

# anarchist fortnightly Freedom

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FIFTY PENCE

"I stand before you filled  
with deep pride and joy,  
joy you can loudly  
proclaim from the  
rooftops - free at last!"

Nelson Mandela  
May 1994

## A MILESTONE IN THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA CERTAINLY ... BUT 'FREE AT LAST'?

After three hundred years of white domination by a minority of British and Dutch origin (who couldn't even live together in peace!) the black and 'coloured' majority have for the first time had the opportunity to vote for ... black leaders.

Whether in the long term the mass of the dispossessed are simply jumping out of the frying pan into the fire has, we are sure, not been lost on those activists who see universal suffrage only as a psychological first step in breaking the stranglehold of the capitalist system in South Africa.

After all, the fundamental lesson they have learned is that sweet reason, the pacifist approach, as the former ANC leader Albert Lutuli learned the hard way (though he was given a Nobel Peace Prize for his trouble), cuts no ice with the ruling class who not only had the political

power but also owned most of the land, all industry, the mines, the lot!

Way back in the late 1940s activists of the ANC, including Nelson Mandela, using direct action against the regime suffered persecution, imprisonment, exile and execution. Yet the movement went on growing and, needless to say, apartheid and brutal repression by the armed forces intensified, culminating in the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 when a non-violent protest demonstration against the pass laws was met with a hail of bullets. The violence used by the police was said to have 'shocked' even hard-bitten South African newsmen and even some of the police.<sup>1</sup> Fifty-six Africans - including children - were killed and some 160 injured.

Far from destroying the resistance movement, Sharpeville was a spur to direct action. In 1964 a desperate government sentenced Mandela and seven of his companions to life sentences. As we pointed out in *Freedom* at the time,<sup>2</sup> normally they would have been sentenced to death.

1. So shocked too was a white businessman, David Pratt, that in 1961 he attempted the life of Dr Verwoerd, President of the all-white South African government. This is the subject of a Freedom Press 87-page booklet *Violence and Anarchism* (£2.50 post free inland).

2. 'The Function of Mandela' (*Freedom*, 20th June 1964) included in *Selections from Freedom, volume 14, 1964* (£1.50 post free inland).

Compared with 24,219 unemployed in Suffolk in March, UU spokesman Paul Convery claims the true figure is 33,246 - 10.6pc of the workforce compared with 7.8pc.

In Essex, Mr Convery puts the total at 96,551 as opposed to 70,350 - 12.5pc rather than 9.1pc of potential workers.

He said: 'Certainly the claimant total has been declining by a fairly impressive amount. But because of the vagaries of the claimant calculations, what looks like a fairly firm downward trend in unemployment disguises the fact that broad numbers looking for work have not declined dramatically.'

That they were not had less to do with world opinion than with reactions within South Africa. As the *Johannesburg Star's* editorial put it, had they been hanged "the effect would have been widespread".

Again, the release of Mandela in 1990 after 27 years in his prison cell says nothing for the 'generosity' of Mr de Klerk but of the impossible situation so far as the white Herrenvolk were concerned as a result of the pressure at grassroots level. These desperate people have for years been prepared to take desperate action even to be able to put a cross on a ballot paper.

Far from anarchists in the west taking a superior attitude to such 'modest' objectives, this writer feels humbled by the enormity of the obstacles that these people have faced just to be entitled to have the vote. More so when one compares the apathy in the 'prosperous' western world to massive unemployment while the rich vaunt their six and seven figure bonuses and golden handshakes for all to admire!

Mandela the 'terrorist' in the eyes of the South African establishment in 1964 is now, in de Klerk's words, "a man of destiny". Needless to say, we neither trust de Klerk's conversion nor hope that the liberation of South Africa's black population will take Mandela's *cri de joie* (understandable for this writer too) "Free at Last" literally. Fortunately Mandela is old and we hope just a symbol of a new African society. In our opinion his aim is not to upset the moneyed white minority (assuming that they have not already exported their wealth to welcoming countries). For instance, at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange last month he was reported as promising that "the years of mass action were over" because "we have now got the vote". The long-awaited "day of liberation" had arrived.

Again during his campaign,  
(continued on page 2)

### HOW MANY UNEMPLOYED?

As everybody now knows, the government in the past fourteen years has changed the way it counts the number of unemployed. So many times that there is apparently no reliable way of knowing how many people are unemployed and looking for jobs. The figures given by the government each month only say how many are actually on the register and receiving the dole. The million or more who have not found a job for more than a year are removed from the register, but they are still unemployed and seeking work.

In the *East Anglian Daily Times* (23rd April) Emma Hellyer gives official statistics which show that in Suffolk:

"Seasonally-adjusted figures released by the Unemployment Unit (UU) show jobless levels in East Anglia are significantly higher than Employment Department (ED) calculations suggest.

The ED bases its findings on numbers of people claiming benefits, while the UU adds on the 31 extra categories of jobseeker rubbed off government registers since 1982.

**'FREE AT LAST'?**

(continued from page 1)

according to Sarah Baxter in the *New Statesman* (29th April), he has been oddly emphatic that "as long as I live" white farmers, business people, the money markets and ethnic minorities have nothing to fear.

By all means do not do unto the white minority what they have done these past three hundred years to the black majority! But to let them hold on to the bulk of the land and exploit the black labour in the mines - NO! Mandela in an interview justified leaving the white prairie farmers with their land, on the grounds that the state owns enough land to distribute among the blacks. Figures we have seen suggest that only 14% is owned by the state and one can be certain that the 86% in the hands of the whites is the best land. And anyway, how can the status of the invariably black workers be changed so long as the huge landowners go on operating these prairie farms?

While we can understand Mandela wanting to create an image as a moderating influence in the interim period (more so having to cope with Buthelezi's Inkatha blackmail<sup>9</sup>) nevertheless the vote in South Africa has been bought at such a price in time, in lives, in imprisonment and torture that we cannot believe that the grassroot activists who have gone through all this will stop at the vote.

They are a shining example to us in our tired, smug, consumerist, affluent capitalist world where we watch the rich get richer and the poor poorer and the

3. It happens all the time: divide and rule. In this country the defeat of the miners is thanks to the breakaway UDM union which went on working throughout the strike, and are now crying their eyes out because the government has double-crossed them by closing down their mines as well as those of Scargill's NUM.

army of the unemployed and homeless grow in spite of the politicians claiming the recession is over, and do NOTHING!

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**Homelessness a 'way of life' declares Mr Major**

The *Guardian* (25th April) reports Mr Major as dismissing talk of an impoverished underclass not sharing rising prosperity. He also played down homelessness in the capital.

"They are not on the streets because they have to be on the streets", Mr Major said. "There are empty places in accommodation units across London and in other areas where people could go if they wished. But they choose not to stay there and that is a cultural point. It is a strange way of life that some of them choose to live".

In a letter to the *Guardian* Sheila McKenchie

of Shelter suggests the Prime Minister has not been properly briefed:

"In the wake of the government's Rough Sleepers Initiative, emergency hostels for the capital's homeless people have been closed and more are to close before the end of the year. An additional 354 bed-spaces have been lost due to the closure of government cold weather shelters. During one week in April, Shelter Nightline, London's freephone emergency out-of-hours advice line which is part-funded by the Department of the Environment, could not find 30 callers over that period anywhere to go for the night. The number of hostel vacancies has fallen by three-quarters in the last three months. Most people on the streets are single and not protected by the homelessness legislation. If the government's proposals for changing that legislation become law, the weaker protection they offer will mean more homelessness.

Ted Hill of Homes for Homeless People also contributes some startling figures for the PM as he enjoys his breakfast in one of his three homes. He points out that it is difficult to give an accurate number of homeless but the best estimates reveal that:

"There is a shortfall of 100,000 homes (National Federation of Housing Associations) and in 1992 the Audit Commission estimated that if all empty property was brought into use, there would still be a shortfall of homes which requires the building of 60-90,000 homes a year.

In 1993 nearly 135,000 households were accepted as officially homeless by English local authorities and it is estimated that 8,000 people sleep rough every night, with 5,000 families in B&B, 10,000-plus families in hostels and 38,800 families living in other forms of temporary accommodation."

**LETTER FROM SOUTH AFRICAN ANARCHISTS**

**From Apartheid to the ANC**

We greet you from South Africa. We have recently taken steps which (we hope) will lead to the formation of a revolutionary anarchist movement which, as far as we know, will be the first of its kind in South Africa to operate openly.

Given our lack of experience, we are putting together an appeal for help. We have need of advice, written information and, if possible, financial aid. We hope you can help us or contact us (Renato and Elli, PO Box 51465, Raedenem 2124, Johannesburg, South Africa). What follows are some of our reflections on the current situation.

It is certain that the biggest advance to have been made is the raising of the ban on political parties including groups as infamous as the ANC.

In essence the concept of freedom of expression is relatively new here. The last forty years were controlled by the National Party. Everything, from its Christian education policy to its secret police, was used to suppress and oppress. It is only recently that its armour has begun to crack. With any franchise it still has three or four years of power in front of it before it disappears, in the same way, though perhaps less mysteriously, as so many of its numerous enemies have done.

As anarchists, the threat represented by the National Party for us is less great than the coming dictatorship (and we must think of the future) that the ANC will construct.

Since its beginnings, the ANC has clearly shown that it will just as happily sell out its ideas as its followers to obtain power. When the ANC made its first political reappearance in the political arena, it allied itself openly with the South African Communist Party. But threatened with being marginalised by big business it has quickly embraced capitalist ideas.

Today, whilst Nelson Mandela relaxes in his \$250,000 house and thinks of his daughter's \$10,000 marriage, his 'brothers' sleep in shanties of corrugated iron. And whilst the latter take the bus or walk forty kilometres to work, Mandela gets into one of his two Mercedes Benz. But this is the stuff of politics. And for such people, megalomaniacs in search of riches, the ANC is the ideal organisation. But only for them.

Here's the question: who, apart from the ANC, represents the South African people in this farce which some have proclaimed a 'democracy'? Certainly not the ineffective and stodgily liberal Democratic Party, which represents the ideology of the wealthy in the free market.

On the other hand we hope not to suffer the extreme of the white right of the Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging (AWB) or its black equivalent such as the Azanian Popular Liberation Army (Pan African Congress).

If there is a place where the need for an anarchist solution can be felt it is here in South Africa. Whatever the future our movement will come up against serious problems. How can we approach the coloured population which distrusts us? The National Party has made sure that it will be impossible to put our message across on the streets without running the risk of prison terms under the ridiculous pretext of 'treason'. In addition there is our lack of finance and experience. Fortunately in the midst of all this we have the hope of eventual triumph. Otherwise South Africa is destined to continue to be the puppet of the countries in the North whilst living conditions continue to deteriorate.

