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FIFTY PENCE

"Bureaucracy is a giant mechanism operated by pygmies" Honore de Balzac

Major's wishful thinking: 'CAPITALISM WITH A CONSCIENCE'!

Tt's now more than 21 years ago that Lthe then Tory PM Edward Heath reprimanded business - City crooks with Cayman Island tax-free

ill-gotten gains - describing their speculations (all tax-free but also quite legal) as "the unpleasant and unacceptable face of capitalism".

The other night the post-Margaret

Flogging more of the 'Family Silver' RAILTRACK - DEVELOPERS' DREAM!

The idea that privatisation is the solution to all the problems of the social services is just nonsense. But having failed with its recalcitrant MPs over the Post Office privatisation the government is determined to go through with the privatisation of the railways, which from a practical (as opposed to a purely dogmatic) point of view is as crazy as was the privatisation of the Post Office. All people who know anything about the operation of railways have denounced what is in fact a proposed complete breakdown of the railway network not in the interest of efficiency but of a dogma reminiscent of the religious fundamentalists.

The latest move to reduce the L railway system to one of chaos is the announcement that the privatisation of RAIL LINK will go through in the next two years. In the original plan this was not going to happen for a number of years. Obviously all the train franchises needed to be allocated before. And at one stage Railtrack, that is the whole rail network, stations and adjoining property, were to remain in public ownership certainly until the franchises had been allocated.

Now for purely political reasons the government wants to sell off Rail Link - on the one hand as a kind of reaction to the Post Office privatisation fiasco, but above all because Railtrack could be a billion pound asset which would allow the Chancellor to offer the voting idiots a tax reduction next time. This is what they are saying. As non-voters we only make an appeal to intelligent people who want to be left alone to run their own lives with their neighbours and friends in the interest of all, that the already unsatisfactory public services will be automatically reduced or even scrapped if they are not profitable.

Must one repeat for the umpteenth time that a public service is concerned with demand and not profit. The entrepreneurs favoured by the government are only concerned with profit. If it is not profitable then scrap it and to hell with the passengers that might need it - one day. Yes, one day. But that is what service is all about! And we repeat: capitalism hasn't a clue as to what service means. We do, and it has nothing to do with profit!

Thatcher PM John Major, addressing the assembled City dignitaries and their ladies at the Guildhall on the occasion of the Lord Mayor's banquet, called for "capitalism with a conscience".

apitalism - by definition - can never be 'acceptable' to the prosperous West's people (let alone the third world) who are still in an overwhelming majority, dependent on the whims of an employment for a living or on the state for the dole. As to a 'conscience', capitalism is production for profit. When there is no profit there are no jobs (high and low now). As a top capitalist openly declared in a recent 'Panorama' programme, they were unconcerned about frontiers: capitalism is invested (continued on page 2)

THE PERCENTAGE RACKET

rost young people this writer LVL approaches about a percentage reach for their calculators, indicating thereby that percentages don't mean very much. For the pre-calculator generation, percentages are processed in the brain-calculators just as the multiplication tables were on the back of one's exercise books! No question of wanting to establish a superiority of an old brain that stored the multiplication tables. What one wonders, however, is that many more people are conned by the very fact that modern 'education' includes calculators (as opposed to the 12-times tables on the back of this writer's exercise books which he learned so easily at the age of 6 and which at the age of 106 will still be there without effort). Yet percentages are now the order of the day. The media have assaulted us with the 75% increase in the salary of the Gas Board boss ad nauseam. Why pick on him when there are hundreds of these super bosses earning a lot more? The gas man is almost a modest BIG EARNER. The percentage increase in salaries is a racket in that it hides the benefits that the top people get compared with those at the bottom of the capitalist pile. The percentage racket came into the news

when it was announced that the government and Members of Parliament were having their salaries increased by 4.7% when the government was insisting that workers in the public services (such as still exist after privatisation) should only receive an increase of 2.6% - that is the official inflation rate.

Apart from all the government's justification for a rise of twice the official capitalist inflation rate (whatever that means) what for anybody earning at the bottom rung, or an old age pensioner on £58 a week, percentages have real meaning.

Since Mr Major (unlike Tony Blair) is accepting his increase in salary as from 1st January, which means for him that it goes up from £78,292 to £82,003, that is £3,211 more, a gross increase of £61.75 a week. The sum which this writer receives, including the 2.6% increase in his state pension as well as the generous government donation towards the fuel tax, amounts to £56.17 a week. So this writer, unless he gets on his knees to beg for charity, is expected to live on less than Mr Major's increase in wages!

Let's abolish the percentage racket and talk in pounds, shillings and pence!

News in Brief

'CAPITALISM WITH A CONSCIENCE'!

(continued from page 1)

where skilled labour was cheapest. These good patriots were patriotic about their money, not about the unemployment that they created in the country where they enjoyed privilege, titles even, and many perks!

The sooner we anarchists can persuade Lenough people that capitalism has always been a system geared to benefit in a big way a privileged minority which hopes to retain its privilege at the end of the twentieth century by involving the 'masses' in the consumerist society, thereby satisfying capitalism's need for ever-growing markets for its 'health', and hopefully the masses will be satisfied with their lot.

