

anarchist fortnightly Freedom

Vol. 55 No. 16

6 AUGUST 1994

FIFTY PENCE

"The wage-slave thinks only of his job; the capitalist (the employer) thinks only of his profits; the anarchist thinks of providing for everyone's needs and leisure to enjoy life to the full, here and now"

Anonymous, 1994

As Rifkind sacks personnel and orders more tanks and aircraft, we ask...

WHERE IS THE 'ENEMY'?

For more than forty years the NATO powers had no problem in pin-pointing 'democracy's' potential 'enemy': Soviet Russia and Communism, not to mention the H-bomb threat.

Freedom, unlike many well-meaning pacifists and CND unilateralists, produced many editorials in the '50s and '60s arguing against these prophets of doom, while recognising their genuine concern and their activity for their cause. Our argument was that an H-bomb war would mean the annihilation not only of the 'enemy' but of the 'victor'! And we

didn't underestimate our voters' concern for their own survival. For us, so-called war and the armaments industry are jointly mankind's enemy-number-one! The official 'enemy-number-one', Soviet Russia, has disappeared and the new Russian government are getting rid of their nuclear warheads and launching pads for cash from the US and Britain. Indeed, only last week it was reported that the Yeltsin gang are having a kind of boot sale of surplus weaponry which they hope will produce £1,000 million in hard currency!

World War Two 1939-45 was only very profitable for the USA at the expense of the rest of the world, and it is significant that none of the major industrial powers has been engaged in a major conflict for almost half a century in spite of the fact that an unending slaughter in the third and so-called 'developing' world has taken over. The former warring powers have replaced their helmets with UN blue berets (the modern equivalent of halos?) and are only concerned with a 'humanitarian' role among those violent, war-crazy Bosnians, Africans, Afghans ... you name them.

Thanks to television, before one has had even time to digest one's supper the news programmes provide a first-hand picture of the carnage
(continued on page 2)

End of the Recession or JUST COOKING THE STATISTICS?

Every month we are being provided with always more encouraging official reports about the economy. For nearly eighteen months the official unemployment figures are being reduced and the balance of payments in the last quoted month showed a 'healthy' decrease in the deficit - from £1,200 million to £800 million - but this was thanks to a large sale of offshore oil! (What has that to do with real industrial production?)

Today nobody believes the statistics handed out by the government to boost their record of failure. No government today can do more than juggle with the public services and the taxes it commands from the citizens and enterprises it controls. Industry, the banks and other money markets, the insurance companies and property developers, are not only a law unto themselves but are an international force over which governments have no power.

So the only role that one can expect from governments (anarchists neither expect nor demand, since we reject their role) is that they will administer the funds they can collect from the public (in taxes of all kinds and other sources) for the benefit of the community. Needless to say, this is not the case. Unlike you and this writer, governments collect National Insurance money, motor vehicle taxes, customs and excise on booze

and tobacco and the rest, but have no concern as to how it is allocated. It all goes into the pool and is then distributed to the various ministries to the extent that they can persuade whoever is responsible for allocating the billions of pounds that they collect to favour them with their demands. And yet the likes of you and this writer are told to live within their means. No government 'lives within its means'.

What this government and its Thatcher predecessor has been doing is to favour the rich. They reduced the super-tax from 80% to 40% which we are told has meant that ever since the rich have been getting an extra £9,000 million a year in reduced taxation.

In the meantime business has gone sour (less taxes coming in), less tax revenue and more dole (though officially more and more wage slaves have been taken off the dole register, but what they don't add is that the long-term unemployed are on *social benefit* but not on the *dole register*!).

To add to any embarrassment, assuming facts put off the government's phoney statistics, Reed Personnel Services points out that there "has been a dramatic change in the structure of the workforce since the beginning of the recession as employers switch to hiring temporary
(continued on page 2)

No 'Trickle Down' from the Rich to the Poor

In an editorial 'Wounds in a Sick Society' (*Guardian*, 28th July) commenting on a "serious research study commissioned by Barnardos from a distinguished social scientist, Richard Wilkinson" it is pointed out that:

"The basic facts are familiar: inequality in the UK has grown faster and wider in the last decade than in any previous period since records began over 100 years ago. Bland ministerial assurances that this doesn't matter because the poor still benefit from a 'trickle down' effect lie demolished by the government's own statistics. The poor are now even poorer. And the ranks have swelled: a threefold increase in the proportion of children living below the EU's poverty line - that is below half the national average - in a decade: it means one out of three are now trapped there. And remember, children who lose out on childhood can never have it restored.

What is new is just how devastating relative poverty has become. Its psycho-social effects are eroding physical and mental health, education standards, social behaviour and social cohesion. Of course crime, drugs, depression, suicide and physical ill-health have their own separate causes, but Wilkinson persuasively argues that they cannot be seen in isolation because they share an important common cause: inequality."

We shall have more to say of this important report.

WHERE IS THE ENEMY?

(continued from page 1)

worldwide. One simple question: where do those sophisticated weapons in abundance handled by youngsters come from?

Before the House-of-Free-Enterprise-Band-Moonlighting-Galore set off, for some, on business - à la Mellor: free holidays for the family abroad - the War Minister Mr Rifkind presented his programme - no, his budget, for after all *he has no programme* since there is no named foreign enemy to be protected from! So all he did was to report that the Treasury was requiring economies all round (in spite of the fact that the government declares daily that the economy is booming) while the CBI (the bosses) join the chorus not quite as enthusiastically (as well as changing its forecasts like a yo-yo up and down each month).

And when one knows that the so-called 'defence' budget is £23,000 million a year it is surely a pathetic joke when the Minister can congratulate himself for economies such as that of closing down the military band school in Deal where it transpires that it costs no less than £300,000 to train a new member of the band; or that the Job Centres say they could do the same job as all those recruiting shops dotted about the country at a tenth of the cost per recruit. All good market enterprise.

Then the Minister started on the axing of personnel in the three (no longer) fighting services, as he might well do since their routine which lays down every activity from rising in the morning to lights out at night seems to occupy about twenty hours a week. Obviously if and when they have actually got a war on their hands a new timetable will be provided.

JUST COOKING THE STATISTICS?

(continued from page 1)

rather than permanent staff". Reed, the country's biggest employment agency, maintains that demand for permanent staff this year was only half of the 1990 level. Reed also point out that the seasonal pattern at this time of the year has virtually disappeared. In their opinion "this indicates that employers are using temporaries as an *essential part* of their workforce rather than holiday cover" (our italics). Reed also point out that as a result of the easing in employment law during the past decade it has become "particularly easy and cost effective to take on temporary staff". Employment Department research published last month confirms these figures. According to the Department:

"... the number of people in the 'flexible' workforce - including part-time, temporary and self-employed workers - had risen by 1.25 million between 1986 and 1993. Half of the women and 27 per cent of the men in employment fall into those categories."

Fortunately boredom is relieved by having to provide replacements in the Falklands (about 5,000) and of course Northern Ireland makes some 25,000 soldiers feel that they are really 'doing a job'.

Mr Rifkind also axed a number of jobs in the boat-yards to loud cries of protest from MPs. Which MPs? Obviously those whose constituents were going to get the chop. And the MPs concerned were thinking of their votes at the next election and couldn't care less about defence.

The Minister has also axed a whole lot of jobs in the three services as well as among the top brass in Whitehall. Altogether some 18,700 jobs are made redundant and one can imagine that this will cost the taxpayers more millions in compensation,

especially for the top brass. But in the same breath Mr Rifkind announced that as a result of the 'savings' (how many of the 18,700 will be removed from his department's payroll and transferred to the unemployment payroll?):

"... we are now also able to buy ships, tanks and aircraft for the services which will be good for jobs in British companies. These orders will exceed £2,400 million and support over 10,000 industrial jobs."

We come full circle to our headline: 'Where is the Enemy?' Rifkind has so obviously let the cat out of the bag. For the Tories unemployment is no problem. After all, even if there are four million seeking jobs (as opposed to the official 2,600,000 unemployed) *there are some twenty million in jobs* and they are their target at election time. The Tories are in the hands of big business, not only

because they depend on them for their funds but also because they *are* big business, and so obviously in the case of the armaments industry. After all, Britain is one of the largest arms exporters in the world!

The armaments industry is the most profitable capitalist enterprise for it has a built-in obsolescence.* No sooner has a weapon come off the production line than it is obsolete because the R&D (the scientists and technologists are also in the armaments racket) has produced the antidote to their 'world-beating' weapons.

The answer to our question 'Where is the Enemy?' is: the Merchants of death - the armaments industry, private or nationalised. *And not least those who work in those industries.* It is surely time that employees felt responsible for the kind of jobs they do. Until people are prepared to refuse to do jobs that are anti-social and the rest of us support them with solidarity of all kinds, *nothing can change in our deeply corrupt society.*

* See *Protest Without Illusions* by Vernon Richards (Freedom Press, 168 pages, £3.00 post free inland).

'PC': what is it and how to fight it

Over the last several months many *Freedom* correspondents have used the term 'political correctness' as a stick to beat their opponents. I believe the whole 'PC' debate is posed in false terms, providing a distraction from far more serious issues of censorship and distortion. This article is intended as a quick look at political correctness to see what forms it really takes, with one or two suggestions about how to fight it.

The idea of 'political correctness' developed within sections of the American Right as a criticism of certain tendencies on the Left, particularly within the women's movement which the Right saw as being doctrinaire in the extreme. 'Political correctness', they argued, sought to hound out of the universities all academics who did not conform to feminist criteria. Furthermore, 'political correctness' undermined the rational pursuit of knowledge by distorting the meaning and use of language because it criticised sexist and racist connotations embedded in certain words and terms, and proposed alternatives which were non-sexist and non-racist.

The Right-wing concept of 'political correctness' has been imported into Britain as a convenient term of abuse. I first became aware of it after reading a lengthy article in the *Times Literary Supplement* which has in recent years abandoned a stuffy conservative (with a small 'c') perspective in favour of a post-Thatcherite right-wing academic populism. This article was followed by the widespread use of 'political correctness' not only by the mainstream right-wing press, but also in papers like *The Guardian*, *New Statesman* and by the letter writers to *Freedom*.

This, in spite of the fact that there doesn't really appear to be a 'political correctness' movement in Britain, except in the minds of those who attack it. I don't know if it exists as

a movement in the USA, but given that it is attacked in Britain when it doesn't exist, I am sure that it can also be attacked in the US when it doesn't exist. It's a bit like Christians attacking the Devil - as there's no one to answer back, only one side of the case is ever heard.

Without exception the users of 'political correctness' have focused on a chimera, and neglected or ignored the reality - for the ruling class have insisted on a form of political correctness for centuries. In our own time the power elite have ruthlessly hounded out of work anyone whose ideas and activities threatened their privileges. They have established an 'offence' called 'subversion' which is not a legal offence, or crime, but anyone suspected of it can be denied a job in many industries and sectors of government administration. 'Subversives' will have their telephones tapped, their mail opened, they will be spied on and their contacts with friends monitored. Lies and half-truths can and will be written about them, and they will not even know - indeed cannot find out even if they suspect. Private industry and the state work together on this.

If people have views which are left-wing, or just controversial, they will be excluded from fair access to the mass media, until they achieve some kind of celebrity status. If people produce their own publications, those publications will be denied access to distribution outlets. You cannot even street-sell newspapers, fly-post or stand up on a soap-box without being subjected to arbitrary arrest, let alone try to operate a radio station.