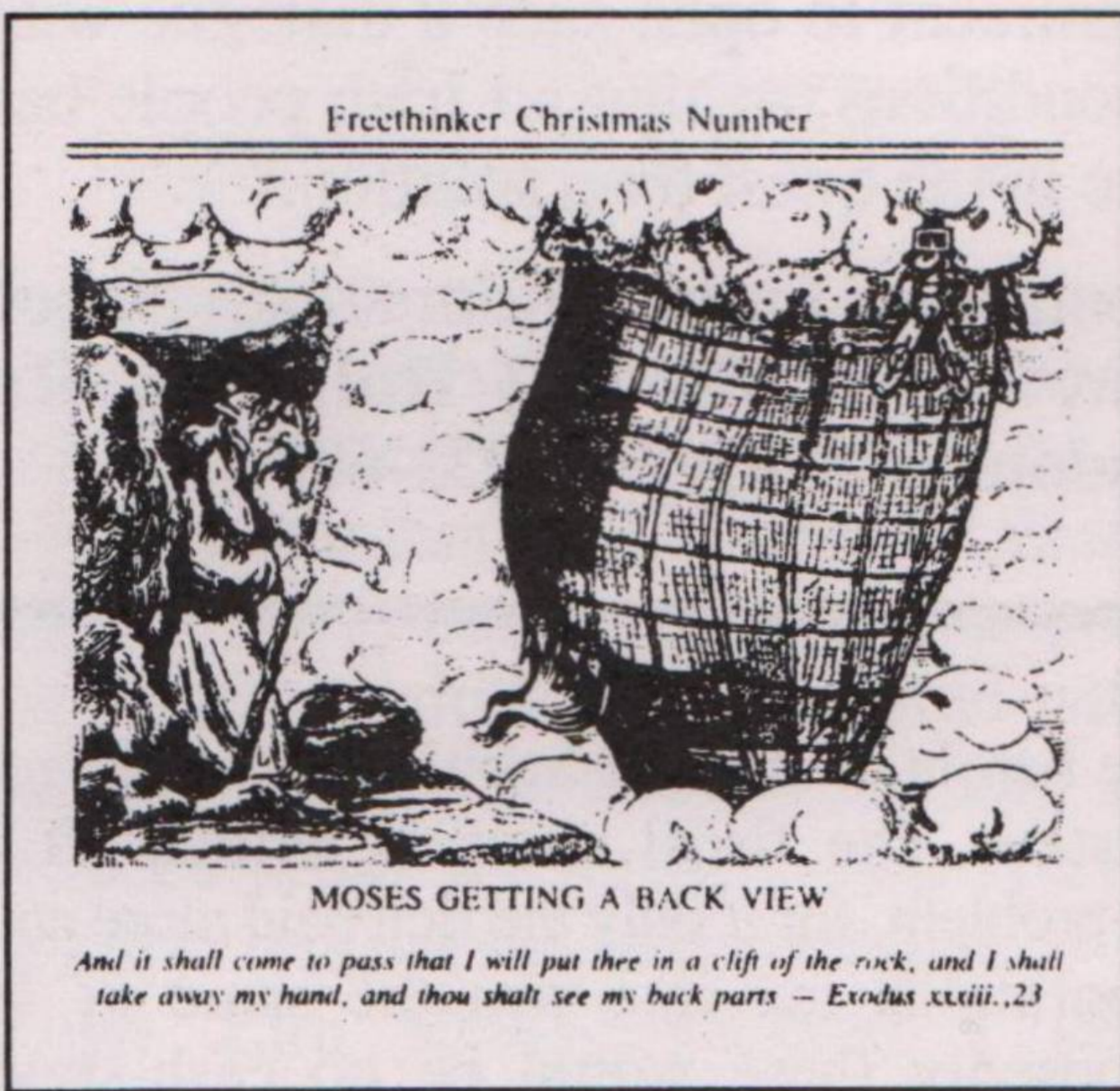
from  
*Le Monde Libertaire*,  
13th April 1994

**'Some are more equal than others'**

Barclays Bank having returned to profitability last year distributed £100 million to its 6,000 staff at BZW, its investment banking subsidiary, at the same time as it was warning 432 branch staff that they faced compulsory redundancy.

The method of distributing the £100 million bonus has raised some eyebrows even in the City. Top brokers and dealers in the BZW operation each received payments running into hundreds of thousands of pounds, while branch staff who, as a spokesman for the Banking, Insurance and Finance Union pointed out, "had also contributed to Barclays profits", were given a profit share payment of £260 each before tax and were being offered a pay rise of only 2%.

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## — PUB TALK —

## AN OCCASIONAL LOOK AT SOME OF THE INSTITUTIONS GOVERNING OUR LIVES

## Number 2: Local Government

*I've done my duty.*

What?

*Voted. Council elections. I'll have no truck with you wierdo minority groups.*

Listen sunshine. If you've just voted you're the wierdo minority group. Such elections only see about a third of the electorate exercising their 'democratic rights'.

*Maybe. But this is local stuff isn't it? It's what you say you're in favour of all the time.*

'Fraid not. Local councillors, even if they actually got themselves elected on a ticket to carry out popular mandates, wouldn't get very far. Local government is very much in the hands of council officers (unelected) a kind of local bureaucracy – very much the opposite of what anarchists want to see. Not very surprising really if you consider something of the history of local government.

*Explain*

Well, you know me, I don't take up valuable drinking time, but let's put it this way. Historically local government was a kind of gift from the monarch to local elites – to start with the leaders of craft guilds, then merchants and today corporate interest. It was this bunch who wanted – and want – to get a grip on civic power. Check out your local paper. You'll soon find out who calls the shots and has real influence in your area. The electorate? Pull the middle one.

## Through the Anarchist Press

Anarchist ideas have only half-heartedly entered the schooling-of-children system. I see the problem in the idea of the school itself. A school is a different place for the nursery child where it is sheer fantasy, a very potent enactment of communal dreaming. What is forgotten is that the very discontinuation of that schooling idea in the later stages causes the complete breakdown of society.

Never before has the civil service been so humiliated than in the past fifteen years. Its role as the 'silent government' is now reduced to the status of subordinates who are paid to be told what to do.

Art and anarchism sound harmoniously to my ears, whereas science and anarchism sounds restrictive. To offer an aphorism: science and art went up the hill to fetch a pail of water, science fell down and art came tumbling after.

Returning to the subject of Anarchy in the RUK, I see from the leaflet that the massive anarchist poetry anthology is on its way.

Circulation is a funny word, of blood, money and newspapers. Certainly all contributors would like to see *Freedom* to be better circulated, especially by the momentous days of October when there will be a great upsurge of interest.

How many roads must a man walk down before you can call him a man? The person who asked this question was good at asking questions. He was particularly interested in white doves and cannon balls, but his choicest question was as to how long a mountain may exist before it's washed to the sea.

Yet another boat race come and gone. The Spartans have defeated Athens. The Cambridge crew uses Herculean methods of preparation, strenuous exercises including weight-lifting every morning of two tonnes of metal to increase their brain muscles. Et in Arcadia Ego!

John Rety

*Can't let you get away with that. Roads? Schools? We all benefit. Amenities, mate, amenities.*

Don't know if I'd go along with those examples. But ask yourself why did they provide schools? Who wanted a healthy, schooled workforce? Corporate interest of course. And did they want to pay for it? Course not. If one of them paid for these things his costs would go up. So they got the local government to subsidise profits in this way – all very handy. Here's what I'm on about in a nutshell: 'In so far as the local councils represented the property-owning and worker-employed classes, state grants to improve the lot of the workers can be seen as a means of getting the taxpayer in general to pay for improvements that might otherwise have been a direct moral responsibility of the urban or rural local elite. The local elite controlled the institution but avoided paying much directly for common services.'

*Give us that. What's this then? Beyond Government: organisations for common benefit by Donald Curtis published by Macmillan. You don't half read a lot of crap don't you?*

It isn't crap. Curtis isn't an anarchist but a lot of what he'd on about would be well recognised by anarchists as the type of organisation we want. It's the kind of book people like you, not anarchist but sympathetic when you haven't had too many, could find interesting. And anarchists, as I say a lot of what he's on about is what we want.

*What do you want then?*

Well the most important thing I reckon is to get away from the idea of exchange-value and get back to use-value.

*You've lost me there.*

Look. All the parties in local elections are simply yabbering on about who can do things cheapest. It's all price and cost. That's why we got the poll tax which backfired in such a big way. We've lost view of the idea of need. In the health service we're fast approaching the

'you've got to die cos we can't afford you' mentality, and that can't be right.

*Well, right or wrong, we've got to cut out waste. Things cost money you know ... high tech for the NHS, etc.*

Yes, but there's plenty of waste we can cut out before we have to cut back on providing communities with what they need. Health care which you pick on is actually one of the least technologically intensive industries. Medicine relies on people, and technology is becoming ever cheaper and better. No. 75% of NHS costs go on wages.

*Okay, so we've got the resources, how do we share them out?*

We don't. Communities need autonomy – the ability to make their own decisions and to

decide on their own needs. Communities are areas of *collective consumption* and we need collective control rather than corporate control. Nor do we need government by people often not part of the community. To get towards this kind of collective control we need popular groups – urban social movements – militating and organising themselves. Take a look at the gay community in San Francisco and how they managed to restructure their own neighbourhoods.

*Manuel Castells!*

You got it.

*Well Stuart Lowe (Urban Social Movements: the city after Castells) reckons that this is all a bit pie in the sky and doubts if there have been any real urban social movements as Castells defines them. All Castells' examples seem inadequate in some way.*

Castells didn't look at Barcelona in 1936.

*Well, he wouldn't would he? Euro-communist. Anyway, I'm not going to let you start going on about the bloody Spanish Civil War. Packet of crisps?*

21st May 1994 at 2.00pm

## Banned rally to go ahead in Trafalgar Square

A group calling for all sides to the conflict in Ireland to be included in negotiations, without preconditions and without a predetermined outcome, has been banned from holding a rally in Trafalgar Square. The group, Negotiate Now, applied in February for permission to use the square, but were turned down in April by the Department of National Heritage after waiting two months for a decision. The decision was made by John Major himself, and the group were told that it is government policy not to allow demonstrations on Ireland in Trafalgar Square. This is clearly a selective policy as other peace groups, including the Peace People and Peace 93, with a pro-government agenda, have been allowed to go ahead.