Unfortunately for the 'hereditary' capitalists, there are too many entrepreneurs who want to join the Sunday Times' 'Top 500 Millionaires'! And this hunger is worldwide.

This writer may not live to enjoy seeing the capitalist system destroy itself by the greed of its main supporters. It will happen and all those of us who call themselves socialists or anarchists must

rarely turned down, since the real power lies

As we write there are copy-book examples

of the monopolistic aims of capitalism. The

most impressive is surely that of the Halifax

Building Society (the number one with assets

of £67 billion) about to swallow up the Leeds

Building Society with a modest £19 billion.

Their intentions are hardly honourable. What

we are witnessing apparently are the opening

manoeuvres in a war by the building societies

against the banks. The banks some few years

ago extended their activities into the mortgage

market when they could see it was profitable

to do so. And the building societies who

thought that that was their monopoly

retaliated by doing a bit of banking on the side,

such as issuing credit cards and personal

loans. Freedom readers who joined the

Girobank years ago when it was 'the people's

elsewhere.

surely see that we are living in a moment in history when science, technology and infrastructure is there offering a world of plenty AND, this is the important thing, a world of LEISURE to enjoy those wonderful things that man's mind and imagination have produced for our enjoyment and reflection. That's what life should be all about!

put don't expect them to come to you Dlike 'pennies from heaven'. The capitalist system is so entrenched that neither the Labour Party nor the trades unions as at present constituted will do anything. Neither can they nor will they! We must, and the young are beginning to realise what government is about with the Criminal Justice Act now law. You can be sure that as the laws get more severe it is a reflection that the government is feeling more insecure.

You, the young, the future is yours don't let the government and their henchmen, the police, beat you down. You are many, they are few. And the future is YOURS! Defend it, because life is worth defending. What else have we as worthwhile?

assault two years ago when they were both 15 years old. "The police with a search warrant raided a pub looking for drugs and searched a total of 88 people in the pub's toilets and conservatory. The two young women were take to the ladies'

on us'.

toilet where they were strip-searched in front of five other people. They claim that they were picked at random and that the search was arbitrary. No drugs were found." (Guardian)

It's not only the government who are getting

La bad press. What about the police? Two

young women have just been awarded

£20,000 damages from the Metropolitan

Police in an 'out of court' settlement for an

They sued the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, Sir Paul Condon, "for false imprisonment, assault and unlawful inducement to remove their clothes".

One of the young women, 17 year old Helen Yaffe, said:

"Incidents like this happen every day', said Ms Yaffe. If more people stood up for their rights such incidents would be less frequent, she added. 'We wanted to make the point that action can be taken'. Ms Ray-Jones said: 'We have made a stand against the humiliation and mistreatment imposed

'We felt scared and helpless, as we did not believe that police action could really be questioned'."

One can safely assume that they had the moral and financial support of their parents. One wonders what happened to the 86 other youngsters, presumably, who were given the same treatment?

n the subject of drugs, the Customs and Excise officers in East Anglia are claiming a record haul of "ten tonnes of high quality cannabis resin with a street value of £35 million" which was found in a container that arrived recently in Felixstowe. And in the same port a month before cocaine "with a street value of £50 million" was discovered.

For months now British Aerospace and

freedom from bureaucracy and all the ills affecting state owned public services. The I GEC have been battling it out to take over main argument is that the latter are monopolies and as a result become ossified VSEL, the Trident submarine builder. For them the importance is only too obvious: GEC and inefficient, etc. In order to attack the would, according to the reports (we know former, anarchists don't have to defend the nothing about this business) if successful latter (see Neither Nationalisation nor "have an unassailable position in submarine Privatisation: an anarchist approach, and surface vessels". Meanwhile GEC, which Freedom Press, 81 pages, £1.95 post free). In fact anarchists are always pointing out that has plenty of cash in the bank, has secured a 50% stake in the Ferranti-Thomson sonar capitalism is only competitive in order to system as a result of which it "immediately eliminate or absorb any competition and announced plans to establish a new eventually to be the monopolists. Why indeed international sonar grouping with the French do governments have an 'Office of Fair Trading' to which proposed mergers and company Thomson". An interesting sidelight in this legal take-overs are sometimes referred, and very

racketeering is that Thomson should have had "first rights to buy the stake" but this was opposed by the Ministry of Defence on national security grounds. But it was okay for GEC to snap up the stake and then join forces with the French company Thomson!