The same is true of the academic world, where funding is denied, publications refereed and ideas which challenge the *status quo* are carefully suppressed or altered to conform to 'acceptable' opinion. All this pre-dated the

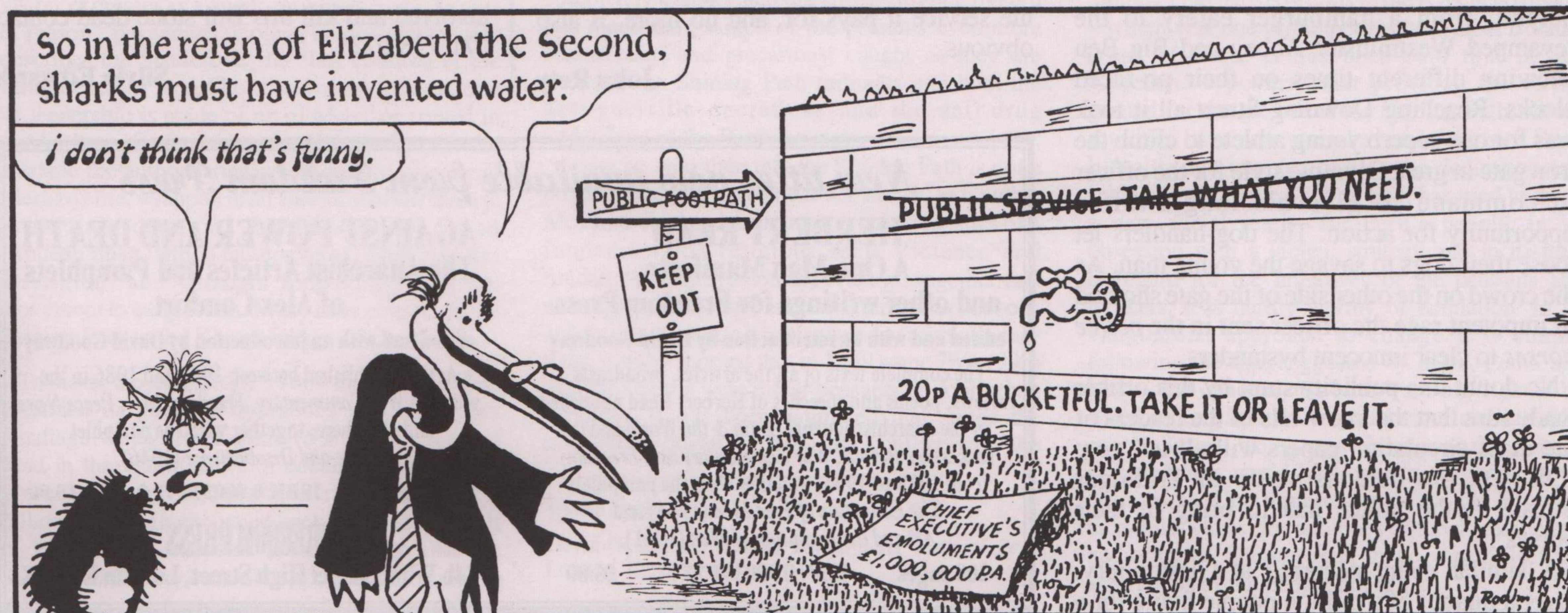
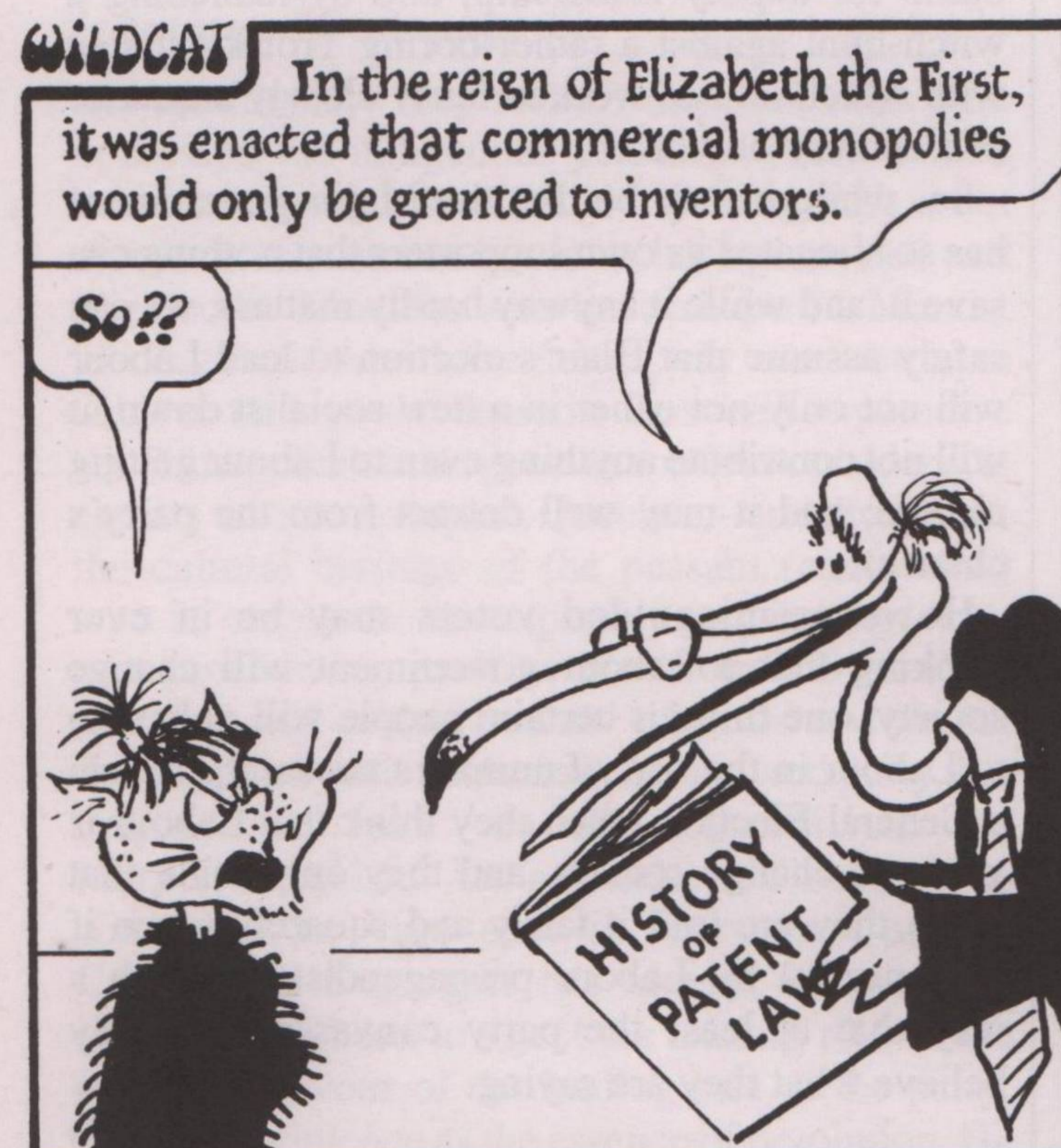
concept of 'political correctness' and attracted little if any protest.

If you look at the other aspect of 'political correctness' - the distortion of language - this also takes place, but not as suggested by the advocates of the 'political correctness' concept. Of course language changes over time, new meanings for old words, new words invented as society changes and evolves, as cultures meet each other and exchange concepts and ideas. This kind of change is inevitable and welcome, provided it is an equitable exchange of ideas and words and not an imposed one.

But the changes to language are now occurring on an unpleasant scale, and are certainly not equitable. The changes seem to originate from three related sources - the globalisation of the capitalist economy under US domination, the development and intrusion of 'information technology' into everyday life, and the harnessing of creative writing to the mass media in the form of commercial advertising. Words are dislocated from their meaning as they are absorbed into 'computer speak'. The whole process is given an additional turn of the screw as US commercial interests have moved into British book publishing, and as the content of electronic leisure forms are also US dominated.

Set beside this massive process of transformation of English, in a way not seen since the Norman Conquest, attempts to point out that certain words denigrate and offend some people and that we should rethink their use pale into insignificance. In a class-structured society the meaning of words will always be *contested* and as anarchists we should welcome that. What we should object to is the *importation* of certain meanings by the power elite who exercise a new monopoly

(continued on page 7)



After an acrimonious campaign, the parents of pupils at a local secondary school in this semi-rural Pennine valley voted against the proposal to opt out of Local Educational Authority (LEA) control, ie against becoming a grant-maintained school funded by a government agency, to the surprise and consternation of many and against the advice of the school Head and most of the school Governors. The rejected carrot for opting out was the promise of more money for the school – a figure of £350,000 had been quoted.

Some had claimed that there was also a hidden agenda that if the school had opted out it would have become a centre of excellence for dance, with even more money available, taking in 100 pupils from all over the country, who would attend classes in dance alongside their normal studies. Although this would have meant the loss of these places to catchment area pupils in this popular and successful school, none from the immediate vicinity would have been deprived, just some of those from the nearest town, on the fringe of the catchment area, who traditionally take

Through the Anarchist Press

These words are written in the evening after the demonstration (24th July) against the proposed Criminal Injustice Bill. The demonstration was organised by an ad hoc group 'Building the Coalition'. Although advance publicity was minimal, the crowd that gathered filled Trafalgar square and its surrounds. The march started from Hyde Park to hear the speakers, including trade unionists who denounced the Labour Party's stand on this issue.

By and large it was a joyous gathering, confident and assertive – in this respect the coalition worked very well. But the acceptance of the route of the march dictated by Traffic Control caused a few problems. The route went through the least populous, on a Sunday, but most dangerous part of London which took in heavily defended government and business interests. This gave a chance for the authorities to show off new and old weaponry and produced at least one irrelevant confrontation near Mr Major's residence where the tall iron gates, and dogs and their handlers behind them, defended the bastion such as it is. As news information is controlled by the government the slightest error will be magnified and the population at large will give credence to the propaganda.

An anarchist-organised demonstration would not have allowed a public control enforced route way from the populations of Oxford and Regent Streets, Piccadilly Circus, Charing Cross Road – a scenic route urbanely more invigorating than the deadly meandering around parks Hyde and Green, encountering strongly defended points, with only one upstairs window on the whole route without a surveillance camera. The state's champions, armed gangsters in film set costumes, defended whatever they were ordered to defend, from a hamburger eatery to the revamped Westminster Abbey and Big Ben showing different times on their po-faced clocks. Reaching Downing Street all it took was for one superb young athlete to climb the iron gate in great Olympic style for the officer in command to give his long-awaited opportunity for action. The dog-handlers let loose their dogs to savage the young man. As the crowd on the other side of the gate shouted in impotent rage the officer sent in the police horses to clear innocent bystanders.

No doubt this publicity stunt by this officer made sure that the know-alls of the readers of the mass circulation papers will all tell you: 'Oh yes, the demonstration in Trafalgar Square ... the police had to bring in their horses'.

A similar event occurred at Glastonbury. Over a quarter of a million people living for a

Pennine News and Views

any surplus places. This town has a large Asian population and most of these extra pupils would have been Asian, but of course the plan to opt out had no racial implications and, if it did, these failed because local and Asian parents in the nearby town worked closely together to defeat the opt out proposal. Rather they preferred to keep the good relationship the school had with the junior schools and continue to have it administered by local councillors on the LEA who were accessibly near neighbours, easy to find should there be any problems.

After the decision came the recriminations. Some argued that, as the change would eventually be forced on them, it would be better to do it now and get the extra money. Others claimed that the school was going to get less money from the LEA next year as a punishment for trying to opt out, but a close examination of the figures revealed that the decrease in the total grant was actually due to reduced funding by certain agencies outside LEA control. These, would you believe, are under direct state control, so who is punishing who?

Most readers with children of school age have little choice but to send them to state schools and will be familiar with this

particular conflict that has been raging within the educational system. Although opting out frees the teachers from interference by LEA councillors and is sold as parent power instead of councillor power, (pupil power is not on the agenda) and in that respect could be welcomed, in practice it means local control is replaced by direct state control. The change is best seen as part of an ongoing scenario in which power in all areas is gradually passing from local to national level as part of general government policy. To help this change along in education, the financial conditions have been rigged in favour of early opting out with the promise of more teachers, books and computers.

Now, nationally, the early flood of yes votes has declined to a trickle as has the size of the bribe, with the money running out. Parents are choosing on the merits of the choice as they see them and they are seeing local councillors as being rather more accessible and accountable than government ministers, especially if those ministers hold paranoid religious beliefs. In any area where 75% of pupils are in schools that have opted out, then the rules are that all must opt out (here it is 50%), leaving LEAs with negligible functions. This is now so unlikely that this

government policy can be considered to have failed and Patten, the minister given the job of making it happen, has had to be sacked. But how long before parental choice is withdrawn and the change made arbitrarily – otherwise known as by Act of Parliament?

The Labour Party criticised for its oligarchic dominance by a handful of Union and political hacks has now become a more democratic body on the principle of one member one vote, or so we have been led to believe. So why then in the recent elections for party leaders does the local evening paper report that our labour Euro MP, unfortunately just re-elected, have five votes – one as Euro MP, one as a Cooperative party member, one as a Labour party member and two for his trade union links? A local councillor managed to accumulate four votes and he is doubtless not unique. Sounds just like the old rotten boroughs. Truly some are more equal than others. Come to think of it, if I had joined the local Trades Club, (after all, the jazz is excellent, the beer is of the best and they sell barley wine) I would have had a vote myself.

HS

Blair

Though it may be of little immediate concern to anarchists, it is an interesting fact that never in history has the Labour Party won an election immediately after electing a right wing leader or adopting a more right wing policy than it had had previously. All Labour victories following periods of Tory rule – 1924, 1929, 1945, 1964, 1974 – have come when that party has either just elected someone from the left of the Party (1924 and 1964 – it may astonish people that Ramsay Macdonald and Harold Wilson were regarded as leftists, but they were), after vigorous and largely unparliamentary struggles (1929 following the General Strike) or after left victories at Party Conferences which forced through the adoption of a platform of social transition, against the will of the leadership and to howls of dismay from the right wing press (1945 and 1974).

