they were untutored. People like Stephen Smale (US, topology), Albert Libchaber (France, fluids) and Benoit Mandelbrot (US, mathematics) were always ready to try something new, or dust off work done previously by others and discarded. Smale incidentally was not only revolutionary in his science, he was involved with Jerry Rubin on the Berkeley campus against the Vietnam War in the 1960s. When awarded scientific honours in Moscow, he duly attacked US imperialism, but then, to the intense chagrin of his hosts, launched into an attack on political repression in the USSR also! On his return to the US, the National Science Foundation cancelled his grant.

As it got into its stride, the new science drew increasingly heavily on the rapidly expanding computer technology, especially pictorial displays. The mathematics inevitably turned on the use of differential equations (for instance,  $x^2 + y^2 = 1$ , the equation for a circle) which, in not being linear, could handle changes in direction. Researchers concentrated their efforts on that area of phenomena which marks the border between order and chaos. An example of this could be the point at which an increasing throughput of liquid in a pipe ceases to be smooth flowing, becoming turbulent and unpredictable.

It became apparent that there were correlations in the chaos researched in quite different disciplines. The analysis of flow patterns in liquids explored by Libchaber had similarities to the abstract maths used by

Feigenbaum in topology: fluids to maps! As the years passed, more and more correlations were found in experiments with electronic oscillators, lasers and even chemical reactions. Chaos, it seemed, has underlying principles which seemed to be universal. The discovery of these principles from what were really very simple laboratory experiments offered the prospect of gaining an ability to unpick far more complex problems. Some even pondered whether CT had the potential to understand the fundamentals of the entire universe.

If CT comes to provide a useful impetus to anarchism, it will not be the first time that natural science research has fed through into the social sphere. Darwin's work in biology stimulated organicist notions which became the core of Comte's and Durkheim's sociology. Marx claimed that Darwin had justified his ideas on class conflict and social evolution. Kropotkin used his own observations of mutual aid among animals to inform his anarchism, and dispute with Darwin's manipulators, who wanted a 'scientific' justification of capitalism. Unlike Darwin's ideas, which were never intended to be so adaptable, CT has shown an ability to explore principles which promise to be universal, in which case anarchism will have gained a most useful 'hard' scientific arm which takes it beyond the arena of sterile ideological debate.

Both CT and anarchism oppose reductionism and seek a holism centred on understanding the real world, in all its randomness yet overall coherence and stability. Coming from a totally different reference point CT nevertheless arrives at what anarchists have always intuitively understood: that the notion of unity in an infinite diversity is at the root of stable and sustainable ecologies. CT's acceptance of infinite randomness confirms the anarchists in their disdain for long-term all-encompassing plans for revolutionary social change and preference for pragmatic responses to problems as they arise. The philosophical sub-text of CT picks up on the ongoing struggle between determinism/authority and subjectivity/freedom.

John Griffin

## Mexico: magical realism

(continued from page 4)

which the interior minister was sacked, Phil Davison says: "The forced reshuffle was partly seen as a victory for the so-called Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) ..."

Yet the Mexican poet and essayist, Octavio Paz, writing in *El Pais* last week claims: "... none of these disturbances I believe present a serious threat to the state, and even less to the nation". Señor Paz does admit though that it is not easy to say what is going on in Chiapas because "our information is not complete and we lack vital facts; above all regarding the background aspects and the mechanics of the subversive operation".

In Oaxaca and Guerrero there are conditions of rural poverty and ethnic differences, but he says: "... the case of Chiapas is unique; it is a region of the south of our country that suffers from a historically backward tradition, and it has obvious similarities in social order and history with Guatemala and El Salvador. The presence of the original indigenous people is very alive and is there in the character and personality of the state. The traditional culture of centuries of domination isn't just a relic but is a reality. There they have conserved the traditional Indian language and beliefs - a fusion of Catholicism and idolatry ... In Chiapas modernity has come late and penetrated badly. It has not liberated the peasants nor improved their conditions of life. On the contrary, it has confused the traditional culture and old hierarchies, and has introduced terrible social and cultural inequalities."