Negotiate Now feels that the present time may offer the best chance for many years of creating a lasting peace in Ireland and that the

call for negotiations is too important to go unheard because of government censorship. They have therefore decided to go ahead with the rally on 21st May in the knowledge that by doing so they could face arrest and imprisonment.

In many other conflict situations around the world, including Bosnia, the British government has supported negotiations amongst all parties, even as fighting continues, but in Ireland is refusing to negotiate with Sinn Fein, one of the key players, unless the IRA announce a permanent ceasefire. This has led to political deadlock and the prospect of many more years of suffering for the people of Northern Ireland. Supporting the call for negotiations, Jeremy Corbyn MP said "It is vital that as much pressure as possible is maintained on the government to open such a dialogue without preconditions, so that all Irish people have a voice in the quest for a solution."

Contact for further information: **Negotiate Now, c/ NVRN, 162 Holloway Road, London N7 8DQ. Tel: 071-607 2302.**

## The Crisis of the State

The past decade has seen the rise of right-wing governments all across the developed world. The left likes to blame ideologies such as Thatcherism or mumbles glumly about capitalist conspiracies as a way of explaining the situation. But neo-liberalism is really only a symptom of a profound and perhaps fatal crisis – the crisis of the state.

Largely in response to pressure from the working class governments in countries such as Canada, the United States and Great Britain came out of World War Two with the conviction that the Great Depression must never be repeated. Appropriating some of the ideas of J.M. Keynes, they set up social welfare systems, nationalised a number of industries and engaged in a system of subsidies to farmers and industry. Initially the cost was minimal; unemployment was low and social security easily covered the down-turns of the business cycle, the economy was healthy and didn't need much government support.

Right from the beginning there was a problem – welfare, unemployment insurance, pensions, nationalised industry are all run by the state, each organisation with a built-in tendency to empire-build, each with their statist inefficiency. The politicians discovered something else as well: deficit spending could be made permanent. Political parties could promise all kinds of goodies to the voter, which the government would pay for by borrowing.

As Europe and Japan rebuilt their economies industry became more competitive. There was also a general slide in profits in manufacturing from the early 1950s on. The propping-up and indeed

expansion of industry became more and more a matter for the state. Defence spending and mega-projects became a substitute for real industrial development. As industry automated, unemployment began to rise, something exacerbated by demographic and cultural factors. The 'baby boom' pushed an enormous number of people on to the labour market in the late 1960s and early 1970s – at the very time the economy was getting into difficulty. Women, tired of being second class citizens, began entering the job market in unprecedented numbers. The state responded by a vast expansion of government employment – the chief means by which the structural, demographic and cultural pressures were momentarily overcome.

All of these factors resulted in an astronomical growth of the state, vastly out of proportion to any of the other sectors of society. (An example – in Quebec from 1960 to 1993 the GNP grew about 1,600% while government expenditures grew at 4,623% and the government debt at a mammoth 12,080%.) Now all of this cumbersome, clanking state machinery may remain operable when the economy is doing reasonably well, but when difficulties arise the device begins to break down. Ironically, at the very point at which we really need deficit spending, it has become increasingly difficult to do so, for the state has squandered away this possible solution. As a result of these serious economic difficulties, the state begins to stagger under the burden. Governments are strapped for money, borrowing increases and the worker is taxed to the point of revolt.

What is the response by the left to the crisis? Take

more heroin to cure the habit! Increase the role of the state. The fiscal crisis is written-off as a non-problem, for if only the rich paid more and the corporations tax rate was the same as 1950, supposedly there would be no cash-strapped governments. There is some truth to this conviction, the 'progressive' aspect of taxation should be re-introduced. But beyond a few minor revisions of the tax laws the state cannot go, unless one is willing to create a kind of police state to stop all capital-flight. Furthermore, once you have run out of rich people to tax, where do you turn next to feed the addiction?

The left cannot admit that the root of the crisis is the state itself and they have been the biggest contributor to the growth of statism. It is obvious to everyone that the left's policies are out of date and in the absence of an anarchist or libertarian socialist movement (exterminated seventy years ago by the ancestors of today's leftists) the right fills the ideological vacuum.

Intelligent socialists have always known there were limits to statism. In 1969 Paul Mattick in *Marx and Keynes* showed that the Keynesian system would eventually fall into crisis. Black Rose Book's *The Political Economy of the State* and James O'Connor's *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*, both published in 1973, deal with similar themes. Hence there is no reason to feed the public a load of conspiracy theories and demonologies as a means to explain the present hegemony of neo-liberalism.

Larry Gambone

— PART ONE —

# Focus on ... China

*"The most important people in the Chinese economy would like to meet the most influential people from the world's multinationals."*

The above headlined an advertisement in the *Financial Times* recently (4th March '94) saying much about the situation in China today: a ruling elite coming to terms with global capitalism. This summit, to take place in May, also reveals in the small print how democratic this process will be: "As you would expect with an event of this stature, it will be a closed door conference and will not be open to the general public." These themes come through clearly as we look at China en route to 'reform'.

## Clinging to power

The disintegration of the USSR proved a messy affair with the leaders of the once Communist Party squabbling clumsily for power. The Chinese will not make the same mistake. Deng and his associates are engineering a more managed entry into the global system. The economic reforms will, it is hoped, proceed in a more disciplined monitored fashion. Their overall aim is a compact between the political and economic elites where each will cede a legalised sphere of influence to the other. The party will cease to be an ideological instrument of mobilisation, as it was under Mao, and instead will play an integrating function. The role of the market will be the usual one of expansion with rich pickings for the expanding urban middle class and crumbs for the rest. It is a scenario which bears comparison with the Mexican model: an institutional party co-opting elites from the upper echelons of society and serving as an integrating institution rather than a force for change. In a word, a state.

One of the legacies of the Maoist era is a middle class in waiting in Hong Kong, Taiwan and other areas of South East Asia which Xiaoping must come to terms with. Bill Hutton in *The Guardian* made the point when

he pointed to the domination of Chinese expatriates in Thailand, Indonesia and East Asia —... now their tentacles are extending into a revitalised China," he writes, "to generate an economic dynamism on a scale and pace the world has never seen ..." and who with their ethic of "co-operation, avarice, competition and state intervention" and their kinship networks are building "some of the most formidable business networks in the modern world."

The example of Indonesia's largest company, Salim, is given. Salim has a stake in Thailand's second biggest company, Bangkok Bank, which in turn is run by another Chinese expatriate, Sophonpanich, which in turn has a stake in Hong Leong and via this company some of the most rapidly growing companies in China.

Specific examples like these are simply underlined by the general trends. The Hong Kong Bank, for example, calculates that 75% of Hong Kong's outward direct investment during the 1980s went to China. Some is due to the reversion to Chinese rule, "but the main reasons are more mundane: wage rates at home are rising, property prices are almost as high as Tokyo's, and inflation is nudging into double figures. No longer can Hong Kong's entrepreneurs make their millions from sweatshops in Kowloon; instead they must look to poorer parts in Asia" (*The Economist*, 8th December 1990).

## In we go

In an obscene frenzy spurred by the lust for profit western tentacles are also closing in on China. This is not, as is often suggested, a totally new post-Mao development, an analysis which conveniently overlooks the fact that business with the outside world has been going on since Nixon's visit in '72. The process had already started when in 1980 we

were introduced to the Statute of Joint Venture and the Commission for Foreign Investment which allowed foreigners to start factories with foreign partners, capital and technology to be easily transferred (when it suited the TNCs) and foreign loans to be negotiated directly with factories. This process will clearly continue with Japan and the newly industrialising countries of the Far East moving first to use China as a production base — China is already among the top ten world trading nations.

So does the west have any qualms about getting into bed with the butchers of Tiananmen Square? Not if influential opinion like *Financial Times* leader writers is to be believed. Although China is "a corrupt despotism" we are told that "the west should focus its attention on sustaining market oriented reforms. Of course, "the west cannot ignore gross violations of human rights in its relations with China, or any other country," it continues, ignoring the history of western involvement in the region over the last four hundred years, but we must get our priorities right, "... trade relations should focus on the policies that affect trade. If trade and economic issues move in the right direction, the politics will follow," it concludes optimistically.

We would have to think hard to come up with an example of a businessman who would be deterred by such events as the Tiananmen Square massacre which did not even deserve a condemnation from the Japanese government, or the 10,000 executions which took place between '83 and '86, or indeed the atrocities which continue in Tibet (see Part Two), and indeed throughout the Chinese Empire. Western insistence on the importance of these issues is so much hot air designed to appease the consciences of western intellectuals. A couple of days prior to Warren Christopher's recent visit, a Chinese advisor summed up the situation more succinctly: "The Clinton administration will renew China's MFN status because of the pressure of different groups in the US who have a vested interest in China's enormous market."

## There for the taking

So how do we evaluate this 'economic miracle' that the west is wetting itself over? 'Economic miracles' always depend on which side of the fence you view them from. China is fact becoming a more divided society with some very rich people on the one hand and economic hardship for the rest. The main statistic being pointed to is the growth rate which stands at about 12%. This is unquestioningly held up as 'a good thing'. Is it? Certainly if you hold capital and profit is accruing to it. Not so much if you're on a more typical weekly wage of about £20 and paying the same prices in an economy with some 20-30% inflation. As some influential analysts in the west are beginning to admit, growth is not a panacea for all ills. Such analysts must be careful to whisper their conclusions so as not to allow their populations to see the Emperor's nudity.

But even on their own terms such growth must be seen against the very low base from which it started and also the growing split between rural China which saw only a 3% rise in output in 1991 as opposed to the figure of 20% for industry. Indeed the Chinese 'miracle' is very localised and doesn't benefit all even where it is taking place.

## Guangdong and Shanghai

These two regions dominate the 'economic miracle' with the Yangtze Delta Zone including Shanghai and the Southern Coastal Zone with the province of Guangdong serving as China's economic heart and the focal point of foreign interest. Over the last decade

economic growth in Guangdong was a third higher than in China as a whole, averaging some 13% per annum, and exports accounted for 50% of the province's gross aggregate output. Scheduled infrastructure projects (state subsidies to corporate interest) designed to link Hong Kong and Macao more closely to mainland China this decade are expected to integrate the Guangdong province, and in particular the Pearl River Delta to form a large-scale economic area.

Central government is planning to balance this by development in and around Shanghai, China's biggest city (population 15 million). Numerous industrial projects are planned, and the establishment of the huge special economic zone of Pudong near the industrial metropolis underscores the priority for Shanghai and its environs. The city itself generates one-ninth of China's industrial output, one-sixth of its national income, has the best infrastructure, particularly in the financial and services sector, and will probably become an important financial centre in Asia by the year 2000. The geographical proximity to Hong Kong is not insignificant.