On each such occasion pundits in the quality press talked at length after the leadership election / policy battle, saying that Labour had retreated to the wilderness to nurse its moral conscience firmly turning its back on the prospect of power.

There has, let me repeat, never been a time when the election of a new right wing leader or the adoption of a right wing policy platform (designed though it might be to 'win the middle electoral ground' – unless reversed by a subsequent conference before the election) has preceded a Labour victory. Moreover, there has only once been an occasion (and then it is debatable) – 1983 – since 1924 when Labour was defeated following an alleged swing to the left.

That exceptional case was the election of Michael Foot who, it will be remembered, immediately after he was elected announced that he would do nothing concerning the bomb to offend the consciences of multilateralists in the Party (Labour Party multilateralists had got so used to keeping their consciences in their pockets that it was not thought necessary to make a change and do nothing that would offend them). He also inaugurated his party leadership by backing his former rival for leadership against his own running mate in the battle for deputy leadership, and by launching a witch-hunt against a rather boring Trotskyist sect with which he had worked fairly closely a quarter of a century before.

So, while it may be that the Major government has so alienated its own supporters that nothing can save it, and while it anyway hardly matters, we can safely assume that Blair's election to lead Labour will not only usher in a new socialist dawn, it will not contribute anything even to Labour getting elected; and it may well detract from the party's chances.

However misguided voters may be in ever thinking that a Labour government will change society, one thing is certain: people will only turn to Labour in the sort of numbers necessary to win a General Election when they think that Labour is going to change society, and they only think that when they are told it fairly and squarely (even if dishonestly) by Labour propagandists in such a way that at least the party canvassers actually believe what they are saying.

LO

Rave up in Trafalgar Square

A potent antidote to despondency and disillusion was in plentiful supply at the Kill the Bill demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday 24th July.

An estimated 50,000 people marched from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square to protest against the Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill currently going through Parliament. The Bill, if passed, will restrict freedom of movement, freedom of peaceful assembly, freedom of expression and will give the police sweeping new powers.

The main victims of this Bill will be travellers, ravers, squatters, protesters – all conveniently labelled as undesirables – but the implications are far more wide-reaching.

few days in peace and harmony, authority safely locked out, to be told three days later: 'Must have been terrible with all that violence'.

As to any formal anarchist presence, I did not see any copies of *Freedom* for sale. There was a copy of *Anarchy UK* handed to me and also a well written article/leaflet from the ACF, who also manned a useful information stall in the square.

To end on a cheerful note, I was glad to see a cycling combine of four riders who by their own exertions pedalled enough power to produce amplified music and in the square provided the only amplification for the speakers.

But that the movement is young, confident and boisterously assertive of its rights, there should be no doubt. That the government gets the service it pays for, and no more, is also obvious.

John Rety

The protesters were in carnival mood and anyone hoping for a repeat of the anti-poll tax riot were very disappointed. There was in fact one disruptive incident in Downing Street which I shan't comment on here as it was so well covered in the national press, but what was not reported by the media was the thoroughly enjoyable time being had by protester and tourist alike. People were dancing, people were singing, people were paddling, people were happy.

Some of the crowd were complaining that the speakers could not be heard above the sounds of revelry. The way I saw it was that the sound of people enjoying life was the main thrust of the protest. It underlined the fact that events like these could be numbered if the Bill passes through Parliament uncontested.

It was heartening to see a large anarchist presence on the march headed by the banners of the Anarchist Communist Federation with sellers of *Freedom* and *Organise* present, though in no way outnumbering the Socialist Workers Party sellers.

The government wanted the general public to see squatters, ravers, protesters and travellers as 'undesirables'. Their fun-loving activities on Sunday would make their case very hard to prove.

The usual criticism that these demonstrations don't change anything is not true. In this case it changed my mood from disillusionment to joy. It was lovely to mix with like-minded people who enjoy life and intend to continue to do so.

For further information about how to get involved and kill this Bill stone dead contact 071-738 6721.

Silvia Edwards

New titles now available from Freedom Press

HERBERT READ

A One-Man Manifesto

and other writings for Freedom Press

edited and with an introduction by David Goodway

The complete texts of all the articles, broadcasts, reviews, poems and speeches of Herbert Read published in the anarchist journal *Spain & the World* and its successors *Revolt!*, *War Commentary* and *Freedom*, from 1938 to 1953, together with the pamphlets *The Education of Free Men* (1944) and *Art and the Evolution of Man* (1951).

208 pages ISBN 0 900384 72 7 £6.00

AGAINST POWER AND DEATH

The Anarchist Articles and Pamphlets

of Alex Comfort

edited and with an introduction by David Goodway

Articles published between 1943 and 1986 in the journals *War Commentary*, *Freedom*, *Now*, *Peace News* and elsewhere, together with the pamphlet *Peace and Disobedience* (1946).

168 pages ISBN 0 900384 71 9 £5.00

FREEDOM PRESS

84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

— THE BALKAN WARS —

The Damaged Roots of Humanity

Nationalism is a funny thing!

In May the Republic of Croatia celebrated its national day by re-christening its currency the kuna (crown). In doing so they have re-introduced an older unit of currency to replace the Croatian dinar. Nationalists need to have good memories and amnesia in almost equal proportions: the Croats were the first Yugoslav people to form an independent political unit by creating a Croatian kingdom under the royal dynasty of Tomislav in 924, hence the curiosity of the 'crown' as a currency unit in a republic.

Perhaps significantly, though, the Croatian Airways' literature claims Croatia is one of the youngest European nation states, the notes of the new unit of currency are all printed by Gieseck & Devrient in the German Federal Republic. Many items in Croatia and Slovenia are still priced in German marks, which holds its value, even though inflation has been brought under control and exchange rates are fairly stable now in both countries.

But if the Deutschmark is the hard currency of Croatia, privatisation is the keynote of the regime. In its government literature it says: "The privatisation process is a great social experiment, whose implications go far beyond the economic sphere". The process, they say, is in two stages:

1. "The 'transformation', that is the abandoning of so-called social ownership and the search for a new one ... through the Croatian Privatisation Fund."
2. "Privatisation and the radical cleansing of the state portfolio in diverse ways from sale to give away."

In the blurb one analyst declares: "The risks are enormous but profitable. This is a game for the brave who shall bear the fruits of prosperity."

Discarded history

There seems to be a determination by the Croatian regime to shed a chunk of its own history. In Pula, the Istrian Revolution Museum had been closed down, and was housing an exhibition of children's paintings when I was there last year. On the Brioni Islands the Ethnographic Museum was being 'redecorated' (ethnically cleansed?) and Tito's yacht was rusting away in the harbour there, presumably waiting to be privatised.

My guide complained of the tendency of the regime to distance itself from its socialist past. This historical absent-mindedness doesn't

quite stretch to everything: the great man is still in evidence on Brioni. Apart from the zoological gardens: the camels – presents from Colonel Gaddafi – and so on, there is a kind of shrine to Tito in his old 'White Villa'. A photographic museum displaying Tito with all sorts of folk and things: Tito fondling a black bear; holding a white dove; with Sophia Loren at the Pula film festival; or greeting Castro, Neru, Indira Gandhi, the Queen of Great Britain and Nasser.

But in the capital Zagreb, far from the mouldering tourist trap of Brioni, things may be a bit more serious than a rusty yacht. The intellectual writer Slavenka Drakulic says the exploits of "the quisling Independent State of Croatia" between 1941 and 1945 are now in fashion and its victims, the tens of thousands of anti-fascist Croats and victims of terror forgotten. She claims a mythology of the past forces a false identity on the present as Croatia's nationalist leaders trawl through its bloody history for 'heroes' of the cause of independence.

The problem of national identity exists for us all, along with other identities. And Bakunin argued that nationality "is a historic, local fact, which like all real ... facts, has the right to claim general acceptance". We all carry these public and national identities around with us, and Ms Drakulic illustrates the difficulty it presents in Croatia:

"The problems of public identity exist because what we are witnessing is the re-writing of memory, allowing history to be rewritten by a new government. Will it be rewritten every time there is a new government? It scares me that as a nation we are not grown up enough to come to terms with our own past, either Communism or Fascism."

The crazy projections of a promised glorious communist future under the Tito regime have now been replaced by a furious fishing through the entrails of the past.

Avoiding involvement

Recent reports out of Serbia suggest that several anarchist groups are being formed.

Anarchist Opposition in the new Yugoslavia

For about five months now several Serbian cities have seen the emergence of young people turning to anarchist traditions of cultural and social action. In December last year the town of Smedereska Palanka saw the formation of Crni Gavran (Black Raven) whose appeal we publish below. January this year saw the Tornado group being formed in Smederevo. More groups are being formed in Luciani, Kovin, Sombor and even Belgrade. These groups are in a process of self-education and self-preparation. They could use our help ...

We are a group of young libertarian persons. Our group was constituted in December 1993 with the aim of showing people an alternative way of life in authentic liberty. Crni Gavran is a social subject: it is neither a party nor an organisation. We have no fixed programme to tell the people what to do and how to behave because we are not an authoritarian organisation. We aim to strengthen human aspirations to self-organisation, to help people to organise as social registers. Modus operandi: we are firmly opposed to any form of violence. To us the state is the origin of violence and violence cannot be defeated by violence. We are aware

that there is no basis as yet for a social revolt leading to a free life with no government and no authority. Therefore our activity will be limited for the present time to information and education. Love is our weapon! Knowledge is our instrument!

How to help us

In the first place we badly need anarchist literature. During 45 years of Marxist Communist domination, no attention has been given to anarchism. We need books that we can translate, print and sell or distribute to the people, including books of any anarchist theorist who wishes his work to be published in these areas. We have decided to print our own paper. At first it will be in English, with articles on the situation in Yugoslavia; we would be happy to publish it monthly. First thing, we need distributors all over the world prepared to help us. You can help us by writing letters of support, to let us know that we are not alone and that what we are doing is not wrong. You can help by telling us your ideas and experiences, and also criticising us when we write anything 'silly'.

Contact: Crni Gavran, c/o Dragan Markovic, Filipa Visnjica 10, 11420 SMED, Palanka, Yugoslavia. Fax: 00381-31036.

Much of this information about former Yugoslavia is being channelled through Trieste in Italy. The Serbs, although still a minority, represent the largest Yugoslav national group. In the 1981 census there were over eight million Serbs in Yugoslavia, or 36.3% of the total population.

Anarchist and left wing attitudes to the conflict have been confused. Some time ago I saw a Marxist poster demanding 'HANDS OFF SERBIA'; that was at a time when a United States invasion was being mooted. Presumably it was when Bill Clinton was exploiting anti-Serb feeling during the presidential election campaign. Others among the anarchist/libertarian left have even gone so far as to suggest that the USA and the Serbs are operating hand-in-glove to undermine the Muslims in Bosnia. The Direct Action Movement, as it then was, also took a pro-Muslim Bosnian Government line arguing that the war was not a civil war because Bosnia had set itself up as a sovereign nation state before the war was declared.

Noam Chomsky in *Society and Nature* says the United States wants "to keep the conflict from spreading, and to placate its crucial Middle East allies (Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, etc.) which are, quite naturally, fully aware of the hypocritical Western double standards ..." The USA, together with most of the EU, tried to hold-up German initiatives for the break up of Yugoslavia and wanted to find an overall solution to the Balkan crisis. It was the recognition of Croatian independence which Misha Glenny says signed the death warrant of Bosnia and guaranteed a war.

Far from manipulating the situation in the Balkans, the evidence suggests that the western powers are virtually helpless. "The United States", Chomsky claims, "does want 'peace and security' but has no idea how to achieve it in the region (nor does anyone else)." Clinton, because of his posturing about 'human rights' in response to Serbian atrocities on television during his presidential campaign, is caught up in popular demands that he 'do something'. But not wanting to commit ground troops and incur casualties, he can only call for the lifting of the arms embargo and offer some air support. The lifting of the arms embargo would be cost free for the United States, but calling for it helps to placate its Middle East allies.

The perils of US involvement in the Balkans is evident to President Clinton. Under the Bush administration, the policy was to keep everything at arm's length. As Misha Glenny pointed out, the people of the United States and their ancestors, in the main, left Europe in order to get away from the kind of cultural and ethnic conflicts we are experiencing in the Balkans. A Serb I met, who had just returned to Croatia before the war began to buy a restaurant and while away his retirement after having made his fortune and lived many years in the United States, told me he regarded the people of former Yugoslavia as primitive in the extreme.