Brian Bamford

(TO BE CONTINUED)

## News from Sweden

### Social

- The Swedish TUC (LO) called for a demonstration this summer, given the level of unemployment (25,000) among the under-25s (26th June 1993).
- The town centre of Vasteras was the scene of a violent confrontation between groups of young Swedes and immigrants (150 in number). Extra police were called in to deal with the situation (22nd July 1993).
- 77 were arrested after violent clashes in the centre of Stockholm during the Festival of Water (13th August 1993).

### Anti-militarism

- Four activists from the 'Ploughshare' group were arrested in July after having got into the security zone of the SAAB-SCANIA factory in Linköping, where JAS 39 Gripen fighter planes are manufactured, and sabotaged some of the planes. They face heavy penalties and have been supported by the Swedish peace organisation 'Swenska Freds'.
- Seven pacifists infiltrated the Mariestad prison to demonstrate their solidarity with the only recognised political prisoner in Sweden, Anders Hagdal, who is doing four months for refusing military service (30th July 1993).

### Employment

- Dockers went on strike for better pay and to keep holiday agreements, which mainly affected northern ports.
- 23 journalists went on strike following the sacking of their representative described as a 'destructive element' (1st July 1993).

### Police

- New police powers have been introduced, giving them powers to disperse gatherings or subject them to mass arrest.

### Environment and Ecology

- Greenpeace published a study showing that engineering works on the bridge linking Malmo and Copenhagen has killed all coastal life (29th July 1993).
- Swedish security police have announced increased control of Swedish ecologists' activities because of the threat to the bridge's construction. This has re-awakened discussions on the recording of Swedish citizens' political opinions.

### Immigration

- 700 Albanians from Kosova, settled in 30 different camps, began a hunger strike demanding a meeting with the Swedish minister for Culture and Immigration (15th July 1993).
- Fights broke out between Swedes and immigrants in Katrineholm after refugees from Kosova had been settled there (7th August 1993).
- A year after new immigration controls, 75,000 people have been refused entry against 10,000 to 15,000 who have been admitted.

### Anarchist activity

- The annual rock festival saw several groups of anarchists and syndicalists set up a stand to distribute libertarian information. Nine thousand copies of a specially prepared leaflet were distributed to largely 'positive' visitors (12th-14th July 1993).
- Several groups linked to the Stockholm anarchist movement came together to hire a location. This will allow for the coordination and expansion of the various political activities. Participants include a publishing venture, study groups, a feminist group and a group of ecologists.

A-Infos, Sweden

## Cartoon Tories go Back to Basics

(continued from page 2)

which allows for re-arrest in cases of miraculous recovery. This appeal for reduction because of Alzheimer's was unprecedented, but the learned judge decided to set a precedent by releasing the crook.

Another alleged crook (he was never found guilty) had his case dismissed because he decided to conduct his own defence, and burst into tears when he saw he was making a mess of it. We know of a burglar who suffered the same trauma, but in his case the judge was quite unsympathetic.

A thief of millions has been given a suspended sentence, and another sentenced to 180 hours community service. There is now a body of case law, by which defence lawyers can argue from precedents, that the theft of millions by a financier does not merit much of a penalty.

Mr Howard, as a member of the cartoon wing of the Tory Party, believes in spite of the evidence that 'prison works' in deterring crime. So if he wanted to deter high-powered financial criminals he could initiate a statute, to replace the case law, and more or less oblige judges to impose prison sentences in such cases.

Instead, he is to bring in a law for the imprisonment of squatters, hunt saboteurs and pornographers. True to cartoon conservatism, he sympathises with all who make big money by whatever means, but cracks down on those who defy their betters or engage in sex.

Back to the cartoon Tory basics.



# Feminism: Questioning the Dogma

Dear Editors,  
Ian Borrows accuses me (*Freedom*, 11th December) of ascribing to feminism the sole responsibility for continued justification of war, the corruptions of power, etc., and goes on to maintain that it is feminism that has influenced people's awareness. This is not the point, though.

To be sure, it is not feminism alone that is responsible, but it definitely plays its part. With its narrow-minded focus on male power and the oppression of women, it offers too simplistic a picture.