But this ruby picture from the metropolises ignores the fundamental nature of the Chinese

(continued on page 8)

## Pictures

In politics, the aesthetic dimension has been neglected. We are surrounded by so much ugliness that we have lost sight of what is beautiful. Perhaps I first realised this when I noticed that ugly political systems produce ugly artefacts. Think about the architecture of Canary Wharf or Eastern Europe. This led me to see the ugliness of the events and spectacles political systems produce, the scenes of police violence at Wapping or Welling, the aesthetic totalitarianism of any court room.

Political systems offer us a view of life, a view about myself, or society, and these aim at being comprehensive, all-embracing. The idea of a political system being a 'picture' is broader than the description of it as an ideology because ideologies offer a programme and a specific organisation to join. Ideology offers a *practical* plan to change the world. A 'picture' may be an ideology, but it is more internal than this, it offers beliefs and attitudes more than activity. A 'picture' is more about describing and coping with, rather than changing the world.

Above I said that the 'picture' or political/ideological systems aims at being comprehensive. It often claims to be this, but it is not necessarily complete or accurate as a description of what is, just as a painting has a frame and does not show us what lies outside this. 'Pictures' often develop their own terminology to represent things, just as different artists have different techniques or use different materials to represent things through their paintings. Some pictures may be completely abstract, as disconnected from things as mathematical formulae, but there is often some claim to facticity. The problem comes when there is no effort to bring the two together and this gap between theory and practice becomes infinite. The question of whether or not the bread shop is empty is settled by examining the shelves of the bread shop and not via appeals to theoretical speculation. I use the term 'legislative epistemology' to describe the theoretical arrogance of the many 'pictures' which refuse to acknowledge this gap. The 'pictures' assume that the world is as they describe it. If there is a problem, this must always be with the world and not with their description of it.

Two methods of addressing this problem come to mind here.

*Empiricism* — is it upheld by experience?

*Pragmatism* — what are its results?

A good example of a type of 'picture' is Thatcherism (Marxism, Christianity and science are others). Thatcherism is or was a political and economic 'picture' assuming that power based on economics is/was the sole source of value and that the only method of arbitrating between people — 'you can't buck the markets'. This power is held in multinational companies and governments, the EC, etc., by virtue of their wealth and their ability to control wealth. Thatcherism is a fundamental denial of morality — 'there is no such thing as

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## Japan update

Some further information gleaned from the Japanese anarchist press (thanks to those comrades who have helped with translation). *Libera Volo* (Esperanto for *Free Will*) is the monthly journal of the Japanese Anarchist Federation and began publication in the late '80s. At a meeting last year there was a call for unity and action — apparently the movement there is dogged by the problem not unheard of elsewhere of individuals being reluctant to make compromises for the sake of concerted action. The Federation is not a large body and describes itself as not a pyramid or even a union of groups, rather it is a gathering of 'Free Wills' (as in the journal's name) who hold ideas in common. Decisions are only taken unanimously and in principle members contribute 1% of income — a minimum of 1,000 yen (approximately £6.50) — per month, although in practice the amount is left to the individual to decide upon. At the same meeting an activist reported from a demonstration in Tokyo against the detention of foreigners by the police (an important issue in Japan — see *Freedom*, 30th April 1994) during which the number of demonstrators apparently doubled! There was also a debate on how the linked forces of the state, the military and industry dominate society. Anti-war activity was seen as a way of dissolving the state but there are disappointingly few active comrades.

Freedom Press has also received another publication called *Actual Action*. This is published by a group of "left-wing radicalists" (not clear if the leaning is specifically anarchist) that has been going for a year.

Despite publication problems they profess themselves "full of confidence in revolutionary hope and volition of solidarity". They seemingly have regular contacts with German anarchists and sound like a cuddly bunch of people. Here's an extract, with some help with their English (far better than my Japanese):

### The globe and the consciousness of existing questionable 'internationalism'

To be honest, we are fed up with 'internationalism' which has been preached by leftists all over the country and at the same time their 'isolationism'. We share their views on the state of opposition movements in this country. We realise that by merely protesting we run the risk of being dubbed simply 'negative'. This is something we never want to be. We call for revolt and a struggle against the Japanese state and have launched this publication as our first step. The aim of our publication is to contribute to the struggle not only domestically but also worldwide.

Furthermore we would like to influence movements from their beginning, to help form their substance. Our perspective is to engage in real internationalism based on 'actual action'.

One of the greatest reasons for the piling up of social struggles is that from their inception they were limited to the field of what we revolted against and fought in this country. It is this very thing which has produced a substantial isolationism. We want to present another perspective realising that the field of what we fight and revolt against is, in short, the 'world' itself and inside the borders which form states separating the world. It is our strategy to fight against the ideology of the world versus Japan and Japan versus the world.

We hope to bring you further news from Japan, particularly next year with the anniversary of the first nuclear holocaust.

## Should we accept money from the state?

People who understand the immoral and inefficient nature of the state want to destroy it. This they will do if they dissociate themselves from it as far as possible and refuse to make use of it. Realising this, anarchists have to ask whether they should do any work for the state and if they should take any money from it.

These questions can be answered by making use of an important rule. It is this: If we want to obtain our free society, we must behave now, as far as possible, as if we were already in it. That being so, the only work we should do for the state is the kind we would do if we were in a free society. We can look after the health of people, produce and distribute food and clothes and educate children. We can build houses and help run certain forms of transport. What we must not do it be any part of government or its violent forces. If we do any useful work and it happens to be for a government, then obviously we must take payment for it to live.

But if we are doing no work for the state should we refuse to take payments from it, such as those concerned with social security, income supplements of one kind or another, and retirement pensions?

Before we answer this question, we must first decide whether we are taking anything from the state when we take the money it gives out. When we have bought health and insurance stamps and paid direct and indirect taxes all our lives, we are not taking any money from the state just because it hands some back. And more. If we have worked for some capitalist, we have sold our labour for less than its value and so when we live without working, or working very little, we are only taking from society what we have already put

into it. If we have never worked at all, then members of our family must be doing so or must have done so. One way or another, the state owes us.

Those who criticise the people who live without doing any useful work are generally thinking of people who live off social security. They should remember that these people are not the only ones who contribute nothing to society. The rich who do no work are just as parasitical. Notes, coins and figures in books do no work. The most notorious parasite is the Queen, with her mother a close runner-up.

In the free society we would look after one another. Those who were sick or unable to look after themselves would be given the necessities and luxuries of life so that they remained alive and happy. In the state, people can live only if they have a selfish motivation to look after themselves; in the ideal society, people will live by being motivated to look after other people. In the free society people who look after others will do so with love, and those who accepted help will be happy to do so because they know that it is the wish of everyone. Therefore those who are incapable of looking after themselves now may live off the labour of others because that is the ideal behaviour.

Eventually we will have our communities where we produce goods for ourselves without any interference from the state – because the state will not exist. But now we must take everything we can. Try as we will, we will take only a small fraction of what we or our families have given the state. Therefore, take all that you are offered and for goodness sake feel no shame about it.

Derrick

Ebenezer Howard was confident that the twentieth century outward movement of population from the big cities would force down site values and rateable values, so as to make possible the humane redevelopment of the inner city. We all know how and why it didn't happen.

But there is one highly significant example in the heart of central London where it did happen, through the manipulation of the planning system. It is an immensely complex story (unravelling in Chapter 9 of my book *Welcome, Thinner City*). The South Bank was the usual riverside jumble of wharves, factories and warehouses, and small streets of houses, shops and schools, pubs and clubs, remaining from Victorian and pre-Victorian times.

The old London County Council (LCC) began its redevelopment eighty years ago with the building of County hall at the south end of Westminster bridge. It continued the process forty-five years ago with buying up sites for the festival of Britain and building the Festival Hall and later the other halls and galleries and the National Theatre in what is now called the South Bank Arts Centre, under whose walkways the homeless set up camp.

Most of the thirteen acres between Waterloo and Blackfriars bridges, partly in the borough of Lambeth and partly in Southwark, had been acquired by the LCC in the '50s. The big warehouses like those of Boots, W.H. Smith and HMSO, moved out, but there were still residents in the neglected little streets, typically people with humble city jobs who needed to live in a central area because they started work long before the commuters had arrived.

For them everything went downhill, the surviving residents found its emptiness dangerous and menacing. It had turned into a land bank, a commodity like gold in a vault: too valuable to be useful. Then we had the first of the post-war property booms. At the Waterloo end of the site Kent House, the tower

occupied by London Weekend Television, was built. At the Blackfriars end Kings Reach Tower was built, intended as a hotel but becoming the offices of the International Publishing Corporation.

The two borough councils had vacillating policies, the LCC was replaced by the GLC (Greater London Council), and by the end of the 1960s ideas of local community action were emerging. The Waterloo Community Development Group, later Coin Street Action Group, was formed calling for 'Homes not Offices'. John Pearce explains how a first public inquiry rejected both the office/hotel proposal to build Europe's tallest skyscraper put forward by a commercial developer and the community's alternative plan to concentrate on low cost housing for local people and community facilities. The developers' plans were criticised as 'massive and over-dominant' and the community scheme as 'failing to exploit the employment potential of the sites'. At a second public inquiry in 1983 direct community action in the shape of 400 local people plus press and television were needed to defer the inquiry until after the GLC elections and to prevent the outgoing (Conservative) administration from selling off its part of the Coin Street site to the office developers even before their scheme gained approval.

In the event the GLC changed hands and the inquiry inspector gave permission to go ahead for either the office development or the revised community scheme, which now included proposals for managed workspace and a shopping area. Active help from the GLC and both borough councils, and sustained community pressure, led to the office developers pulling out and by July 1984 the entire site had been sold to a community enterprise company set up by local community groups: Coin Street Community Builders Ltd.

What actually happened was that the GLC itself was on the verge of extinction, and 24

## The right rhetoric and the failure of socialism

As a schoolboy studying for my history 'O' Level in the 1970s I had to come to terms with the strange, remote complications of events in the Balkans in the early years of this century, the disasters of Imperial Russia, and the birth of parliamentary socialism in Britain. All this belonged to a half-forgotten world that seemed to have nothing to do with my world. Parliamentary socialism had long triumphed in Britain, and I was a direct beneficiary of the welfare state, the Soviet Union appeared to be an everlasting monolith, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sarajevo, and an Austrian prince were long gone. But now all these remote events seem to have a familiar ring about them, appear to be relevant, and, just as surprising, socialism, whether the social democratic or soviet model, appears to belong to the past. What has happened, why is the right resurgent and why has socialism apparently failed in a more spectacular fashion than any other modern political idea?