That, of course, is a very American attitude! People who have come to live for money and measure everything by material yardsticks could never understand the depth of feeling and the cultural attachments of the Europeans. I believe Chomsky then when he says: "The United States is not encouraging nationalist movements in the former Soviet empire or Yugoslavia ..." Nationalism tends to be disruptive to business interests. Chomsky claims: "Such movements and regimes may have the wrong priorities: domestic needs and interests, not those of foreign investors."

My feeling is that US involvement in the Balkans has all the dangers for the world as we know it of Daisy Miller's visit to the

Roman Coliseum, with its infestation of malaria-carrying mosquitoes. Readers of Henry James will know that the headstrong and naive Daisy ended up with a fatal dose of malaria.

Accursed roots?

What then has been the anarchist position on nationalism and nation states?

Rudolf Rocker, the anarcho-syndicalist writer, dismissed nationalism as a form of secular religion. Murray Bookchin, another US anarchist, also in *Nature and Society* has described the nation-state as follows:

"Nation-states, let me emphasise, are states – not only nations. Establishing them means vesting power in a centralised professional bureaucratic apparatus that exercises a social monopoly of organised violence, notably in the form of its armies and police ... Nationalism as a form of tribalism writ large reinforces the state by providing it with the loyalty of a people of shared linguistic, ethnic and cultural affinities, indeed legitimising the state by giving it a basis of seemingly all-embracing biological and traditional commonalities among the people. It was not the English people who created an England but the English monarchs and centralising rulers ..."

Murray Bookchin argues that the anarchist in the main took a moral stand against nationalism, because it led to the state and centralisation. But, he claims: "With few exceptions, Marxists advanced no serious critique of the nation-state and state centralisation ..." Nearly all Marxists have been guided by what Bookchin calls "expediency and opportunism, and worse" when considering the 'national question'.

When we grasp this we can understand how the leadership of the League of Communists of Serbia could, in 1988, commit itself to reasserting Serbian control over the autonomous provinces like Kosovo and also Montenegro. The Serbian Communist Party, led by Slobodan Milosevic, had no trouble or qualms in using the resurgent nationalism to hatch a policy for a greater Serbia.

What can be said about this ethnic nationalism? In his essay *The Case Against Roots*, Wyndham Lewis declared:

"There is something I have never seen seriously challenged: namely this notion that to have roots (as if one were a vegetable or a plant) is a good thing for a man."

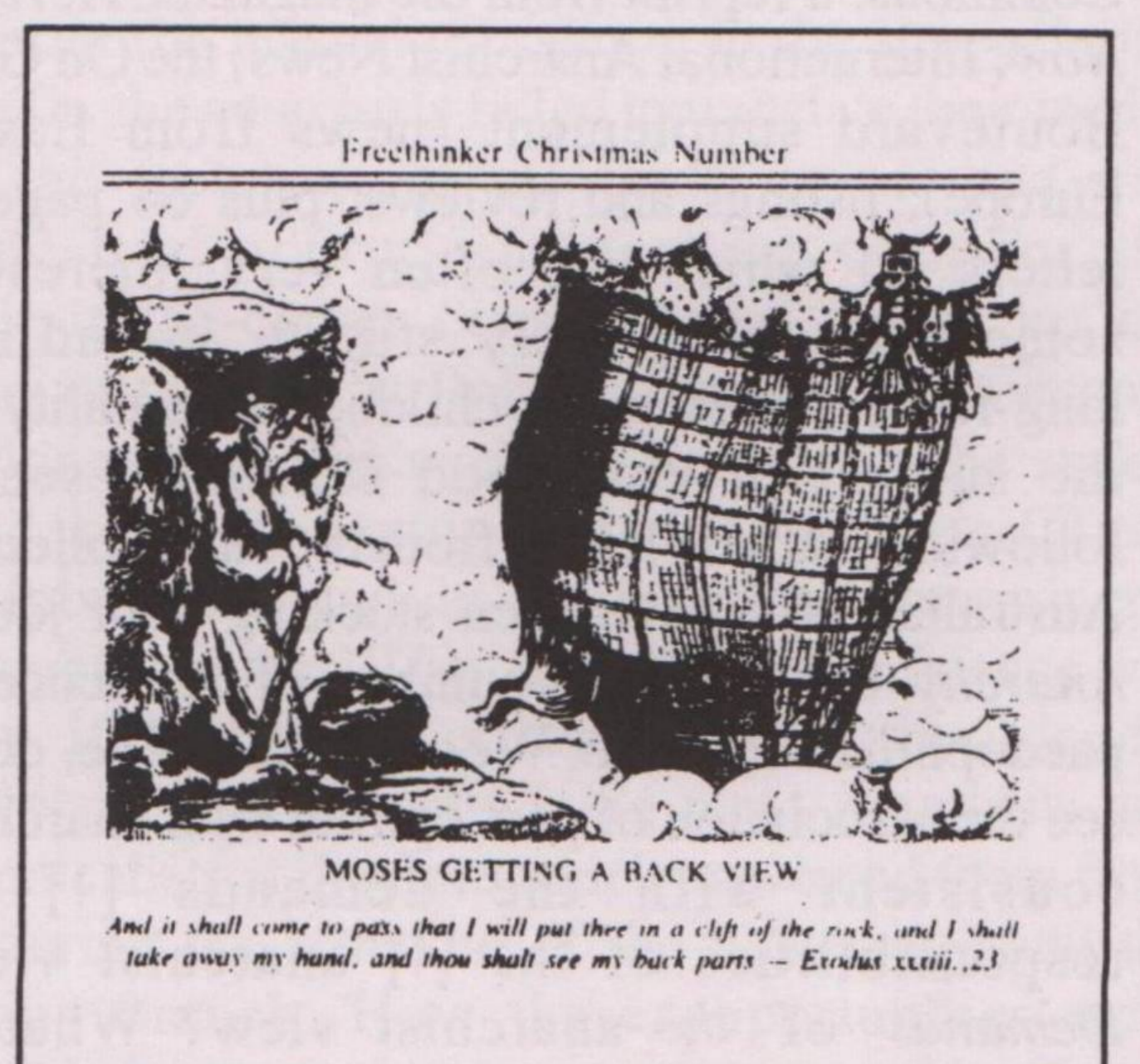
Mr Lewis claims the exact contrary is the case: "to be rooted like a tree to one spot, or at best to be tethered like a goat to one small area, is not a destiny in itself at all desirable". For him no American worth his salt should go looking for a root, and the advantage of being a US citizen "is surely to have turned one's back on race, caste and all that pertains to the rooted state".

The logic of Mr Lewis's position is that he prefers the USA to Europe, he delights in the "refreshing anonymity of a great city,

(continued on page 7)

Raven 25

on Religion



96 pages £3.00 (post free anywhere)



— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

A radical educator re-encountered

As older readers will recall, Penguin Books were started in the late 1930s by Allen Lane, with the aim of becoming the vehicle of universal popular education, filling the role met for an earlier generation by series like the Thinker's Library and Everyman's Library. The firm prospered for decades and in the 1960s decided to hive off its activities directed at schools and colleges into a new subsidiary called Penguin Education.

Charles Clark asked Martin Lightfoot, subsequently managing director of Penguin Education, "What do you think Penguins should do in textbooks?" Lightfoot explained later:

"I had not expected that. I said that I did not think I really believed in textbooks. 'Well, that's a good start', said Charles, a shade ambiguously, 'But there must be books of some sort in classrooms. What should they look like? What should they do?'"

As a result, from 1966 onwards Penguin Education embarked on over a dozen series of school books across the curriculum which were outstanding in both content and presentation. To this day I meet adults who recall the particular series which changed their school lives. My own first two books were in the Connexions series aimed at reluctant readers of 14, and at a primary level Penguin did more than any other British institution to make literacy exciting.

They also produced a long list of new and radical texts at a university level. One example, which would never otherwise have found a publisher, was Giovanni Baldelli's *Social Anarchism*. But perhaps their most important contribution was their low-price editions, available everywhere, of books from all over the world which were a dissenting critique of the official education system everywhere and a repertoire of alternative approaches.

In 1974 the Penguin firm was taken over following the death of Allen Lane. Penguin Books became the property of the Pearson organisation and its education publishing taken over by Longmans. Penguin Education was the first casualty. As the firm's official history, published in 1985, *Fifty Penguin Years*, put it:

"In spite of its enthusiastic devotees, Penguin dissolved the education division in 1974 and integrated many of its books into Penguin's general publishing. A substantial number of the

university-level titles remained in print, but the primary and secondary textbooks, other than those which were economically viable, were dropped and all further investment halted."

One of the issues, from an anarchist point of view, was the long series of radical education books from America. It included, for example, Paul Goodman's *Compulsory Miseducation*, Everett Reimer's *School is Dead*, Jonathan Kozol's *Death at an Early Age*, John Holt's *How Children Fail* and George Dennison's *The Lives of Children*. The school system there and here had a breath of enlightened reform as a result of these books, but since then we have had a papering over of the cracks in the system and in Britain a stifling central control, while the prospect of employment, which was always one of the motives for children in accepting the school system, has become less and less likely.

I've often wondered what became of the experimenters who reported their findings in

attempting to provide an education for children who had both rejected the official school regime and been rejected by it. Some, like Goodman and Holt, died years ago. But whatever happened to George Dennison?

Several decades ago he sent me an item on the First Street School (for *Anarchy* 73, March 1967). This was what New Yorkers called a store-front school on the Lower East Side which had 23 children, black, white and Puerto Rican, abandoned by or abandoning the school bureaucracy. He was a part-time teacher at this venture started by Mabel Chrystie, where Paul's daughter Susan Goodman also taught. Then came *The Lives of Children* with its intensely close and imaginative observation of the behaviour of these very difficult boys. He wasn't any kind of saint, and explains that there were times that:

"I was thoroughly disgusted with all of them, their incessant screaming, their shallow wretched

personalities, their superstitions, their worship of Cadillacs and crooks, their stupid fantasies, their infantile anxieties, their impatience, their emptiness."

But this was precisely why it was important to draw them into some kind of civilised community, even though it was a community that didn't exist in that particular environment. The school had to close, not because the attempt failed but because nowhere in that rich city could the funds be found to continue it: the same story we saw in the Scotland Road Free School in Liverpool or the White Lion Free School in London.

My curiosity about what became of George Dennison has been answered by chance in the introduction to two newly-published books by him. He and Mabel Chrystie had a child and, as one of the editors puts it, decided to "leave the increasingly desperate wastes of New York to raise their family in Maine". There they had two more children and deep in the country "started a parent-run free school" and entered into "both the counter-cultural flux of other urban expatriates and also the small town web of neighbourliness, barter, mutual aid and conversation". He died of cancer in 1987.

An out-of-town American publisher
(continued on page 7)

Health Service Wildcat

Health Service Wildcat

by Donald Room with Victoria N. Furmurry
Freedom Press, 48 pages, £1.95

Health Service Wildcat hits hard at the many ridiculous and deeply worrying aspects of the NHS 'reforms' that were, perhaps deliberately, brought in with such heavy-handed obtuseness. There was little genuine consultation with health service staff that might have maximised some of the good aspects of the proposals and discarded some of the bad. One good proposal was that money (= resources) should 'follow the patient', i.e. be allocated to hospitals and other units where the patient is being treated. Under the old system money and resources were given by a

'guesstimate' of need rather than on actual use. One foolish idea was that health/medical care could be equated with 'competition' and profits. A big element in a commercial enterprise is increasing demand to enlarge the market: fair enough. A good health care system should be striving to reduce demand by preventive measures and health promotion. Good hospitals in the past, and most were good or very good, had a sense of duty to their local community. Now they are not allowed the luxury: it is strictly commercial.

Another unwise move was to make such extensive changes so precipitately. I recall the then Secretary of State saying at a meeting "we haven't got a clue what's going on". How that makes a sound basis for the changes he introduced escapes me.

Most of the characters in *Health Service Wildcat* are self-evidently what they are or who they are. It took me some time to realise who the pelican represented. It would have helped the uninitiated like me to have had page 45 as page 1. Then I would have known that the pelican equals the 'Free Range Egghead' who takes on different roles on different pages. But isn't that to unnecessarily complicate things when the point of a strip cartoon is to be instantly understood as well as being satirical?

In Ancient Egypt there was for a time at least a system of medicine that was recorded in a Great Book. Practitioners who departed from its orthodoxy were at risk of being put to death if things went amiss with the patient.

In Ancient Greece there was for a time at least a belief (and practice) that health care and advice was so important that it should be available to all regardless of their wealth or otherwise.

Some aspects of the NHS changes are frankly daft. To stop hospitals working when the facilities are there but the budget has run out must be amongst the daftest. Even gentle pelican 'Free Range Egghead' snaps and storms out in blind fury.