Feminism does not concede that women share with men the responsibility for the sorry state of our society. So you can't blame men alone for all the evils in the world. This is exactly what Emma Goldman, Alice Miller and a host of others recognised.

I agree with what Ian says about the slaughter in World War One. Yet the problem lies precisely in the need to 'civilise'. Indeed, it is virtually so interwoven with the evolution of what we generally call mankind's cultural history that we can't possibly take single causes to explain the social ills our world is suffering from.

It is therefore not stretching it to say that feminism has 'humanised' the corruption of our rulers in power, for it has been done in the name of human progress. Society and governments are establishing ever more privileges for women instead of equality for all. Besides, separating women and making people believe that only women are oppressed and therefore better human beings creates *gender apartheid!*

-Ian's one-sided use of the term *sexism* leads us nowhere, for sexism works both against men and women, though on different levels. The widespread

unawareness of male suffering, including that at the hands of women, is preposterous. Authoritarianism in gender relationships is felt not only by women but by men as well. It isn't for nothing that a Cliff Poxon (*Freedom*, 20th March 1982) criticised the gender apartheid created by Greenham Common women in banning all males from the camp. I wonder where there is common ground with these women? And it isn't for nothing that Larry Gambone ('Illusion of PC', *Freedom*, 6th March 1993) spoke of 'feminazis' like Andrea Dworkin. By creating an impersonal and bureaucratic atmosphere, the Nazis succeeded in persuading ordinary men and women to commit the most horrible atrocities in the concentration camps.

Feminism ignores that the majority of men in this world do not hold power positions. True, among the handful that do, there are few women. But still, there are Mrs Thatcher, Golda Meir and Indira Gandhi. Have they changed the world for the better? On the contrary, they merely adapt women to the capitalist machinery of ruthless exploitation!

So these are the male privileges, says feminism. Or are they? Is it really a privilege to be condemned to attrition through overwork so as to provide for a family? This is still a common expectation by a lot of women that a man must fulfil. Is it a privilege to support your partner financially, even after a separation, the many paying for the woman's extravagant demands 'to be herself'? Just imagine what people would say if men made the same demands! Generally speaking, is it a privilege to do the heavy and most dangerous work, like on a construction site, in mine, etc., subjecting your body to attrition?

And is it a privilege to be thrown onto the battlefield? In spring 1993 the German magazine *Der Spiegel* published an article on the attitude of bellicose peace activists (note the contradiction) among female Green MPs who, after the rape of women *en masse* in Bosnia had become publicly known, demanded military intervention in the Balkans. Surely, despite their advocacy of such a criminal policy which would serve to aggravate the situation, those bellicose women, high priests of feminism, would be the last to go there themselves! What a hypocrisy this is: let men do the dirty work for them, male life being less valuable than female life! That a war had been going on all the time before these mass rapes was utterly ignored by the feminists. And they also ignored another fact that while women and children fleeing from the carnage were allowed to cross the northern borders, males who did not want to join the army and who wanted to escape, were sent back to their certain deaths! All this is reminiscent of the stance that suffragettes like E. Pankhurst took in World War One. Even pacifist feminists do nothing to prevent this iniquity meted out against men. On the contrary, they provide us with eloquent speeches about male dominance, aggressiveness and power. With their over-simplification they actually widen the rift between the sexes that feminism has artificially created.

Moreover, Ian says he does not "expect everyone who dissents to arrive suddenly at an anarchist viewpoint though I hope they will get there and hear our ideas" (my emphasis). Does he claim to have a monopoly on anarchism, then? Are only those who have taken to feminism anarchists, then? Surely this would mean to convert anarchism into a dogma! Yet, strange to say, the most ardent defenders of feminism are male feminists. They do obstruct all progress.

Like men, women need to accept responsibility. We anarchists should differentiate more as regards this issue, and work towards a comprehensive emancipation of both men and women. Fortunately, there are a number, though still small, of sensible men and women who turn round and say, we don't want any more self-denials. What we want is to work together for a new society that will make equality and justice possible. Therefore we must oppose anyone wielding power, irrespective of their sex, and this includes female power (in the education sector, for instance)! Again, it could be argued that women enjoy privileges here, but is it really a privilege for women to bear the burdens of educational tasks alone?