The issues that have enabled the right to dominate the political agenda (and, indeed, reorder the priorities and concerns of most social democratic parties) are grouped around three key questions, those of

- 1) the state,
- 2) the individual, and
- 3) the nation.

In all three areas the left (of all varieties) has been outmanoeuvred, and the right has been able to deploy the type of rhetoric that has gained it widespread support throughout Europe. Just because much of that rhetoric is not matched by policies that really do empower individuals does not mean that the rhetoric is not successful. People continue to vote for and support (however half-heartedly) the right because they feel that the left is even more insincere when it talks about 'choice' and 'people power'. All this presents great problems for socialists, and anarchists, but there may well be something even more nasty waiting for us all in the future. There are clear signs that now the ice age of the Cold War has melted, and the global framework of the superpower stand-off is shattered, that an older challenge is being mounted from another corner of right-wing politics. For the right is not homogeneous, and

the negative aspects of the new right, the liberal-right, of Reagan and Thatcher are being challenged not by the left but by the ultra-right. Across Europe, the social stresses created by the liberal-right are helping to bring about the resurgence of the ultras. The challenge to the global institutions and policies of unrestrained capitalism is coming from the ultra-nationalists. They have always had the greater claim to the idea of 'the nation', and it is people like Zhirinovskiy and Fini that are threatening the liberal-right, not the 'socialists' who have been recast by the success of the Thatchers of Europe and are, as so often, belatedly reacting to past events and not forging a new agenda.

Colin Ward has contrasted the image of socialism in Britain before and after the triumph of the Webbs' and the Fabians' brand of bureaucratic and technocratic ideas as being represented by the self-employed artisan, inspired by the visions of William Morris, and filled with "notions of liberating his fellow workers from industrial serfdom in a dark satanic mill," with the contemporary image of a 'socialist' being "a university lecturer with a copy of *The Inevitable Crisis of Capitalism* in one hand ... while his mind is full of strategies for unseating the sitting Labour candidate in the local pocket borough". What that type of state bureaucrat (and that is what the legions of university lecturers are) has generally still not realised is that it was an active dislike of 'socialists' like them that helped Mrs Thatcher into power back in 1979, has managed to sustain the liberal-right across Europe, and has meant that even social democratic governments have followed an explicitly liberal-capitalist agenda. For, despite the incredible relief of the great majority of the population in Britain when the 1945 Labour government initiated the era of social democracy, there was one area that the statist ignored – people's dislike of the state. Yes, welfarism was better than the previous situation, but the bureaucrats that implemented it all ignored the fact that people prefer to be in control of their own lives. That fact explains why, for example, nationalised industries didn't become havens of industrial peace, productivity and contentment – a

boss is a boss, whether he's working for HM Government or Lord Coal Magnate. It also explains why people leapt at the Conservative Party's policy of council house sales. The *Guardian*-reading cognoscenti might sneer at people buying their council houses and immediately adding 'Georgian' doors and windows and carriage lamps by the front door, but that is a symbol of personal independence. Yes, having a decent house is a lot better than having no house, but having your own decent house is even better. What the statist ignored was the importance of the private sphere.

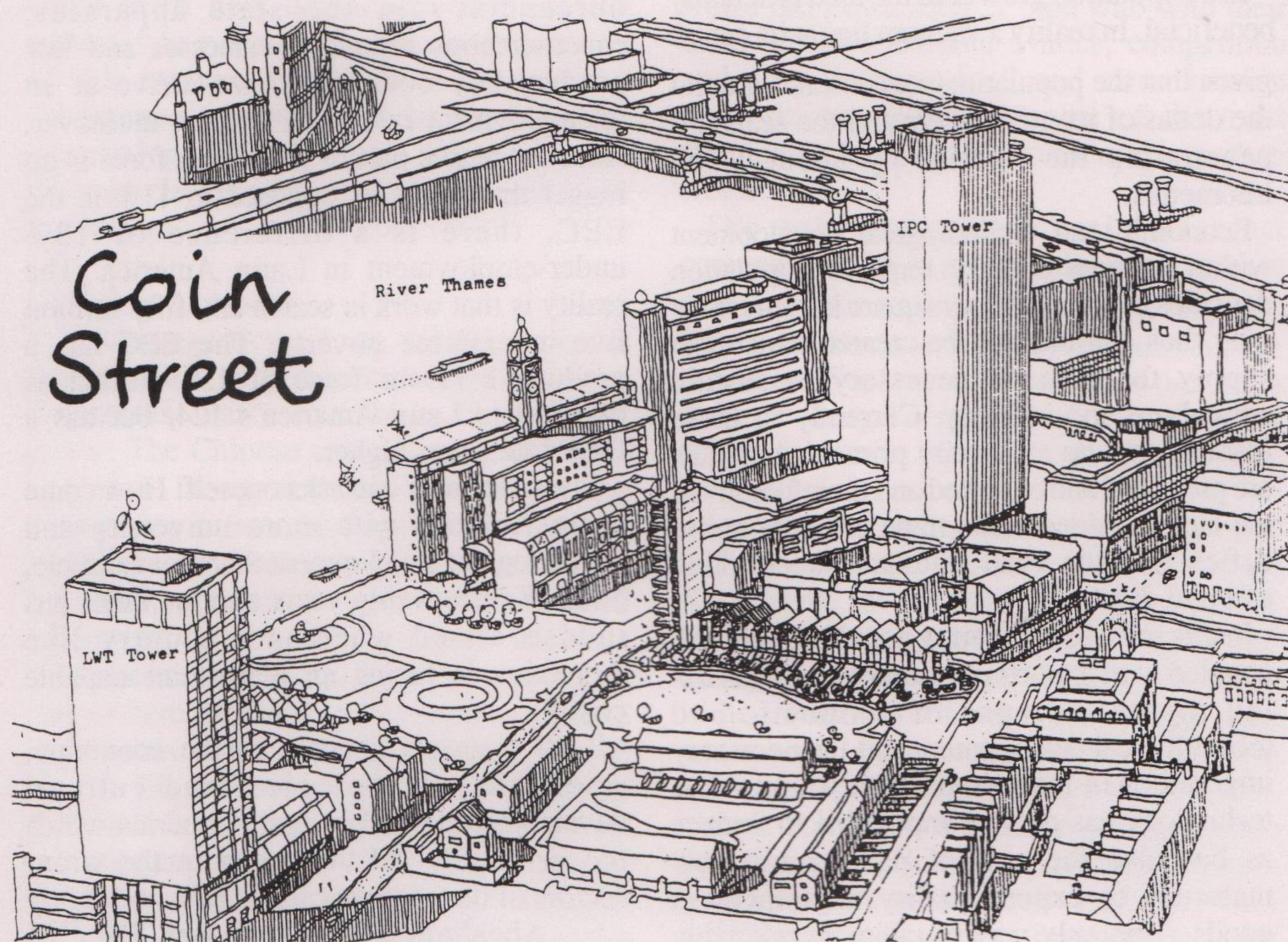
A large part of Roger Scruton's influential book *The Meaning of Conservatism* is devoted to arguments in favour of the private sphere of life. Mrs Thatcher later echoed this in a crude (and some would say thoroughly unconservative manner) with her statement that "there is no society". For many people on the left, such arguments in favour of the private sphere are seen to be an anathema. Yet the right's political success has lain in using the rhetoric of the private over the public. Making organisations accountable through the mechanism of the market has been one key to the right's success. The fact that many people are unable to play an effective role in the market has not diminished the popularity of the message, for many people do feel that they have a greater say, can get a greater response from organisations that affect their lives. Schools provide an example, especially in England. Schooling was always seen to be a key part in the social democratic programme, and many teachers and other education 'professionals' saw themselves as being the sole arbiters of what was right. Schools were not places for parents, schools would decide what was best. Now we have the national curriculum (what's left of it) and Patten's Catholic conscience, but parents can (to a much greater extent than before) choose which school their children will go to, expect schools and teachers to respond to their wishes, and, in opted-out schools, can have a much greater input into the overall running of the school. You might not agree with the direction (or purpose) of schools, but Conservative schools policy is an example of the success of the right rhetoric, giving people the sense that they can influence events in their lives and do not have to accept the benevolent paternalism of the state's 'experts'.

The appeal to the private sphere has marked the success of the liberal-right and the failure of all forms of statist socialism, be it the social democracy of the Labour Party or the

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— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

# Coin Street: exception or example?



hours before the Thatcher government's legislation to control the GLC's financial transactions, it disposed of the site. Actually part of the land was leased for 125 years for £1 to the Society for Co-operative Dwellings, and the freehold of the rest was sold to the newly formed non-profit company for £750,000.

This transaction was presented in the press as an example of the bizarre prodigality of the GLC. It was, in fact, sanctioned by the district valuer and reflected the effect of planning

permission in land valuation. The 'value' of the site as a multi-storey office or hotel building was enormous. The 'value' of the site as 'fair rent' housing, as public open space, and for all the other socially useful aspects of the intentions of the Association of Waterloo Groups, was infinitely less.

The plans of the local community were for housing owned and managed by tenants from people in housing need from the two boroughs, in seven separate housing co-operatives, a new park and an extension of

the South Bank Riverside Walk, shops and light industry workshops intended to provide up to 1,200 jobs.

When the first phase, a riverside park and the Mulberry Street Housing Co-operative of three-storey buildings around a hollow square of grass, was opened in 1988 there was more press condemnation. "Banal and undistinguished" was one verdict, "a grotesque misuse of a central urban site" was another. But opinions have changed. A few months ago Coin Street Community Builders launched its refurbishment of the old Oxo Tower on the riverside, and Deyan Sudjic, the architectural correspondent of *The Guardian*, described the disappointment he had felt when Greycoat Properties' plans for a million square feet of offices designed by Sir Richard Rogers had been withdrawn. Today he writes: "Ten years ago I wanted to see Rogers get the chance to build a big idea on the South Bank. But now that Coin Street has made so much out of a lot of small ideas, it's important to see the lessons it offers other city centres as well as London."

And in December *Planning Week* reported that, at the opening party, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, William Waldegrave, praised the "tenacity and skill" of Coin Street Community Builders, which provides, he said, "a good example of private sector initiative making a positive practical contribution to London's future".

This is a grossly disingenuous way of describing the Coin Street saga. It would be more accurate to say, as Tim Roberts did in 1986, that the residents' achievement "marks the end of one of the most concerted long-running and on occasions bitter planning battles ever seen. But it also signals something much more significant: the victory by well-organised, well-briefed and well-motivated local people in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds."