Some are frankly sinister. Pussycat expresses concern at the way her department is being run and finds herself in jail. The balance has shifted too far towards unquestioning obedience and a 'thought-police' state. Surely best management means staff participation in review of the quality of the service being offered and staff concern should be welcomed rather than criminalised. The stories recounted

by *Health Service Wildcat* are all based on real happenings and must concern all of us. For 75% of the population has contact with their general practice service each year and 90% in any three-year period. When you count children in that is even more than with the taxpayer.

It always amazes me that we have a government that professes to want to cut bureaucracy and yet has created an expensive new one.

Is there any hope? Despite so many setbacks, I have the impression that Pussycat is going to go on trying.

Bernard B. Reiss MB BS MRCS LRCP
FRCGP

Food for Thought ... and Action

Anarchy: a journal of desire armed #40 (Spring/Summer '94 edition). The latest (double) issue of this excellent anti-civilisation magazine from the USA includes the Ecology Montreal Party; a 'Libertarian' Frankenstein by Michael William, a very critical look at Murray Bookchin's libertarian municipalism in practice (academic careerism?); Brian Morris on Flores Magon and the Mexican Liberal Party; the Reversal of Perspective by Raoul Vaneigem (another instalment of his classic *Revolution of Everyday Life*); a few fictional pieces; Defending the Commons, a reprint from the magazine *Here and Now*; International Anarchist News; the On Gogol Boulevard supplement (news from Eastern Europe); listings and reviews; plus 64 pages of letters (!) which are often very interesting, sometimes completely stupid, including a long-running debate on childhood sexuality. On the subject of childhood sexuality, see the following pathetic letters from the Jura Collective, Australia: "We have been stocking your journal *Anarchy* but find the number of references to paedophilia offensive. We, as a collective, do not see the association of paedophilia with anarchy as consistent with the demands (!) and responsibilities of the (!) anarchist view." Demands of the anarchist view? Whatever happened to free expression in the anarchist movement? A new editorial team is due to take over with the next issue. Let's hope they maintain

the recent high standards. 100 pages, A4 illustrated magazine, £3.00.

Lobster #27 (June '94) edited by Robin Ramsey. Latest issue of this biannual para-politics includes articles on Mrs Thatcher, North Sea Oil and the Hegemony of the City by Robin Ramsey; Peter Smith's important article on Lockerbie, the octopus and the Maltese double cross, on the bombing of Pan-Am flight 103 and its aftermath; Arman Victoria on the use of 'human guinea pigs' by the US Department of Energy; a very interesting article on the 'interception' of a consignment of arms, supposedly bound for the UDA in Northern Ireland, on a Polish ship late last year (a blatant 'psy-ops' by the intelligence services); the murder of Hilda Murrell ten years on; plus loads more interesting snippets and book reviews (including a section entitled 'More JFK Assassination Books' - quite!). Always worth reading, despite the recent split with one-time co-editor Steven Dorril (who is now producing his own magazine called, of all things, *Lobster!* - rather confusing). Both produce worthwhile research. 33 pages, A4 magazine, £2.00.

JC

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

NEW FROM FREEDOM PRESS

Health Service Wildcat

As it says on the front cover, "this book is dedicated to the daft doctrine that people trained in making profits can run a better health service than people trained in caring for the sick". It is the fourth book of Donald Room's 'Wildcat' cartoons to be published by Freedom Press, but the first in which Donald has worked with a collaborator.

Most of the hilarious scripts are by a well-known writer, not an anarchist, who works for the National Health Service. It is not a joke but a real fact, that the writer's new conditions of service include the threat of dismissal for "causing the management to lose confidence in you as an employee". So the writer has prudently elected to use a pen-name for this book, Victoria N. Furmurry. When 'she' retires from the NHS, people may be startled to learn 'her' true identity.

Meanwhile the book is as thought-provoking and laughter-inducing as the other 'Wildcat' books, and none the less so for being on a single topic.



48 pages ISBN 0 900384 73 5 £1.95

One of the minor sorrows of this world is to bear witness to that social strata trying to come to terms with pseudo-intellectual trivia in the belief that in gazing or listening to what is so obviously non-creative rubbish they will understand and in doing so understand some great mystery that is the property of their social superiors. We are a class society with a large proportion of lumpen-proletariat, a large strata of unskilled labouring class such as myself, a superior working class and the good ol' middle class. Of the rich, we can dismiss them out of hand, for come the revolution, famine or ethnic cleansing they will already have their feet up in residential California. Our cross and our irritation should be, and must be, the superior working class. They have crawled by effort of form-filling and exam-paper from out of the unskilled labouring class and while they desperately try to crawl up into the middle class they live in the living fear that come the state or the employer they will sink down into that social strata that they fear and despise. Like Tony who did not invite me to his birthday party, I am eighty years of age and too old to care, but one must seek to explore, create and examine. The superior working class (SWC) have long been, and always will be, the bane of the unskilled working class (UWC) such as myself, for they dominate our lives behind every desk be it army orderly room, police counter, unemployment office or social service desk and all political or anti-political groupings from the Communist Party to the anarchist movements have their policies and their administrations dictated by the SWC. The reason is that their uncreative skills lie in their ability and readiness to accept the boredom of administration for, to misquote Chairman Mao, 'they whose finger is on the computer key and whose hand is in the membership list controls the organisation'. They are a social strata fearful for themselves and always seek protection in the small cliques and social groupings, and for us the noble and pure in heart, the UWC, they will always in every society be our cross and our irritant. I have been told that I am facetious (i.e. ever taking the urine) but if what I type is

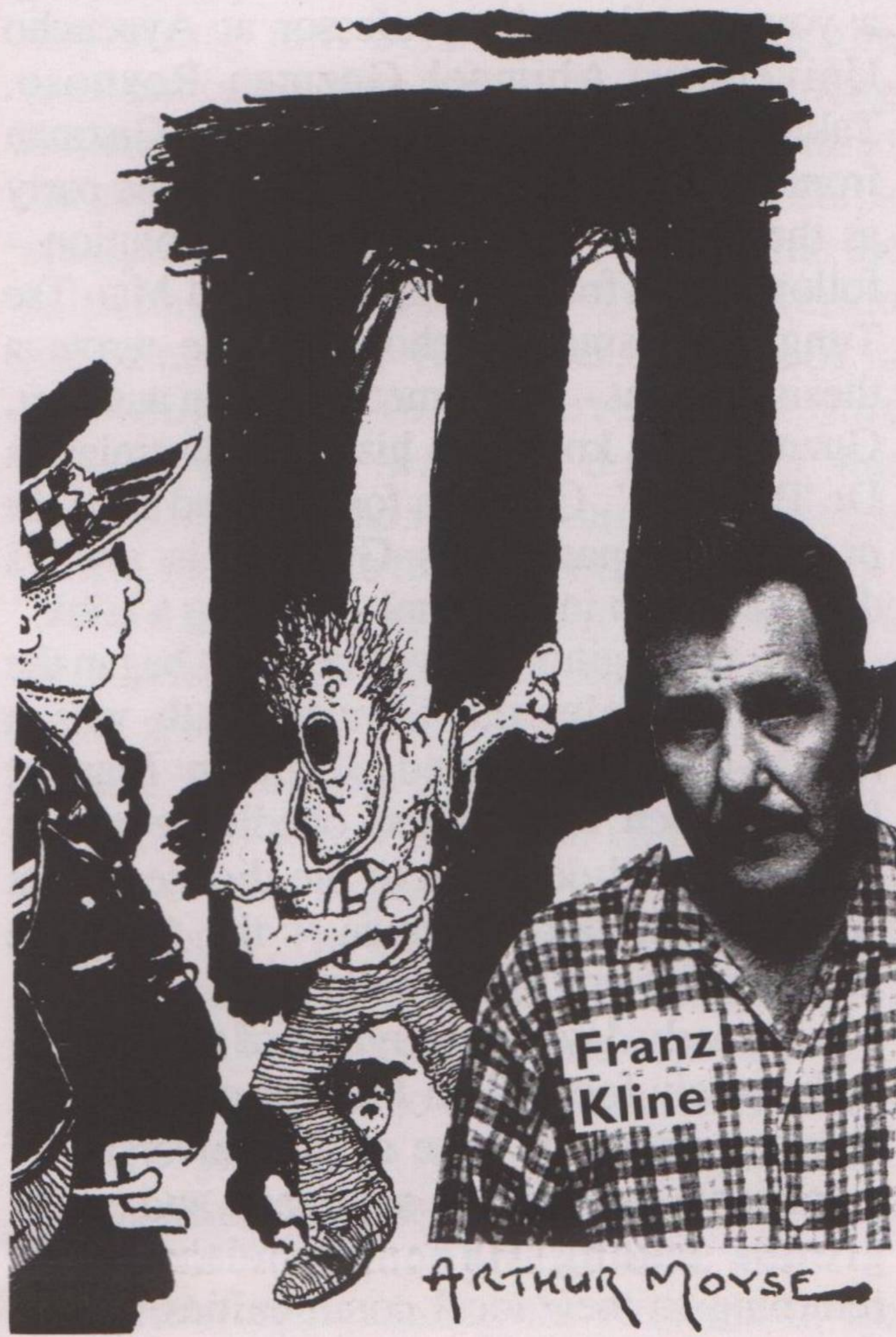
Matthew 19:23 (GNB2)?

correct then our lives are either comedy or tragedy. Let it be comedy.

All this would be of little importance, snarl the Town and his Blair-voting Frau, if it were not that the Whitechapel Art Gallery have mounted their major summer exhibition, the happytime daubs of the late (1962) American brush-hand Franz Kline. It is a sadly sad exhibition for Franz belongs to the school of 'when you've seen one you've seen the complete £3.50 admission's worth' for every canvas is no more than a pot of black paint and a large white wash brush and some three or four huge brush strokes in the form of a crude 'A' or 'B' or 'H'. It is the artistic version of the old silent film custard pie in the face comedy and one can give a tolerant smile and drift back to the Clutterbuck beer house and the new barmaid. But what I find so rejectable is the Kline audience. Here is the SWC in search of culture at £3.50 a head, and they move from daubed canvas to daubed canvas searching for a reason why they have paid £3.50 to gaze at a room full of crude black brush strokes. Here are the professional bleeding hearts, the DHSS interviewers, the drear ever-threatening-strike teachers from the working class primary schools, the chair-bound social workers and the fashionable left-of-centre working on the next resolution and lunch invitation. How do I know they are the SWC? Because of my arrogance I typed so. Ten or fifteen years ago during the period of Flower Power one could have accepted Kline's crude daubs as pastiche oriental ideograms or Zen meditation rhubarb, but the days when it was fashionable for any exhibitionist seeing a camera to squat down on their haunches and go into instant meditation is long gone for now it is the physical throwing bricks and leaflets at the local nazi organisations and there ain't no painted visuals to justify it, so Kline's broad daubs belong to that past of the Zen gardens of barren flat smooth sand and the single small rock on

it to concentrate the empty mind. Yet this is a worthwhile exhibition for though, as works of art, Kline's daubs are worthless, they came out of a period and a generation who believed that they could change their societies when non-violence and toleration shaped their actions. They marched and they sang and they, literally, stuck flowers into the barrels of the rifles and they ended the Vietnam war when they sang and marched for peace.

We are now with the generation that can talk of using ethnic cleansing of the protestant working class as a solution to the Northern Ireland slaughterhouse problem. A generation who can take sides be it Republican or Loyalist, Palestinian or Israeli, in their parochial killing fields and not say a curse on



"I didn't do it, he did."

Arthur Moysse

all your war aims. Neil Norman in a major spread in the *Evening Standard* wrote that "I suspect that if an overheated motorist *did get aggressive* with a *** these days, his action would meet with as much private approbation as public disapproval, so ghastly has the situation become" and *** is no more than the unfortunate UWC lowly-paid traffic wardens and the plot behind it all "is to try to dissuade car users from using cars, forcing independent travellers to adopt overcrowded buses, the filthy and increasingly dangerous tubes or into the backs of expensive taxis and alarming minicabs". Here speaks the voice of the superior working class, hating the unskilled working class and counting the pennies for a taxi ride. But for those seeking peace of mind culture-wide there is, as always, the Royal Academy and 'Impressionism to Symbolism: the Belgian Avant-Garde 1880-1900'. Mostly rubbish, nay all rubbish, but it was churned out when Belgium was fat and prosperous and their bourgeois could decorate the walls. A *fins de siecles* age and, though the Belgian bourgeois were willing to launder their free money by dipping their toe into the water, there were no lunatic art world and shyster dealers to pander to them, so to the Royal Academy for the dull landscapes and the rest. One salvation is the Ensor B pictures, mildly horror paintings, but we dare not complain for we had Johann Heinrich Fuseli and his mildly horror paintings.