Peter Geiger  
Hamburg

# Defence of Green Anarchist

Dear Freedom,

Your reviewer Jez on the one hand dismisses *Green Anarchist* for its extreme advocacy of activism: "We want TVDA not NVDA" ('Food for Thought ... and Action', 11th December) but in the same batch of reviews you take Guy Debord to task for thinking "the struggle is no longer worth the effort" - ought we to be active or passive?

If *Green Anarchist* tries to cover a wide range of views, some are pacifist - the articles about growing your own food, the article against 'monkeywrenching' by George French - and some are extreme - the anti-BNP article which got *Green Anarchist* referred to the DPP and the examples you cite in 'Food for Thought'. *Green Anarchist* is not afraid to publish either of them.

Young people feel intensely angry and frustrated at the present social and political situation. Please try to understand the way people feel who write things like: "I don't wanna end up some fat middle class bitch with four kids and a chauvinist husband living in a suburb ..."

Somebody twenty years old probably cannot remember the time before Thatcher. Young peoples' outlook and aspirations are different. The political climate is wholly hostile and it offers nothing. People who think like this can see that moderation and 'let's hold hands and sing songs' don't work. You just get

flattened by the steamroller more quickly. You might well disagree and think the extremism is counter-productive. The way forwards then is to show how moderation brings results. I know you're limited by space, but to make a facile dismissal of *Green Anarchist* as 'rubbish' or to say that the anger is somehow illegitimate doesn't really advance things.

Yours, 'bleak and utterly hopeless'  
Steve

Dear Freedom,

Jez's review of *City-Death* suggests s/he never bothered reading its second half and now s/he mistitles and misattributes a named author to our anonymous pamphlet, *Green Anarchism: its Origins and Influences*.

Similar 'coherence' applies in Jez's review of *GA33* - evidently s/he "do[es] not appear to have learned much from the Hepple episode" - the danger of *agent provocateurs* is not that violence occurs but that it is State-directed through them. If Jez has difficulties to our practical approach to non-violence s/he should come clean about it and debate with us rather than pretending *GA* is "rubbish" because s/he has no substantial reply to our critique of wanky Gandhian gesture politics.

Yours, for peoples power and personal autonomy,  
Editor, *GA*

# A response to critics

Dear Freedom,

The editor of *Green Anarchist* suggests that I never read the book *City Death* from cover to cover: s/he isn't wrong. Being five lines long, my 'review' was hardly supposed to be definitive. I try my best to read everything I list/review in full, dismal task as this often is, but in this case, try as I did, I couldn't get through the book. It just wasn't my cup of tea. I stand by my comments, however. Regarding the hopeful conclusion of the book, what is hope for one could be a nightmare for another.

The mistake in the sub-title of the *Green Anarchism* pamphlet was not my error, but the proof-reader's. The mis-attribution of the pamphlet was, however, a careless mistake by me. I read the pamphlet, and wrote the rather inadequate review, late the night before I submitted it: I hardly did this interesting work justice. Apologies where due.

Concerning the question of violence, particularly armed struggle (which is what one of the articles cited in *GA* seemed to be pointing towards - how else to interpret the picture of the machine gun and the clap-trap about 'ultra-violence' etc?) and agent

provocateurs, I don't think it's that simple. Surely one of the lessons of the past two decades is that those who go down the road of militant ('ultra') violence and armed struggle will inevitably be infiltrated by the state (why was it that Tim Hepple, apparently at the state's behest, tried so hard to push *GA* and others down the road of militant violent action and armed struggle?).

I have no difficulty with a (genuinely) practical approach to the question of violence - as another article in *GA 33* points out, the state is using violence against activists, including the non-violent type, now! There is no question in my mind of the need, at some point, for violence, even if only as a last line of self-defence (as some Frenchman or other once wrote: "absolute non-violence is the negative basis for slavery ..."). The real question is what type of violence, and when. It's not the moral aspects of the use of violence, important as they are, it's a question of expediency. To carry out an offensive strategy against a vastly overwhelming power is suicidal (hence, maybe, the attraction of this fatal strategy for some?).