The property world, however, does not forgive. For Mr Alan G. Hood, describing himself as Immediate Past World President of the International Real Estate Federation, wrote to comment (in *Planning Week*, 20th January 1994) that Coin Street's small-scale housing "is entirely inappropriate on the river front in the heart of London. Could such a

development be accepted in Paris, Rome or any other city of character?"

Coin Street was an exception. Unfortunately there is little likelihood, in a world dominated by market values, that it will be allowed to become an example that others will be encouraged to follow.

On the other hand, if those local community groups had assumed from the start that they had no chance against the powerful and influential capitalist property developers, history would have been different. The site would be filled today by a huge handsome office complex, designed by the Labour Party's favourite architect, Sir Richard Rogers. Nothing ventured, nothing gained!

Colin Ward

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neo-stalinism of the Soviet Union. People want to feel responsible for their own actions, want to feel that they have some control over their day-to-day lives. By exploiting that fact, capitalists have, once again, avoided the nemesis that their opponents keep predicting. Even in the methods of production, capitalists have exploited this desire. Effective and efficient car producers, for example, long ago abandoned the assembly line and switched to Japanese methods dependent on multi-tasked, team-based production. Of course, such methods of workplace control only provide an illusion of personal independence, but what is important is that people respond to that illusion (as productivity figures show). People do not wish to be mere recipients under any form of statism, they want to be actors in the decisions, from the smallest to the largest, and the events that shape their lives. They want control over their own lives, the right gives them the illusion that they can have some control, the statist-socialists failed to convince them that they would have any control over their own lives, and anarchists and libertarian-socialists have yet to convince them of our programme based on the individual and real, effective, control over their own existence.

But there is a new challenge from the right that we must face, and it is an altogether more difficult challenge than the unrestrained liberal-conservatism that marked the 1980s. The new challenge comes from the ultra-right, and is, in part, a result of the popular frustrations engendered by the success of the liberal-right. This must rank as one of the great ironies of the age, for the success of capitalism triumphant in the 1980s, both in Britain and in the wider world, has not led to the rise of a newly aggressive and successful left, but the re-emergence of the ultra-right. In Germany, it is the neo-nazis who are the most active opponents of the status quo. They have picked up support among the young working class in the former East Germany, and it is they who are forging a broad-based front that encompasses electoral politics, as

represented by the Republican party, and violent, aggressive 'successes' on the street in the shape of the multitude (of usually local and autonomous) neo-nazi groups. Similarly, in Russia, the ultra-right is in effect the only credible opposition to the free-market capitalism of the 'reformers' around Yeltsin. From Zhirinovskiy and electoral politics to Rutskoi and armed resistance, it is the ultra-right (with the ageing communists on their coat-tails) that is leading a nationalist and populist challenge to the liberal-right. And in Italy too the most successful opponents of the sort of liberal-conservative policies of Berlusconi are, ironically, to be found in his own electoral pact with the National Alliance— neo-fascists making the old appeal based on the nation, and state provision and intervention. The examples are legion, but the message is clear, the rebirth of yet another plague that socialists had thought they had confined to the dustbin of history— nationalism.

When the Liberals in Britain went into decline, at least they had the satisfaction of knowing that liberalism had been accepted by all the other main parties, and, indeed, was the largest element in the Labour Party. But now that statist socialism is on the decline, its partisans will be unable to comfort themselves with the thought that the principles of socialism— like internationalism, peace and co-operation— have been adopted by anyone else. Partly this is because statist socialists (being statist) were not that international or pacific, but also because people's suspicion of very large units and international politics is great. It is the capitalists who have built their dream on a global scale, and the internationalism of socialists has not been able to provide a counter to that dream. Instead, it is nationalism that is resisting the global trends that people find so disturbing. The Maastricht debacle is a case in point. There is little doubt that the bureaucrats in Brussels were shocked by the extent of opposition throughout the EU to Maastricht. Previously strongly pro-European countries like Germany and France showed a noticeable and vocal opposition to yet more powers accruing to the Euro-statists and the Euro-bureaucrats. And the violent face

of nationalism confronts us every day in Bosnia, while we hope the Zhirinovskiy's posturings will never become reality. Nationalism (and its weaker cousin, religion) are at the heart of this new right-wing threat. It is a response to global capitalism, to the remoteness of power. If people can't control their own lives they clearly prefer to be controlled by other Russians, or other Serbs, or other Irishmen, or other Germans, rather than by the totally unknown of New York, London, Tokyo, or Brussels for that matter. Nationalism may be the dark side of 'community', but it is potent and popular. We have to have a credible alternative to offer, and that alternative can only be by a non-statist alternative.

Socialism built upon the state has failed, everywhere it is in retreat or has changed its colour so much that it isn't even pink any more. The right is in a degree of turmoil. The 'successes' of the liberal-right in the 1980s are now clearly undermined by increasingly dangerous side-effects, most notably strains on the social fabric and the cohesion of society. The liberal-right is under challenge, as we all are, from the ultra-right, which is mixing the populist elements of the liberal-right's message with nationalism, racism and promises of a regenerated social fabric. The right rhetoric exploits the desire for control over one's personal life and freedom from state interference (the liberal-right), the need for a sense of belonging, the sense of being part of an identifying community of people, and the distrust of remote power (the ultra-right). The right rhetoric has helped defeat state-socialism and, as yet, anarchism and libertarian-socialism just hasn't got its message across. It is up to us, as anarchists, as libertarians, to show that rhetoric usually masks duplicity and power and that the 'solutions' of the liberal-right, or the ultra-right, are no solutions at all. We must present our case more clearly than ever before. We must present our positive dream for a future built upon the free individual, co-operation, the non-exclusive community, small-scale economic and social life, and peace. If we don't, then the future may well be nasty.

Steve Cullen

## — A VIEW FROM URUGUAY —

## Depression and Unemployment in Latin America

In 1990 the total level of unemployment in Latin American countries hit fifty million; but by the year 2000 a further hundred million jobs will be needed. The population of the area is doubling in the space of thirty years as opposed to one hundred in North America and six hundred in some European countries. The bed produces many births but the table little food and with underdeveloped agriculture and industry the future looks bleak for the end of this and the beginning of the next century.

Some Latin American analysts, who look at the persistent structural imbalances in the economies of some twenty countries south of the Rio Grande, estimate that the crisis is growing more severe year on year with a snowballing effect. In this climate of ideas, journals linked with CEPAL believe that between '79 and '89 "Latin America lost 10% of economic growth— and it can also be noted that growth in GDP per capita in the region was negative in '88 and '89 with figures of -1.5% and -1% respectively. This is due to the fact that the annual rate of population growth is 2.6%, one of the highest in the world and only surpassed by Africa.

Faced with the slow growth in agricultural and industrial production in the region and the rapid population growth, some international financial organisations have put conditions on credit demanding malthusian family planning policies.

The truth, however, is that this is not the

main cause of the inertia in GDP but rather the fact that the developed world has shouldered the underdeveloped world with external debt amounting to \$1.2 billion, of which 440,000 million is Latin American.

The region is not over-populated: population density is 20 per square kilometre, against 101 in Asia, 100 in Europe and 27 in the USA, with Japan coming in at 322. However, Japan enjoys double the GDP rate of Latin America in absolute terms and is six times richer than a Latin American.

South Korea and Taiwan, two decades ago, were underdeveloped — as much or more so than Latin America. Both countries were over-populated but economic growth was high because they ceased being exporters of primary products and started producing and exporting manufactured goods, which gives added value, provides work and sells well internationally. Thus, unbelievably, Taiwan in a reduced area and with a population of only twenty million produced in value terms half

the exports of Latin America and has currency reserves many times greater.

The population growth in the area is actually beneficial. In reality a vacuum lies at its centre given that the population concentrates around the deltas of its great rivers and the seaboard penetrating the interior by about 1,500 kilometres.

Economic and technological development within a given country requires population densities of some 100 per square kilometre for only thus can markets be created which can supply the demand necessary to sustain agriculture and industry. Currently in those markets that do exist only primary materials are produced and exported and therefore given the lack of added value trade balances are in deficit and the final outcome is crippling external debt.

In this sense, accelerating population growth coupled with exports of primary materials has led to the collapse of economic and technological development and the necessary importation of modern machinery, up-to-date technology has proved impossible to finance as has also the cost of patents and new materials to export quality manufactured goods — the only way to maintain relatively full employment. This all explains the level of

46 million unemployed, roughly the equivalent of half the young labour force. But in the perspective of 2000 if the region wishes to escape from this crisis of under-development 100 million new jobs will be needed. Currently the active labour force stands at around 124 million, paradoxically with more employed in the tertiary sector rather than agriculture and industry.

If on top of official unemployment we add unproductive employment of travelling salesmen, shoe-shiners, domestics, excessive bureaucracy in the state apparatus, supernumeraries in small businesses and low productivity companies, we arrive at an unemployment rate of 40%. But, moreover, since the active part of the labour force is no bigger than 30%, as opposed to 43% in the EEC, there is a difference of 13% under-employment in Latin America. The reality is that work is scarce and fifty million live in extreme poverty. The EEC has a productive labour force of 139 million as opposed to Latin America's 124, but has a GDP four times higher.

Given the facts one asks oneself: How come Latin America with more university and technological development than, for example, South Korea twenty years ago the latter has industrialised whereas a country like Argentina is facing an almost inescapable crisis?

It all suggests a crisis in the economic, scientific, technological and cultural development model in Latin America which has perversely led to growth in the wrong sectors of the economy.

Abraham Guillén in *Quark*, Dec. '93, Uruguay

## Let's stop screwing ourselves

Marxism and anarcho-syndicalism characterised society as riven by an irresolvable contradiction between capitalist and worker. How does this viewpoint stand today? Yes, there are still workers, capitalists and class struggle, and one would be foolish to deny it. But there are differences. Capital is now largely institutional and workers, through their pension funds, co-ops and savings accounts, own a fair chunk of it. Social property, which barely existed in the nineteenth century, such as public schools and hospitals, recreational centres, libraries, public transportation, used almost exclusively by the working population, should also be taken into account. Rather than 'capitalism' it is probably more accurate to speak of 'socialised capitalism'.

So, too, the very basis of the economy has changed. For Marx, the economy depended upon expansion in the capital goods sector (production of the means of production) and not consumption. Today the situation is reversed. In the United States, 68% of the economy is based upon the production and sale of consumer goods and services. The people who buy most of these goods and services are workers. Two contradictions arise from this. Since so much of the economy is based upon workers' purchasing power there is no real limit to how much their wages or living conditions can be beaten down. The present stagnation is due, in no small measure, to the obliviousness of the Reaganites and Thatcherites to this reality.