But come the hour there arises the man and for the weeping Town and his Frau it was Lea & Sandeman the fine wine merchants who threw open their premises, with a noble gesture that became them, for a private view of the Erotic Print Society's publication of Aubrey Beardsley's drawings 'The Lysistrata of Aristophanes'. There was a time when Beardsley's drawings were run off on the copying machine to be sold as pornography in Soho and points East, but now we can accept a true master of the fine pen and black ink and the evening from 6.00 to 8.00pm was worthy of the champagne. Aubrey, thou should be living at this hour.

The Rise and Decline of British Anarchism

Anarchists and the Peace Movement

by Laurens Otter

Syndicalist Bulletin Pamphlet no. 2 (available from Syndicalist Bulletin, College Farm House, Mill Lane, Wellington, Salop, or from Freedom Press Bookshop, price 50p plus 29p postage for a single copy).

This is a poorly produced pamphlet. It seems to have been carved up on a butcher's block. And yet, this gives it the impression of a period piece reflecting admirably the era which it sets out to consider. The pamphlet is subtitled 'A view of the anarchist contribution to the peace movement of the 1960s', and the 1960s was a time when radical publications were knocked out in cellars, garages and living rooms with duplicating ink spraying the wallpaper.

None of this ought to detract from the argument being put up by Mr Otter, for it touches upon a critical moment in the history of British anarchism — the 1960s and the peace movement. Laurens Otter focuses on a point in a recent *Freedom* letter, in which Nick Heath claimed that "in the early sixties the anarchist movement had been hijacked by Non-Violent Resisters and similar Peace Movement activists".

Though I don't think Nick Heath will agree, his view is I suspect rooted more in an aesthetic distaste of what he now sees as pacifist cranks than in any serious historical analysis. I concur. I haven't much time for the pacifists, vegetarian freaks, or the religious eccentrics which litter the English political left. But my having a distaste for these inmates of the left is no justification for concocting a bizarre theory about the peace movement grabbing control of the anarchist movement. One might just as well argue that an elephant hijacks a flea, because the parasite insists on jumping on its back.

While I can understand that the Black Flag School of Melodrama could harbour such ideas, I wouldn't have expected Nick Heath to swallow that kind of twaddle. It can only be explained by his allowing

his dislike for pacifists to overwhelm his common sense.

Joining the struggle

In this pamphlet Mr Otter presents the case for the defence of the peace movement, and what I see as historical reality, admirably. While there are minor details which I may dispute, in the main I think he has got it about right. Though I do wish he wasn't so free and easy in his use of initials of organisations long gone, and which some readers might find hard to decode.

My background among the mills and factories of Lancashire couldn't be more different than Mr Otter's, but I am compelled to agree with him that in the early 1960s the peace movement was a significant social movement which cut right across society. Of course, it didn't fit comfortably into a class analysis, and certain tidy minds may find this hard to deal with, but many movements can't be reduced in such a simple-minded way. And yet, Laurens Otter shows that industrial militants in the libertarian National Rank and File Movement formed at the end of 1960 were active inside the peace movement. Later, he says, the London section of the National Rank and File Movement formed the industrial sub-committee of the Committee of 100. The northern section, called Industrial Action, continued independently, but many of its members were also involved in the work of the Committee of 100 (North West).

In the 1960s such was the situation in the country; the growing peace movement and the public excitement surrounding the continuing campaigns! A series of editorials appeared in *Freedom* critically analysing the nature of the peace movement. I had in 1960 helped to organise a strike of engineering apprentices, and was still editing a small apprentice paper, but it was impossible for any of us to stand aloof from what was going on politically centre stage. As Mr Otter points out, the Syndicalist Workers' Movement did hold back at first; Tom Brown wrote a piece in *World Labour News* warning the participants in sit-downs of the

danger of contracting piles from close contact with cold pavements. But it was a question of ideological and political purity and consequent impotence, or involvement in the most popular and important social movement since World War Two.

Thus it was that the peace movement became, as Laurens says, "a fruitful area of anarchist recruitment, and a major area of anarchist activity". Level-headed and seasoned shopfloor syndicalists like Bill Christopher, Tom Brown, Ken Hawkes, Peter Turner, Jim Pinkerton (then secretary of the SWF) all ultimately favoured involvement in the peace movement. Events were overpowering any theoretical misgivings, as the numbers on Committee demos reached their peak in September 1961, and Laurens claims the Committee of 100 issued a statement saying that "though not all its members or supporters were anarchists, all agreed that anarchism was an essential component of committee thinking".

It seems that experience of direct action in the peace movement was manufacturing anarchists.

From direct action to gesture politics

About the time of the Spies for Peace incident between 1963 and 1964 there was a big windfall of members into the anarchist camp, and Ken Hawkes wrote to me in Spain, where I had been working for the Spanish FIIL and the SWF since early 1963, that on my return to England I would see a vast change in the anarchist movement. At the same time there was a major upsurge of interest in anarchism among the young, the intellectuals and in the media. In 1965 Marxist groups like the International Socialists (now SWP) flirted with the Manchester Anarchist Group in an attempt to gain members.

Mr Otter, in his short pamphlet, gives us a brief outline of the history of the non-violent direct action movement and an insight into the politics of the time. He doesn't, because it is not within the remit of this publication explain why anarchism declined as a movement at the end of the 1960s and

through the 1970s. He does hint about a break away from the Syndicalist Workers' Federation in the late 1960s, in which he claims Nick Heath helped set up the Anarcho-Syndicalist Alliance with a view to backing the North Vietnamese regime against the USA.

It could be argued that a decline for anarchism occurred about that time. The movement lost itself in an air of romantic violence, conspiracies and other exotic extravagances as the Angry Brigade craze was followed by other adventures. An over-optimistic mass movement of non-violent direct action was being replaced by comic book activities of tiny groups. Of course we'd all been intoxicated by the romantic vision of the French events of 1968.

I admit to being dazzled at the time by that kind of exotics, but it seems to me that Laurens Otter was not taken in and, though a pacifist, was a more consistent anarcho-syndicalist than many of us. Historically, as the Marxists are so fond of saying, what was required in the last 1960s and 1970s was that the anarchists focus on industrial action and the trade unions.

From the mass direct action in the streets in the 1960s, the anarchists failed to translate their tactics to the factories, to the trade unions and into industrial action, and instead went for the hole-in-the-corner conspiratorial jaunts. At the time of disputes at Roberts-Arundel in Stockport, Pilkington's Glassworks in St Helens, the strikes and stay-in occupations at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders and in engineering, the miners' struggles in the 1970s, the anarchist influence was tiny. If there is any criticism to be made it is of a psychological defect among most anarchists and syndicalists at the time which prevented them from enduring the boredom of the picket line and the union branch. How these opportunities were fumbled is material for another pamphlet, but it can't be explained by simplistic sectarian discussion of 'hijacks' and takeovers.

Brian Bamford

'PC': what it is and how to fight it

(continued from page 2)

over the communication of ideas. Indeed it could be argued that the concept of 'political correctness' is a convenient device to prevent the meaning of words from being contested.

The disparity in power to impose the definitions was clearly revealed in the case of Jane Brown, the head teacher who rejected some tickets for a Prokofiev ballet, for several reasons including the cost of the tickets and that not all pupils could go on the trip. It was reported in the *Evening Standard* that she had made reference to the ballet's heterosexism. As a result of that article Jane Brown was publicly pilloried in the press and on television. Her sexuality and her personal relationship were publicly attacked. In spite of her contribution to getting her school removed from the government's 'at risk' register, she was first coerced into making a grovelling apology and then banned from making a public response to the attacks on her. According to an article in *The Guardian* she has received sack-loads of hate mail and two telephones death threats were made to her school. (No doubt if Shakespeare were alive today he would also receive hate mail and death threats as a question mark now hangs over his sexual preferences.)

'Political correctness' does exist. There is massive pressure to ensure conformity to ideas, there is an attempt to distort language, but the pressure and the attempt comes from the power elite and those who accept conformity of ideas and behaviour. Occasionally some people and groups 'mirror' the behaviour of the system (often from the best of motives), but we should beware of mistaking the shadow for the real thing.

We can best oppose the power elite's importation of political conformity and political correctness by encouraging and welcoming scepticism and diversity, and by establishing alternative forms for the spread of ideas.

Martyn Everett

The Damaged Roots of Humanity

(continued from page 4)

compared with the oppressive opposite ... invariably to be found in the village" and he applauds the escape from the 'Family'. I cannot really accept this, any more than I can enjoy Disney World in preference to, say, an Italian opera, or fast food instead of roast beef and Yorkshire pudding.

It seems to me that what is going on in the Balkans represents a failure of modernism; a failure of modern society, with the city and the nation state. It might be said that 'ethnic nationalism' is an attempt to recover a lost identity that we had in the village and the local community. People talk of unfinished business in the Balkans and while I find it hard to believe, as many have told me, in former Yugoslavia, that under the Tito regime ethnic groups were forced to live together in peace, I cannot accept that people are now being dragooned into war totally against their will. To commit these kinds of atrocities they must feel upset about something.

When Wyndham Lewis speaks of "the refreshing anonymity of a great city" he speaks as a modernist. Murray Bookchin, the anarchist, instead addresses the disappearing individual in the modern nation state arguing: "The citizen in a self-managed locality vanished into an anonymous aggregation of individuals who pay a suitable amount of taxes and receive the state's 'services'."

The social and political roots of identity in the modern world are being damaged, not only in the Balkans. Mr Lewis thinks this is all to the good because he believes that 'modern

SOME NOTES ON THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU

The Shining Path

In recent issues of *Freedom* the Shining Path movement of Peru has been described as a "Mao-fascist drug gang" and as a ultra-reactionary "terror group". In a popular account of the movement, whose activities are now reaching the headlines, the journalist Simon Strong describes it as the "world's deadliest revolutionary force" – a force that over the past decade has been a serious threat to the Peruvian state.

What exactly is this movement? And what does it stand for?

The Communist Party of Peru by the Shining Path of José Carlos Mariategui, otherwise simply known as the Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso), was formed in the early 1960s by a young philosophy professor at Ayacucho University, Abimael Guzman Reynoso. Taking his inspiration from Maoism, Guzman from the first saw his small clandestine party as the 'Fourth Sword' of world revolution – following on from Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse Tung. Charismatic, scholarly – he wrote a thesis on Kant – and something of an autocrat, Guzman was known to his close disciples as Dr 'Puka Inti', Quechua for the 'Red Sun'. In propaganda pamphlets Guzman is always depicted as an intellectual – holding a book.

From the beginning, even before it began the armed struggle, the Shining Path was a tightly-knit, disciplined, sectarian Marxist Party, which emphasised obedience to the party-line and devotion to the dictates of its autocratic leader, Guzman – the 'commie thug' as Howard Marks calls him.

In the early days the activities of the Shining Path largely focused on Marxist propaganda. Guzman, from his base at the university of Ayacucho, conducted seminars and study groups among student-teachers who, returning to their local communities, spread the revolutionary message. This message combined the Maoist strategy of armed struggle in the periphery, with the radical Indigenismo (the glorification of Indian, specifically Inca, traditions) of José Carlos Mariategui, a Peruvian communist theoretician of the 1920s.

From the outset therefore the Shining Path was not a peasant movement, it was a revolutionary movement focused around a Jacobin-like Marxist Party, a group of revolutionary intellectuals under the dictatorship of Guzman who aimed to achieve their goals through military means. It thus put a

man' yearns for nothing more than to be a cog in the machinery of the state (see *The Art of Being Ruled*). Mr Bookchin, quite rightly, calls for more sovereignty for the individual to participate fully in a democratic life, while hoping that free communes will eventually replace the nation and confederal forms of organisation will replace the state.

In the new sovereign states of Croatia, Slovenia and even Serbia, where they busily proclaim political nationalism, they have still linked their national currencies to the German Deutschmark, which suggests a kind of economic colonialism is developing in the region. Modern nationalism can be seen as a perverted response to the drift from traditional communities. Thus the nation becomes an attempt to create what Benedict Anderson has called an "imagined community" to replace the world we have lost – the face to face community. In Wyndham Lewis's writings this begin to resemble a scene from Fritz Lang's film *Metropolis* – a smooth-running miserable machine-like civilisation. Sinking into this swamp of Bookchin's "anonymous aggregation", the citizen can gain meaning through the symbols and stage-sets of the nation state. The anarchist answer ought to be the re-establishment of real communities within the rag-bag regimes of modern capitalism.