Steve contrasts my comments about (some) articles in *GA* with my comments about Guy Debord's defeatism. I see no contradiction. Of course we should be active! I wasn't questioning activism (or even violent action) but specific talk of 'ultra-violent direct action'. As if the choice is between inaction and Nechaevism.

Steve also suggests I was saying anger is somehow illegitimate: not at all. Anger is obviously a perfectly legitimate response to much that takes place around us. For me it's a question of how we - yes, me too! - respond to our anger. Anger, in itself, isn't enough. The average BNP bootboy is pretty angry! As someone whose (anti) politics developed during the Thatcher years, years when my anger and frustration grew in response to what I saw, I have some ideas of what Steve writes about. It's a question of not letting anger and frustration degenerate into despair and self-destruction.

I hope this at least answers some of the points, raised in response to my original comment, with reasonable coherence.

Yours, for one more effort!  
Jez

# Courtaulds 'Holiday Camp'?

Dear Comrades,

I would politely like to query some of the points raised in the article of Colin Ward, published in your issue of *Freedom* of 27th November. He quotes enthusiastically from a book I have never heard of - *Murder in the Heart* by Alexandra Artley. She speaks enthusiastically about the factory where she worked, the Courtaulds' Red Scar works, Preston, from 1970 to 1980.

My experiences of the Red Scar works arise from 1965, when I worked in Preston. One day, as I was driving along the road, I saw a mass of black people walking on the pavement. Inquisitive, I stopped my car and asked what was happening.

Immediately, I was besieged by a group of angry workers: "One man one machine can do; two men three machines can do. What do they think we are, Japanese prisoners of war?"

Apparently, the Courtaulds' management had come along at 2.30 in the afternoon, without any consultation, to introduce new norms. Workers had to do fifty per cent more work. Their wages would be increased from £18 to £18.50.

Pandemonium broke out immediately. Some argued they could not do the extra stint. Others said it was an unacceptable increase in productivity without a commensurate increase in pay. Still more claimed it was unacceptable on health grounds: they worked in a hot atmosphere, where acid fumes ate into your nostrils. Medical practitioners told me at least 150 workers at any one time would be ill because of the appalling conditions of work.

The speed-up had been applied to two departments - CSPT and Box Spinning. A total of 960 workers were employed in these two sections. All were either Indian, Pakistani or West Indian. No British were employed there. The conditions were too bad.

The strike committee invited me to join. We had to fight not only the

Courtaulds' management but also the mainly white Transport & General Workers' Union. They had given consent to the change in workload. The union officials had not considered it necessary to consult the membership in the two departments.

Throughout the dispute, the Transport & General Workers' Union organised a scabbing operation, ferrying blacklegs to work in taxis. Their argument was that, as there was a through flow of work in the factory, if a stoppage occurred in the first two departments then the other seven would soon be idle. A racially explosive situation would arise: blacks would be denying whites the right to work.

Our response was to circulate a leaflet. It was headed "Who's next for the speed-up?" It was clear to us that the increase in norm, at first required of the immigrant departments, would ultimately spread to all. By downing tools, the blacks were being good trade unionists, defending the interests of their fellow workers.

We were proved correct. This is precisely what happened. Though our strike initially won a return to the old work level, management soon began a process of victimisation and harassment. It culminated in the entire labour force suffering a speed-up.

Far from the earthy paradise that Colin Ward and Alexandra Artley say the Courtaulds' Red Scar works was, it was more like hell. It was just part of the oppressive system under which every worker regrettably labours.

The crucial point that is missing from Colin Ward's article is the fundamental question of wage slavery. As long as people have to work and have no say about what they do, they are condemned to a joyless existence. They have no opportunity to express their creativity. They stay imprisoned in a cell with gold bars.

Raymond Challinor

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### SPRING TERM 1994

**28th January** - Anarchism After the  
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(speaker: Andrew Lainton)

**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 1994

**15th April** - General discussion

**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

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speaker and topic to be announced

— **9th July** —  
**John Dohoney (Vancouver)**  
'What are the roots of anarchism?  
A socio-psychoanalytical  
perspective'

— **22nd October** —  
**Colin Ward**  
topic to be announced

All meetings held on Saturday at  
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