The second contradiction, or more accurately a set of contradictions, occurs within the population, 'among the people' according to Maoist rhetoric. A struggle exists between the worker as worker and the worker as consumer. The worker as worker wants the highest possible wage, the maximum job security and the best working situation possible. The worker as consumer wants the cheapest prices and the best service. As a consequence, we have disputes between the consumers who want Sunday shopping and the retail workers who don't, the consumers who detest overpriced goods from protected and subsidised industries and those who are employed by those industries. There is also the 'black economy' which pits the unionised worker against the 'under the table' worker and the householder who hires them.

The dominant political forces in the 1960s and '70s (essentially social democratic no matter the label) maintained economic demand and absorbed the immense 'boomer generation' by taking the easy way out — inflating the role of the state in the economy and thereby creating the massive public sector bureaucracy. But 'there ain't no such thing as a free lunch'. Workers taxes pay for this. Thus arises the dispute involving 'public' and 'private' sector workers, partly a contradiction between the worker as worker and the worker as tax payer. There is also a large element of consumer versus worker as people want the best and most cost-effective service from government agencies,

and the government worker wants the best possible benefits.

In the United States, pension funds have been used for the harmful practice of corporate raiding. In Quebec the *caisse de depot*, the government pension fund, accidentally wrecked the largest supermarket chain and wages plummeted in the entire industry. Some co-ops and credit unions have had strikes or locked out their employees. One should not jump to the conclusion these negative effects result simply from maliciousness. Pension funds are a good example — money managers are hired to maximise the income of a fund, and if they don't they are fired. Should some wheeler-dealer offer them a good return on a leveraged buy-out, they are obliged by contract to back him. As potential pensioners we want a nice fat account when we retire, so we are, in effect, using our own money to screw ourselves.

Mutual funds, savings accounts and retirement savings plans are also important reserves used by the working population. Even small savers want a high return on their money, but it might come at the expense of a rainforest in Malaysia. These accounts may not amount to much individually, but together add up to hundreds of billions of dollars and hence have an important effect, both for good and bad.

Large-scale service and consumer co-ops are placed in an awkward position with their employees. The membership is ultimately in charge. To have the workers run the show would be undemocratic, as they would form a tiny elite above the membership. With credit unions, the members want the maximum return on their deposits and the best possible service, the employees want high wages and the best possible working conditions. The capitalist versus worker contradiction is transferred to members versus workers. And other than the imminent arrival of utopia there is no easy solution to this problem. All service and consumer co-ops, unlike worker-run producer co-ops or small collectives, have to face this situation.

The left tends to sweep these contradictions under the rug, but they are real and must be addressed. They are as real as anyone who has ever bought a cheap import rather than an expensive locally manufactured item, opened a savings account, shopped on Sunday or been insulted by a state bureaucrat. They are also as real as anyone who has ever wanted a secure job with good pay and decent working conditions. And who doesn't?

Recognition of these contradictions within the working class would help explain the support that neo-liberalism has found among many workers. To say that people are fooled by politicians, have become selfish or scapegoat government employees and welfare recipients is far too simplistic. Working class support for neo-liberalism is at least partially a response by the worker as consumer and tax payer.

The left's myopia is due to its cult of the state.

Farmers having difficulty? Subsidise them. Industry can't compete? Introduce protectionism. Minorities suffer discrimination? Create employment quota systems. Unemployment a problem? No, don't reduce the work week, stick 'em on welfare instead. At every turn they have sought to empower the state at the expense of the general population, cheerfully claiming they are working in the best interests of humanity. All this statism comes at great cost, both social and financial, and it is the worker who pays and suffers.

The left, by continuing to aim all its shots at the capitalist bogey-man, has diverted attention from other important conflicts within society. Not that the capitalist has become like the dodo, but institutions tend to be run by a managerial elite, who, along with similar functionaries in the trade unions, universities and government, form a kind of *nomenklatura*. The class struggle which exists today is found as often between the people and the bureaucracy as with capitalists and workers.

Functionaries aren't strictly speaking a class but are a caste (they are actually highly privileged employees) since they do not, either by law or in reality, own the means of production. There is, however, no need to absolve ourselves of responsibility by scapegoating the bureaucrat the way the left does with the wicked capitalist. We have allowed the bureaucracy to develop and persist. Our *nomenklatura* is far more valuable than its Stalinist variety or the capitalist class, for there is nothing stopping us from exercising our much-vaunted democratic rights and having them bounced into the street. Not that such a joyful event would come about easily, any steps toward the abolition of the state bureaucracy would require a highly determined mass movement.

A mass decentralist movement could be the means, but what should be the end result of such an effort? There is an alternative to both the harsh reality of neo-liberalism and leftism's bureaucratic dead end. Government agencies and the state sector could be converted into cooperatives and mutual aid societies, democratically controlled by the population. As much government power as possible should be decentralised to the local (municipal and county) level. Pension funds should be run by the members as cooperatives. (Just these three perfectly legal acts would place the bulk of the economy in the hands of the population.) There should also be a rigorous reduction of the work week so everyone can find employment, which in turn will eliminate most of the need for welfare. The direction of economic forces should also include representatives of the community, consumers and employees. Only in these ways can we stop screwing ourselves.

Larry Gambone

## Pictures

(continued from page 4)

society' — and the individual is merely a unit of consumption. Acquisitiveness is virtue — share-owning, home-owning. The value of a person is measured by the things they own.

People chose Thatcherism because they aligned themselves with this aesthetic of power. It was not really about people so much as about corporations which embodied and symbolised this power. People aligned themselves with the whole bundle — power through wealth, conspicuous consumption, rising house prices, economic 'growth'. \* This power/wealth aesthetic ignores the ethical — 'there is no such thing as a free lunch'.

To align yourself with this was fine — so long as you had a job and could afford the sailboard/holiday in Provence. Thatcherism expressed itself through the idolisation of the company logo as the source of this plenty. Television advertisements were acts of worship directed towards the product. Thatcherism projected images of strength, abroad (the Iron Lady, the Falklands war) and at home (the smashing of the power of the unions). The image is important because of the aesthetic it projected and because of the reality underneath it which the glossy brochures, the rising share prices and the science parks smoothed over. The idea of becoming part of this power, of fitting into this hierarchy of possessions and money was attractive, not on a moral level, not on the level of anything real, but on the level of emotion and illusion, exhilaration and self-deception. The anal retentives who bought the Telecom shares and the £65k pseudo-Georgian shoeboxes internalised the aesthetic because it appealed to them on an emotional level, the level of their feelings.

Thatcherism is one type of 'picture' but there are others, but the central assumption of the 'picture' analogy is that they are ultimately chosen on aesthetic grounds (we find this picture more beautiful than the others on offer). The emotional commitment of the adherent is akin to religious conversion or to falling in love — there is a blindness to the faults of the 'picture'. The more we expose their ethical deficiencies or factual failings (Thatcherism and cardboard city, for example) the more tightly do they grasp hold of them. This commitment could be compared to controversies in art between different movements (abstract versus realism, etc). I have high hopes for the 'picture' analogy as a point of departure for political criticism, however this article is just an outline.

Stephen Booth

\* Economic growth as in 'cancerous growth'.

## Selling anarchism

Dear Freedom,

For Tim Francis to say that "ultimately I see no great problem in China" (*Freedom*, 30th April 1994) is disturbing and ill-informed. He describes what is happening in China, the introduction of the market economy and so on, as if it were a benefit to a country that has been silenced under its leadership for over forty years. China's 'market socialism' is causing many problems and potentially spells disaster.

I too have lived in China. I studied for ten months in Beijing at a small school. From my experience there talking with people, especially students, the picture is very different from the rosy view presented by Mr Francis. People are allowed to buy more goods now, but what with? The average factory workers monthly wage is still only £15 per month. The money lies in business, and of the students I talked to most want to become a part of the management for a joint venture company. These are coalitions between foreign businesses and the Chinese government. Money is the aim of the best students, not social welfare or politics. Everything seems to revolve around money, even walking up a mountain can mean passing through at least one toll collection point, usually double price for foreigners. China is not an alternative to capitalism, but is rushing towards it as fast as it can.

Nobody talks about politics any more, people are either too scared, cynical or disinterested. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is a vehicle to power and 'face' usually only attainable through "the notorious system of guanxi" that Mr Francis feels is no longer so important. Even entry to a university can depend on guanxi and even if not then your political views will be taken into account. It also costs money to send a child to university and the government is busy increasing

these charges.

A few, a generous estimate would be in the low hundreds, do try to opt out of the system - they are the artists and rock musicians who are hounded by the police so much. This is a precious few in a city of eight million people. While I was there an underground club 'Harmony' was opened and it lasted for two months before it was shut by the police.

The greater part of the people live outside of the city, 80% of Chinese are peasants who are screwed by tax collectors and local government. Small scale rebellions have apparently been happening and crushed without the news spreading too far. On top of this are the lebenstraum policies pursued in Tibet and, less well publicised, the Uigur autonomous region in the north west. The CCP has been consistently nationalistic and racist since before the liberation and this is continuing to a point where many Chinese believe black Africans to be little more than animals.

The system of free or cheap heating sounds great, but as has been mentioned universities are for the rich and there is no free health care so that many people still rely on traditional medicines that don't always work. And as for the heating, it stayed on well into spring when it was really too warm because the university has not used up its quota of coal and needed to prove that it had needed to use it all in order to get the same amount next year. A good attitude in a city where when you blow your nose the snot is black. (A friend of mine asked an Embassy doctor, while he was being treated for something else, if there was something to be done about his cough which we all had sporadically. He was told not to breathe the air.) Of course there is also no personal choice in when your heating is on or off, and if the system breaks down the repairs can take a long time to be made. The top floor of my dormitory was without heat for the greater part of the winter. Also there is no heating in the south of China where it can be very cold, reaching near zero temperatures.

On the anniversary of 4th June (last year) the main university, Beida, was completely closed at 8pm. At my own

smaller and 'party-approved' college there were no less than five people checking ID on every gate. Policemen were stationed every hundred yards on the main roads and yet there was not any hint that anything might have happened. It was like some kind of reminder that the CCP were still in charge and there is nothing we can do. So-called economic freedom is the only one the Chinese people are given, and that is clearly limited given the number of people able to consume.

As for the out-dated nature of the terms of the class struggle, I feel that while true it is not completely surprising. However, the meaning of these terms has changed. It is a useful 'catch-all' phrase for 'us and them', opposing sides in an ideological struggle. To ignore it is to deny ourselves the language with which to express what we see around us, and separate ourselves from the liberal reformers who always end up as 'them'.