Brian Bamford

fundamental emphasis on violence. A favourite Sendero slogan suggests that "except for power, all is illusion". For the Shining Path violence is not only a military strategy, it carries with it also a certain mystique, for it is the means of both destroying the old order and ushering forth the alleged new egalitarian state – ruled of course by the party elite. The essential aim of the Shining Path, then, as indicated by Guzman in various political tracts, was to mount an armed uprising in the Andean highlands of Peru that would then spread to the urban areas and lead to the eventual collapse of the Peruvian state. The party – the state in embryo – would then take over the reins of government.

The first action of the Shining Path, in its self-declared armed struggle, was in May 1980 in the Rio Pampas Valley where the anthropologist Billie Jean Isbell had conducted research in the 1960s. She has written on the impact of this 'people's war', as the Shining Path calls it, on the peasant communities of the valley. She felt the Shining Path chose the valley for its guerrilla operations precisely because it was lacking in haciendas, for this would allow the Sendero to experiment with peasant communities that had strong communal ties and structures, a great deal of autonomy over their own resources and where capitalist penetration had been minimal.

The insurgency began when masked militants from the university entered the town hall of the village of Chuschi and seized and burned the ballot boxes which were being stored there prior to the national elections. The Shining Path then set about intimidating and eliminating all representatives of authority in the area, and these included elected local officials, teachers and health workers. They particularly focused on petty bureaucrats who had abused their office, and publicly executed two cattle thieves. Initially the Marxist insurgents found support among the peasants, for the region of the Southern Andes had, over the centuries, long been the context of peasant rebellions and of class conflict – as the peasants defended themselves against the landowners and state authorities. The people of the Rio Pampas valley thus did not initially oppose the Shining Path's armed revolutionaries.

But the Shining Path soon set about organising the restructuring of the lives of the peasants themselves, and any opposition by the peasants was harshly dealt with. They attempted to suppress and prohibit the fiestas, dancing and drinking of the peasants – but did not succeed. They also attempted to impose on the peasants a system of collective planting based on local residential units, and in this they also failed. Isbell noted that local agricultural production was complex, and based on an intricate network of reciprocity, and suggested that in this regard the Sendero militants were as ill-informed as the government's agrarian reform planners. The Shining Path also decided to organise the peasants through committee structures, making attendance at meetings compulsory. They thus not only wanted to impose on the peasants a puritanical code of morality but, acting as revolutionary vanguards, to restructure their whole social life according to their own preconceived plans. Thus when the peasants began to realise that the committees imposed by the Shining Path gave them even less voice in deciding their own destiny than did the structures imposed by the government and its bureaucracy, then, as Isbell writes, they began to distance themselves from the Marxist programme of the insurgents.

Even worse, when the government forces moved into the area in an attempt to crush the armed insurrection, members of the Shining Path simply fled from the valley leaving the peasants to face the repression by the armed forces. This included the massacre of entire villages, random disappearances and a return to semi-feudal practices.

During the armed struggles of the 1980s the peasant communities therefore faced a 'double threat' from the Shining Path and from government forces, both of whom used extreme violence against the peasantry. Many peasants thus felt compelled to leave the valley and to seek safety and refuge elsewhere, many in Lima. Isbell concludes that the Shining Path did not bring the peasants the promised truth, it merely replaced the old order with its own authoritarian power.

Many writers have remarked on two characteristics of the Shining Path.

The first is that in attempting to completely transform village communities into the 'new

A radical educator re-encountered

(continued from page 5)

(Steerforth Press, PO Box 70, South Royalton, Vermont 05068) has just brought out two handsome books of his writings from rural Maine. The first is *Luisa Domic and Shawno*, a novel and a novella in one volume. The novella is an account of his dog's perambulation through the village and its surroundings. Anyone who chances to be into dogs will see that his imaginative efforts to interpret dog behaviour belong to the same pursuit of empathy as his monitoring of children's activities. But of course, the animal's wanderings are the opportunity for an exploration of Dennison's neighbours. The novel *Luisa Domic* starts as an idyllic account of the author's family life in the country. But the complicated life of the world outside intrudes, partly because of the arrival of a composer who is concerned with music as therapy, but then through another musician who, unlike the rest of her family, was able to get out of Pinochet's Chile. It is a devastating tale. In his introduction Hayden Carruth suggests that this modest book "is the political novel par excellence of our time, meaning the novel of our real lives in this world – not as flashy or violent as many of the other fictions that have compelled our attention in the past twenty years, but of far more enduring value".

The second of these reminders of George Dennison is *Temple: From a Writer's Notebook*. Temple was the little town (we'd call it a village) where his family settled in Maine. He explained in the other book that he had a shoebox of loose papers which were notes of conversations with his neighbours about the skills and activities that had helped them survive. He reflected that:

"What I had taken to be nostalgia wasn't that at all. My neighbours' vanished life – the small farms, the crosscut saws and axes, the teams of horses and oxen, the ten-cow herds, the modest orchards, the sheep, hens and kitchen gardens, the water-powered mills – that life had used them powerfully and had rewarded them, not by any means abundantly, but nevertheless along a spectrum of human motives ... They spoke of it in praise."

His book turns out to be an evocation of exactly the kind of self-reliant mutual culture that Denis Pym discovered a few years ago in his Freedom Press book *The Employment Question*. And if we look hard enough in both countries, we will see a similar submerged economy re-establishing itself in populations whose livelihoods have been destroyed by globalised trading.

So my question about whatever happened to George Dennison has been resolved by these two books. It leaves in the air another question. Whatever happened to that whole impetus for radical innovation in education of which the brief life of Penguin Education was an exemplar?

Colin Ward

democracy of Peru' with the party taking on the role of an authoritarian state, it showed no respect at all for grassroot organisations. It had an idealised view of the Inca past (state) and thus in its activities not only disregarded but attempted to suppress all peasant-based organisations – peasant communities, labour unions, neighbourhood associations and even local markets as these were seen as being implicated in the capitalist system. All these were to be replaced by so-called 'generated organisms' – generated and of course controlled by the party. But the Shining Path not only harassed and attempted to suppress the spontaneous activities of the peasants, it also directed a campaign of assassination, sabotage and armed attacks against other Marxist groups – all of whom were seen as 'enemies' of the revolution.

A second characteristic of the Shining Path is that its membership seems to be mainly drawn not from Indian peasant communities but from the Mestizos (Mistis). The Mestizos are largely urban dwellers,

(continued on page 8)

Anarchism and Breaking Free

Dear Editors,
John Wood (*Freedom*, 23rd July 1994) appears to be guilty of an over adherence to that well-known cliché 'an exception proves the rule'. I have never been happy with this inherently authoritarian statement for I would suppose that exceptions to the rule disprove them.

I remember a young friend of mine taking a degree in Biology at Keele. He said the professor would set up the experiment and produce a specified result. Time and time again students got different results. The professor scoffed. It was a matter of 'ceteris paribus' (all things being equal). They had somehow failed to maintain one or more variable, hence their discrepancies. On one occasion everybody got the same result but different to the professor. The professor's response was blunt: I am the professor, I am in authority, my result is the correct one, you are all wrong and if you do not learn to get the same results as me none of you is going to get a degree. A hierarchical and authoritarian approach. There is something about science which appeals to the authoritarian personality.

If one looks back to the founders of science: Bacon, Newton, Joseph Banks, Charles Darwin, etc., what was noticeable about them was the breadth of their thinking - philosophers, alchemists, theologians, inventors - they were essentially creative people as distinct from the schoolmen. It was when universities took over science that it developed rigidity.

BBC2 is currently running a series, 'Heretic', on Tuesday evenings. Last Tuesday evening it examined the work of Rupert Sheldrake who in *A New Science of Life* challenged "the theoretical core of modern genetics - that life can be explained by DNA - and to propose a theory of morphic resonance". The narrator Rosemary Hartill pointed out that not only have his views been rejected by many other scientists (like Velikovsky, often unread) but more importantly he has been publicly shunned, some scientists even refuse to be in the same room as Sheldrake.

John Wood rejects my examples of Lysenkoism and Arian Physics, bringing in the NKVD and Gestapo with no evidence these did anything more than exist at the same time, but there is no NKVD in Cambridge, or is there?

Like most social scientists and all sociologists I know, we do accept science and scientific method and try to make our research as scientific as possible, but where science at this time proves to be inadequate or obstructive, we develop other methods derived from perception, intuition and creative thinking and we do not accept that the science as defined by and controlled by the 'hard' scientists is an absolute.

Karl Popper in *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (1934) pointed out that there is no such thing as objective truth in

science. In his *Conjectures and Refutations* (1963) he points out that although you might test a hypothesis a million times with the same result this does not make it true because there is always the possibility it might be proved wrong. As Paul Trowler points out in *Further Topics in Sociology* (1985) "natural science ... is studying not an objective but a created world, one created by the interpretations of the scientists studying it". And of course their perceptions are contaminated by their existing belief systems: religious, philosophical, political and scientific, just as are everyone else's. Scientific perception should go hand in hand with awareness not dogmatism.

Peter Neville

Dear Editors,
Peter Neville (*Freedom*, 23rd July 1994) was right to draw attention to the positivistic nature of Kropotkin's work, and the editors reinforced this with the extract from Malatesta. Kropotkin's approach is bound up with his belief in an evolutionary march towards anarchism, which makes him naively deterministic also. In this, I feel that he inadvertently inhibited the development of new ideas - why bother with sociology, economics and all the rest of it if anarchism is 'natural', and if we are going to get there anyway?

John Wood's faith in the scientific method is not misplaced, and he hits the nail on the head when he refers to its misuse in capitalist society. Like everything else, science is open to use or abuse depending upon the values of those

who control it. *State and Capital* have pushed science down the reductionist road, taken it away from broad concerns like the well-being of the planet and its population, and towards destructive projects like bombs and agri-business, yet who would deny the usefulness of artificial limbs or railway locomotives?

I find it heartening that science itself has been able to come up with its own critique of at least some of its more unfortunate tendencies, and developed a powerful position which stresses holism and attacks reductionism. I refer to Chaos Theory.

John Wood rightly sees much of contemporary economics as no more than book-keeping, but the importance he attaches to the use of natural resources, energy and labour in meeting human needs, should make the latter the very stuff of a libertarian economics, science and technology. So far anarchists have failed, dimly in my view, to come up with some really cogent analysis in those areas. It is easy to see why, since very few, in my experience anyway, have that kind of background knowledge. Many tend to be oriented towards the arts, and are so fixated by the dark side of science and the exploitative use made of economics, that interest is minimal. As a result we have few ideas as to how a libertarian approach to economics, science and technology can be developed and integrated with the ethics surrounding human freedom and concern over the state of the planet.

Somehow we have to find a way out of that impasse. If there is anyone out there who is interested in forming a study group, I would be pleased to hear from them. Please write via *Freedom*.

John Griffin

The French Regionalist Federation

Dear Editors,
My favourite bookshop is the Salvation Army. Once a month I visit the local Sally Ann thrift shop and come out with a back-pack full of books on history, politics and economics - all for less than the price of a packet of cigarettes. My last visit brought me *France: Historical Documents* for 25 cents. Leafing through it I discovered manifestos of the various socialist parties, the CGT's Charter of Amiens and ravings from the Action Francaise, but these didn't grab my attention. What did was the 1904 municipal election programme of the French Regionalist Federation (FRF).

Considering the talk that goes on in anarchist circles about libertarian municipalism and mass decentralist movements, this document seems relevant today. Here was a group which tried to unite decentralists across the whole political spectrum, from regionalist conservatives to Proudhonist anarchists. Their programme was short and precise and did not get mixed up in side issues, nor 'right' versus 'left' - the sort of things which would break the

unity around the real issue, that of creating a situation where self-government would flourish.

The nine point programme included: abolition of restrictions on how the commune could run public services, the use of referenda, abolition of prefectural (Parisian bureaucratic) control, local control of education and encouragement of local initiative in cultural matters. Of particular interest was the desire to form syndicates or federations of communes and as the programme states, *the encouragement of the setting up of syndicates, friendly societies, co-operatives and federations of them all*. Given the last two points, there had to have been some anarchist input into this organisation.

The editor David Thomson cites the source for the programme as a book by J. Charles-Brun called *Le Regionalisme* published in 1911. If anyone knows anything about Charles-Brun, the fate of the FRF or this book it would be interesting to hear about it.

Larry Gambone

Markets and the Market

Dear *Freedom*,
I read with pleasure Colin Ward's article 'Markets and the Market' (*Freedom*, 23rd July). The local market selling locally grown or made goods does seem to be on the rise in my neck of the woods. The recycling of mass produced goods can only be a good thing too. However, I have doubts whether this is a permanent growth of the unofficial economy rather than a sign of the economic times. John Galbraith claimed in his *A History of Economics*, a recession is an economists way of saying a depression within a depression. If this is the case, perhaps present economical conditions will nurture the growth of this 'informal economy'?

I have three points to make about the article. It leaves the impression of an idyllic state of affairs in which local production will sustain local 'needs'. In countries such as ours, local agricultural production could not sustain local populations. Industrialisation and the historically growing dependency on food imports is not something that can be changed without resort to a less diversified and barely better than subsistence level of diet. This could be overcome, but it would demand that the 'industrialisation' of agriculture is intensified, with its attendant horrifying environmental consequences. These islands of ours are over-populated. Anarchism will not sway many hearts and minds with these scenarios.

Colin Ward's efforts to draw the links between "anarchist ideology and the concept of an alternative economy" are laudable, but I think it more important that we encourage links between anarchism and the reality of the alternative economy. The unofficial economy is very vulnerable to state interference. When will the state demand its pound of flesh? Recent interventions by the Inland Revenue and the Departments of Social Security and Employment is decimating the 'casual' labour market. The unofficial economy has little ideological basis - would there be any effective resistance? This could be fertile ground for a pre-emptive handbill local anarchist groups could distribute. Such a handbill could outline the probabilities of state interference and direct attention to recent intervention in the unofficial economy. This might stir traders to prepare themselves for such an eventuality. This may not forge the links anarchists might desire, but it is part of our function to nurture resistance to the state. We know the reality is that there are a lot of people out there participating in the unofficial economy for purely economic reasons - making ends meet. Any ideology of resistance that grew from such a process will be their own creation, we can but attempt to influence it.

Thirdly, the unofficial 'market economy' is a mere shadow of its pre-industrial forerunner and a pale

reflection of the work/spend consumer culture. Much as I might wish it were different, the ideology of consumerism is pervasive. The economic power centres behind it would no doubt move quickly if consumer 'paradise' was threatened. From little acorns grow, but this unofficial economy will have to be a bloody great oak if it is to throw a shadow across the capitalist state regulated sections of the economy and the ideology of consumerism.

Ron Millichamp

Money from the State

Dear *Freedom*,
My apologies to Derrick A. Pike for misinterpreting his article 'Should We Accept Money from the State'. Upon rereading it and his response to my letter, it seems that we share the same essential viewpoint. How odd is this tendency to read our own ideas or obsessions into someone else's writing. Talk about poetic justice, Ron (*Freedom* letters, 9th July) now misconstrues my letter criticising Derrick. Once again please, I do not condemn people for working for the state or collecting benefits. If people need to do these things to survive, of course they must. (As I will have to since my workplace is closing.) Nor do I split anarchism from survival, having previously written about LETS systems, the Black Economy and other economic alternatives.

What I do oppose is deliberately taking money from the state as some sort of warped principle. Back in the early '70s we were r-r-r-revolutionaries and thought it politically correct to live on welfare or apply for government grants to fund our collective projects. This ends-justifies-the-means attitude had a corrupting influence upon the movement, turning previously independent organisations into cheer-leaders for statism and splitting the radicals from the workers, who naturally saw us as a bunch of welfare bums. Ron advocates encouraging people to take money from the state. What better way of making anarchists look like total hypocrites than such a policy. Struggling against the state's robbery (taxes) may indeed be difficult, but it is a principled position, and since when have we anarchists chosen the easy path over principle?

One other thing - class, in the 1910 sense of the concept, is less relevant, but less relevance does not mean *irrelevance*. After fourteen years in a warehouse I would hardly consider the differences between worker and employer to be insignificant even though we are no longer the poor beaten-down wretches of a hundred years ago.

Larry Gambone

The Shining Path

(continued from page 7)

and traditionally they formed the local elites who oppressed the indigenous peasants. Many writers have therefore stressed that the Shining Path is not a peasant movement but is an insurgency led and directed by Mestizos who have adopted a Marxist ideology and who have selectively used terror to achieve their goals. Peasants thus tend to perceive the Shining Path insurgents as rootless outsiders, as egoists who do not speak Quechua - and thus reject the cultural heritage of the peasant (campesino) with its emphasis on reciprocity and sharing.

In proclaiming itself as the 'Fourth Sword' of Marxism and as the 'beacon' of world revolution, the Shining Path is essentially a vanguard party that stands in the Jacobin tradition of Marxist-Leninism. Its activities are deemed to constitute the 'new state in formation', and as Carlos Ivan Degregori has argued, its essential ideology has been to reject the leading role of the masses in favour of the leading role of the party, and to see violence as the essence of revolution. He

also argues that the Shining Path is not a messianic movement, neither is it specifically ethnic; what its vision expresses is a super-rationalism, an 'excess of reason', puritanical, violent, coldly analytic. He describes the Sendero as the "last children of the Enlightenment" and, like other writers, stresses that its leadership is made up of Mestizos rooted in the Andean seigniorial system. It thus carries to the extreme the authoritarianism of the old provincial Mestizo elite, wrapped in an aura of Marxist theory. Some have described the Shining Path as an 'Andean jihad' which has converted Marxism into a religion, and Guzman himself likened his movement to early Islam. Many have compared the Shining Path to the Khmer Rouge of Cambodia.

Towards the end of the 1980s the Shining Path extended its guerrilla operations into the Upper Huallaga valley. Here some 65% of all coca leaf used in the manufacture of cocaine worldwide is grown. This production generates about \$1.2 billion in foreign exchange each year - about half of Peru's legal exports. To the degree that the Shining Path have been able to control the area, so it has been estimated that they have been able to

generate through 'revolutionary taxes' an annual revenue of well over \$20 million. This has completely transformed the armed struggle in Peru and made the position of the peasants even more complicated and precarious, caught as they are between the Shining Path militants and both the anti-guerrilla operations and the anti-drug campaigns of the Peruvian state.

It can be seen then that the Shining Path is not a populist peasant movement but rather, as Cynthia McClintock suggests, it has the characteristics of a fundamentalist religious sect. Violence and fundamentalism, of course, often go together and although the Shining Path use of terror has not been indiscriminate but has been geared to revolutionary aims, it may be noted that in 1989 some 76% (995) of their victims were either peasants or poor urban dwellers. It has been estimated that since the insurgency began in 1980 the conflict with the

Useful books

David S. Palmer (editor) *The Shining Path of Peru*, London, Hurst 1992.
Simon Strong *Shining Path*, London, Fontana 1992.

government has cost over 23 thousand lives.

Many writers have stressed the fact that the Shining Path had its origins in the Ayacucho region - which was one of the poorest and most isolated areas of Peru. It has been said that it was Ayacucho's poverty that provided the fertile ground for the growth of the Shining Path, whose activities have now spread to many parts of Peru. But although one can respect the dedication and zeal with which the Shining Path has tried to forge a new social reality for Peru's people, in its obsession with a violent strategy and in its total disregard for the initiatives of the peasants and workers, it is hardly worthy of emulation. In its vanguardist approach to change it is simply following the trail suggested by Marx, Lenin and Mao - the dangers of which were highlighted by Bakunin long ago. Rule by a Marxist intelligentsia, especially one which sees violence as the essence of revolution, could lead only to the worst of all despotisms. One thing is certain, as the Peruvian anarchists stress: the activities of the dogmatic and authoritarian Shining Path in no way reflect the aspirations of the people of Peru.

Brian Morris

The Raven

Anarchist Quarterly
number 25
on
'Religion'

Back issues still available:

- 24 - Science (1)
- 23 - Spain / Emma Goldman
- 22 - Crime
- 21 - Feminism
- 20 - Kropotkin's 150th Anniversary
- 19 - Sociology
- 18 - Anthropology
- 17 - Use of Land
- 16 - Education (2)
- 15 - Health
- 14 - Voting
- 13 - Anarchism in Eastern Europe
- 12 - Communication
- 11 - Class
- 10 - Libertarian Education
- 9 - Bakunin and Nationalism
- 8 - Revolution
- 7 - Emma Goldman
- 6 - Tradition and Revolution
- 5 - Spies for Peace
- 4 - Computers and Anarchism
- 3 - Surrealism (part 2)
- 2 - Surrealism (part 1)
- 1 - History of Freedom Press

£3.00 each (post-free anywhere)
from

FREEDOM PRESS

FREEDOM
fortnightly

ISSN 0016 0504

Published by Freedom Press
84b Whitechapel High Street
London E1 7QX

Printed by Aldgate Press, London E1

ANARCHIST PICNIC August Bank Holiday Hadley Woods

At 2pm on Monday 29th August 1994 at Priddeans Hill, Monken Hadley Common, north of Barnet.

According to Nicolas Pevsner's *The Buildings of England: Hertfordshire*, "The combination of Hadley Green and Hadley Common results in one of the most felicitous pictures of Georgian visual planning which the neighbourhood of London has to offer. It is elusive to the descriptive word and eminently English in character."

To get there:

- Piccadilly Line to Cockfosters, right along Cockfosters Road, left Chalk Lane, left Games Road into Hadley Wood Road, Common on right.
- Northern Line to High Barnet, right along Barnet Hill, right High Street, right Hadley Green Road, past Almshouses and St Mary's Church (probably 1494 - flint and ironstone with white stone dressings), into Hadley Wood Road, Common on left.
- Rail to Hadley Wood (Welwyn Garden City to Moorgate - parallel with Kings Cross Mainline with changes at Welwyn, Potters Bar and Finsbury Park with links to Cambridge, Peterborough and the north), right West Crescent, right Camlet Way, left Hadley Wood Road, Common on left.
- By road A1000 (Great North Road) from London, through Barnet and Hadley Green, right into Dury Road, left past church to Hadley Wood Road, Common on left.

Everyone welcome. Meet old and new comrades, discuss the present, plan for the future, relax, fly kites, bring food and drinks for sharing. Make the revolution happen in our hearts.

Dave Dane & Peter Neville
for London Anarchist Forum

Greenham Women's Peace Camp to commemorate Hiroshima and Nagasaki Days Saturday 6th & Sunday 7th August

workshops on:

- History of the camp
- Future of Greenham Women
- Trident nuclear warhead production at AWE Aldermaston
- Warhead transportation (convoys)
- Non-violent direct action days

Where we are:

Outside the main gate of Greenham Common ex-Air Base, on A339 road to Basingstoke, three miles south of Newbury using A34.

For further information contact:
Yellow Gate Women's Peace Camp
Greenham Common, Newbury
Berkshire RG14 7AS
Telephone 0374 136728 between
8-9.30pm (mobile phone).

Red Rambles in Derbyshire

A programme of free guided walks in the White Peak for Greens, Socialists, Libertarians and Anarchists.

— Summer 1994 —

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 lble village, one mile north of the Via Gellia near Cromford, 11.30am for 11.45 start. Length 4-5 miles approx.

Telephone for further details
0773-827513

Books reviewed in
Freedom can be ordered
from

Freedom Press Bookshop

84b Whitechapel High Street
London E1 7QX

— open —

Monday to Friday 10am-6pm
Saturday 10.30am-5pm

Anarchist Summer Camp in Derbyshire

Fri 26th - Mon 29th August

£7.75 for the three nights
Indoor camping - bring sleeping bag

For further details write to:
Box EMAB, The Rainbow Centre,
88 Abbey Street, Derby

FREEDOM AND THE RAVEN SUBSCRIPTION RATES 1994

	inland	abroad surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe airmail
Freedom (24 issues) half price for 12 issues				
Claimants	10.00	-	-	-
Regular	14.00	22.00	34.00	28.00
Institutions	22.00	30.00	40.00	40.00

	inland	abroad surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe airmail
The Raven (4 issues)				
Claimants	10.00	-	-	-
Regular	12.00	14.00	18.00	16.00
Institutions	18.00	22.00	27.00	27.00

	inland	abroad surface	abroad airmail
Joint sub (24 x Freedom & 4 x The Raven)			
Claimants	18.00	-	-
Regular	24.00	34.00	50.00

	inland	abroad surface	abroad airmail
Bundle subs for Freedom (12 issues)			
2 copies x 12	12.00	13.00	22.00
5 copies x 12	26.00	32.00	44.00
10 copies x 12	50.00	60.00	84.00
Other bundle sizes on application			

Giro account number 58 294 6905
All prices in £ sterling

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

To Freedom Press in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street,
London E1 7QX

- I am a subscriber, please renew my sub to *Freedom* for issues
- Please renew my joint subscription to *Freedom* and *The Raven*
- Make my sub to *Freedom* into a joint sub starting with number 25 of *The Raven*
- I am not yet a subscriber, please enter my sub to *Freedom* for issues and *The Raven* for issues starting with number 25
- I would like the following back numbers of *The Raven* at £3 per copy post free (numbers 1 to 24 are available)
- I enclose a donation to Freedom Fortnightly Fighting / Freedom Press Overheads / Raven Deficit Fund (delete as applicable)

I enclose £..... payment

Name

Address

.....Postcode