Anarchism is unique as a form of revolutionary activity because it does not rest on dogma and is open to change, as it has done over the past 150 years. That change comes from ourselves, not from the Party. It is not something to be sold any more than you should sell a ramble through the country, art or happiness, though in my experience capitalism and communism both seem to try.

Grazulis

## Getting away with murder

Dear Editors,

Are IRA crowd-bombers more despicable than Royal Air Force bombers, as Howard Marks would seem to think (Letter, 16th April)?

His description of the IRA as "terror groups whose only interests are using murder as a vehicle for the profits of their protection rackets and their continued political facade" is surely a widely held anarchist view of governments. Indeed, Howard admits as much in his previous sentence, "all governments profit and instigate murder" (sic) - but he goes on nevertheless to differentiate between the IRA and the Royal Air Force by the words 'mafia', 'scum', 'sick',

## Anarchism and breaking free

Dear Freedom,

Nicolas Walter's obituary of Paul Feyerabend (2nd April 1994) was pertinent but rather misses the point. Feyerabend made it very clear he was not a political anarchist but rather he was an intellectual anarchist.

Feyerabend claims science is an irrational enterprise. At no time in history, he says, has there been an objective scientific method. It is only when scientists have dared break with conventions that scientific progress is made. One must flout convention and adopt the philosophy of anything goes. He attacks the modern scientific community as if it were the medieval church stifling creativity and branding nonconformists as heretics. Science has become an ideology shaped by its historical and cultural contexts. In fact there is no such thing as scientific method *per se* in an absolutist sense.

The problem is that belief in the ideology of science is belief in a paradigm, almost like a holy writ. I note this sense of orthodoxy within anarchist thinking and publishing. It is implicit rather than explicit, unspecified and undefined but still there. A kind of political correctness. I too submitted an article to *The Raven* on science which questioned the validity of science. This was my fifth rejection of an article sent to *The Raven*. 'It isn't anarchist, you see' is the usual retort. Whose view of anarchism? It is not only *The Raven*. Let me illustrate.

Two years ago I was asked to do an

'butchers', 'cold-blooded' and 'vile' to the former, but not to the latter.

I do not suppose that either group gets satisfaction from killing children but they must know it is an inevitable consequence of their actions.

Howard's letter does nothing to undermine Derrick's article 'How to get away with murder', much as I wish it could be otherwise. The question we all need to ask ourselves is whether it can be ethical and/or helpful to contemplate violence in pursuance of any cause when innocents will inevitably be killed and maimed as a result.

'Ex-Royal Air Force Bomber'

article on further education for *Lib Ed*. It took me quite a time to write it. It did not appear. Eventually I was told it had been rejected because they objected to some comments on equal opportunities. I have considerable work experience in further education with an MA Ed in the Sociology of Further Education. I also know quite a bit about equal opportunities and was my union's rep for equal opportunities in its Outer London Division. I was given no guidelines or stated policy on articles for *Lib Ed*. The magazine's rejection of my article appeared to be an infringement of my freedom of expression and largely based upon a feminist dogmatism which should have no place in an anarchist publication. And this is the magazine that extols the virtue of libertarian education.

To me, and this is why I respected Feyerabend, anarchism implies anything goes, the free expression of my will untrammelled by rigidities, by orthodoxies, by political or moral correctness and a total rejection of censorship. If editors want people to write and are imposing guidelines then they should specify what these guidelines are. On the other hand, I cannot understand why they do not publish and then let others enter the arena to debate. How else is progress to be made? Unless of course these editors are afraid I will bring their philosophical edifices tumbling down. Their publications are less concerned with the creative freedom of expression than the preservation of individual bigotry under a libertarian disguise, especially in respect of feminism.

James Hilton in his novel *Lost Horizon*, published in 1933, located its plot in a lost community Shangri-La north of the Himalayas. An inhabitant describes its *raison d'être*: "We have no rigidities, no inexorable rules. We do as we think fit, guided a little by the past, but still more by our present wisdom, and by our clairvoyance of the future." This work of fiction, to me, says more about how anarchism should be than any doctrinaire interpretations accepted by authoritarians masking themselves as anarchists.

Peter Neville

Please keep sending in your letters and donations

## ... China

(continued from page 4)

economy. The physical expansion of the cities is simply proving a further burden on rural China, and one that the Chinese can ill afford since the country has no means of transporting fresh food long distances. Shanghai with its huge population needs to be fed and sucks resources from an already impoverished peasantry. It is not the only example.

When Zhu Rongji, China's senior vice-premier, tried to introduce a sixteen point austerity programme last year regional officials forced him to back down. In rural China economic prosperity it hard to find with reports of families sharing one set of clothes and millions living in caves. The phenomenal rates of inflation in the country have been followed by numerous reports of rural unrest in the past year because, comparatively, farmers have lost out in the boom. Such unrest is dealt with in predictable fashion.

All this is not to suggest that the industrial scene in the cities is one of heaven on earth. Apart from the very rich people, there is an impoverished sub-class. Despite its current size Shanghai plans to expand, effectively doubling the size of the city by creating a new 'special economic zone' on the east bank of the Huangpu River. The special economic zones are China's experiment with capitalism. Inside Shanghai's new one, income tax will be a mere 15% and there will be no import or export duties, provided that the goods manufactures are destined for export. All very nice for the very rich people.

For wage earners, though, life is not so cosy. The special economic zones (the subject of a forthcoming article in *Freedom*) are a source of cheap, mainly female labour which are springing up in various areas around the world. 'Arbeits macht Frei' was the sign over the doorway to their predecessors (these economic zones are literally ring-fenced to prevent the unauthorised flow of labour in and the unauthorised flow of cheap goods out). Here the gas chambers have been replaced by other death traps (see Part Two), but they appeal to the unemployed or underemployed rural Chinese. A government official in Northern Hebei province recently estimated that the current figure of 200 million peasants without work will rise to 300 by the year 2000. Already 150 million have joined the 'blind flow' of migrant workers from inland farms to the eastern seaboard putting more pressure on the rural structure as we have already said.

There are of course other pressures on the cities' resources. At the moment it is almost impossible to find anywhere to live in the centre of Shanghai, where over 20,000 households have less than 2.5 square metres of floor space per person. The countryside, whilst not especially good agricultural land, at least used to grow some crops ...

We are painting a bleak picture of the current situation in China: obscene wealth fuelled by the global capitalist system on the one hand and class exploitation on the other. Not an unfamiliar picture by any means but what hope, what interest can anarchists possibly find in such a depressing scenario?

— TO BE CONTINUED —

## Food for Thought ... and Action

*Radiotext(e)* edited by Neil Strauss, published by Semiotext(e). As the editor of this book notes in his introduction, "there's more to radio than meets the ear". Anyone interested in radio or 'communications' in general, will like this book. Consisting of extracts from writers as varied as Theodore Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Bertolt Brecht, Hakim Bey, Orwell, Leon Trotsky and many others. One of my favourite pieces was 'Two Way Radio Communications with the Brain' by the megalomaniacal neuro-scientist José Delgado, who advocates the implanting of 'stimocoeivers' into human brains to monitor and control emotions and behaviour! The opening piece, by the Marxist playwright Bertolt Brecht, makes the key point about radio (and all subsequent 'communications' technologies): "...radio is one sided when it should be two - it is purely an apparatus for distribution, for mere sharing out. Change this apparatus over from distribution to communication." 350 pages, £9.00.

*Why the 'Revolutionaries' Have Failed* by Andy & Mark Anderson, published by The SPLAT Collective. This interesting pamphlet, developed from a critical letter the authors wrote to the now defunct magazine *Socialism From Below* (produced by the Anarchist Workers Group) and which the magazine's editors refused to print. Attacking the obfuscations and dishonesty of what the authors, rather long-windedly, call the libertarian-communist-anarchist-socialist revolutionaries, and particularly the attitude of such groups (of mainly middle class people)

regarding questions of class, which are seen as so many attempts to disguise their own class backgrounds. As the authors ask: "If you really believe we working class people are involved in the class struggle - a phrase that appears many times throughout your newspapers and magazines - then what class are we struggling against? Who are they? Where is this 'Ruling Class' you are always on about? While the middle class are busy deciding, managing, controlling and running everything, what's this 'Ruling Class' doing ...?" A4 pamphlet, 22 pages, £2.95.

**NOTES:** A new edition of Raoul Vaneigem's classic book *The Revolution of Everyday Life* has just been published by Rebel Press / Left Bank Books. With a new introduction by the author and a revised translation, this is available from the bookshop at the cost of £7.95 - worth every penny, despite the hefty increase cover the cost of the previous edition.

The bookshop has recently acquired some copies of the John Clark edited book *Renewing the Earth* at the remaindered price of £1.99 (published at £7.99). Described as "a celebration of the work of Murray Bookchin" this is a bargain if ever there was one.

JC

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— SUMMER TERM 1994 —

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- 20th May - Talk by a member of the Socialist Party of Great Britain (speaker: Sandy Easton)
- 27th May - General discussion
- 3rd June - The Co-op and its Place in Politics (speaker: Tim Pearce)
- 10th June - General discussion
- 17th June - History of Native Americans (speaker: Jim Baker of Boston BAD [Boston Anarchist Drinking Club])
- 24th June - Paganism, Feminism and Ecology (speaker: Daniel Cohen)
- 1st July - General discussion
- 8th July - Drawing up the 1994/95 programme
- Monday 29th August - Summer Picnic (venue to be decided)

If anyone would like to give a talk or lead a discussion, overseas or out-of-town speakers especially, please contact either Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (Tel: 081-847 0203), not too early in the day please,

giving subject matter and prospective dates and we will do our best to accommodate. These could be sometimes instead of a general discussion but note that these are not merely unfilled slots but are popular occasions in their own right so we are unwilling to relinquish too many.

**Note:** as we are no longer meeting at the Mary Ward Centre we are no longer tied to term dates so the meetings may continue into the summer.

Peter Neville / Dave Dane  
for London Anarchist Forum

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— Summer 1994 —

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**Sunday 3rd July:** Circular walk around Blackbrook Reservoir near junction 23 on M1. Meet at roadside near Mount Bernard Abbey at 11am for 11.15 start. Walk guide Mick Hamilton. Length 5 miles approx.

**Sunday 7th August:** Circular walk. Meet 11.30am for 11.45 start at centre of Great Longstone village, one mile north of Ashford in the Water. Walk guide Jon Simcock. Length 6-7 miles approx.

**Sunday 4th September:** Circular walk. Meet centre of Ible village, one mile north of the Via Gellia near Cromford, 11.30am for 11.45 start. Length 4-5 miles approx.

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