Dut surely the best example of the myth of Decompetition is provided by an article in the Observer (27th November) dealing with "MoD millions paid to phantom bidders". The

article is too detailed to be summarised. We content ourselves with the opening paragraph:

"Millions of pounds of taxpayers money is being wasted on paying companies to mount tenders for orders from the Ministry of Defence - apparently in an attempt to create an illusion of competition in Britain's drastically reduced defence industry." (our italics)

This certainly did not come as a surprise to this

writer who more than fifty years ago was employed for a time by a much-respected firm of steel structural designers and soon learned that work on which a number of draughtsmen, quantity surveyors, accountants, etc., were engaged for weeks was in the end to produce drawings and estimates in every detail knowing in advance who would get the steel contract. Why? Because they belonged to a ring and between them apportioned the contracts while creating the impression for the clients that by inviting tenders they would get the best buy. Poor suckers! Now it's the Ministry that pays firms to do this to hoodwink who? After all, now they are all in the racket: the clients as well as the suppliers. Who denies that we are living in a capitalist lunatic asylum. Don't blame Major or put your faith in Blair or God. It's the system that is rotten and incurable. When will enough of its victims realise that we must have alternatives which are not attempts to revise this putrefying corpse: capitalism!

When will the powers-that-be realise that they are on a losing wicket. As old Malatesta was pointing out some seventy years ago when more and more stringent laws were being introduced to try and curb the use of cocaine: "as always happens, the scourge grows and spreads in spite, and perhaps because of, the laws". He was even pointing to the psychological attraction for 'forbidden fruits'

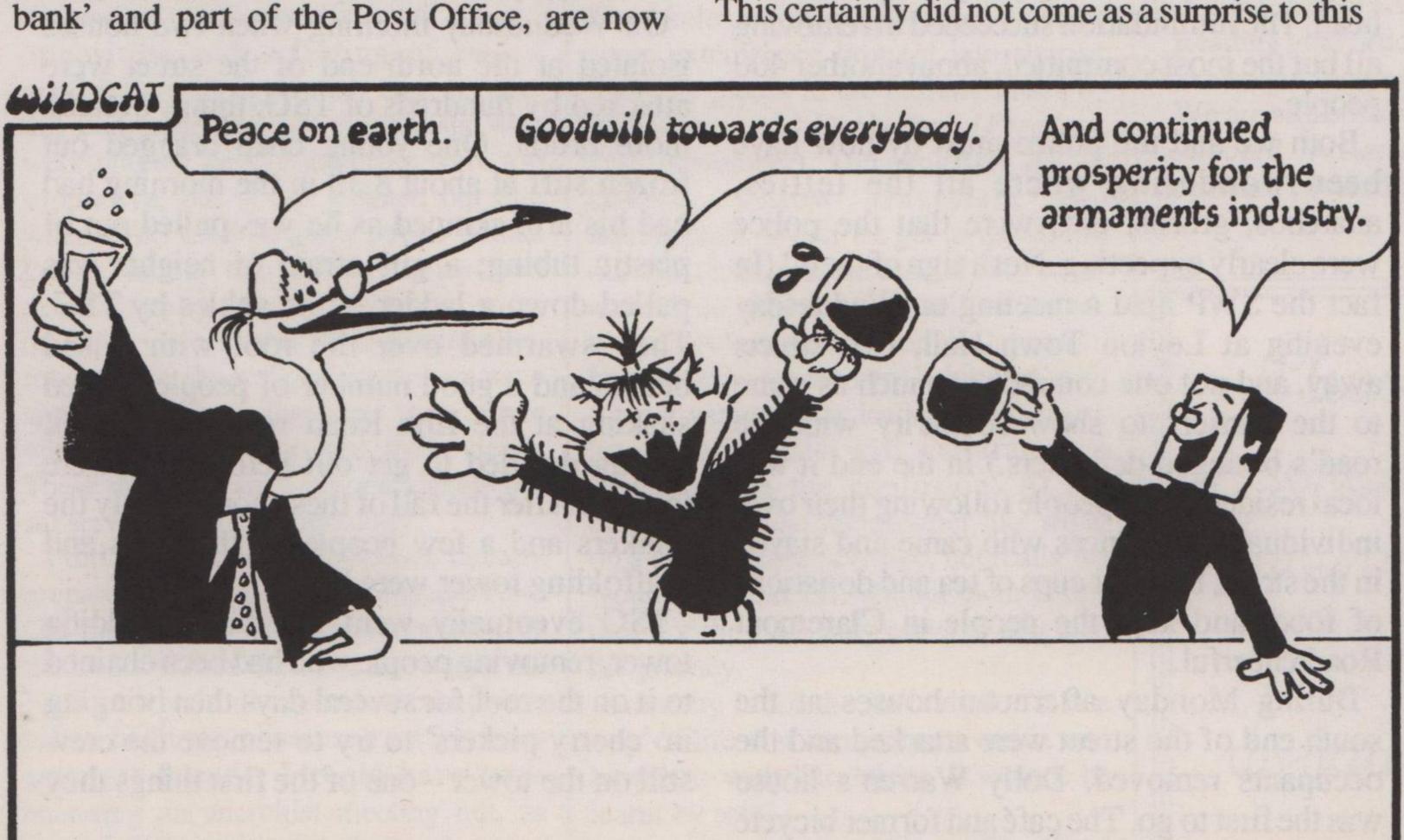
and the fascination of the risks incurred by the consumer and of course as a result "the greater will be the profits made by the speculators avid for money".

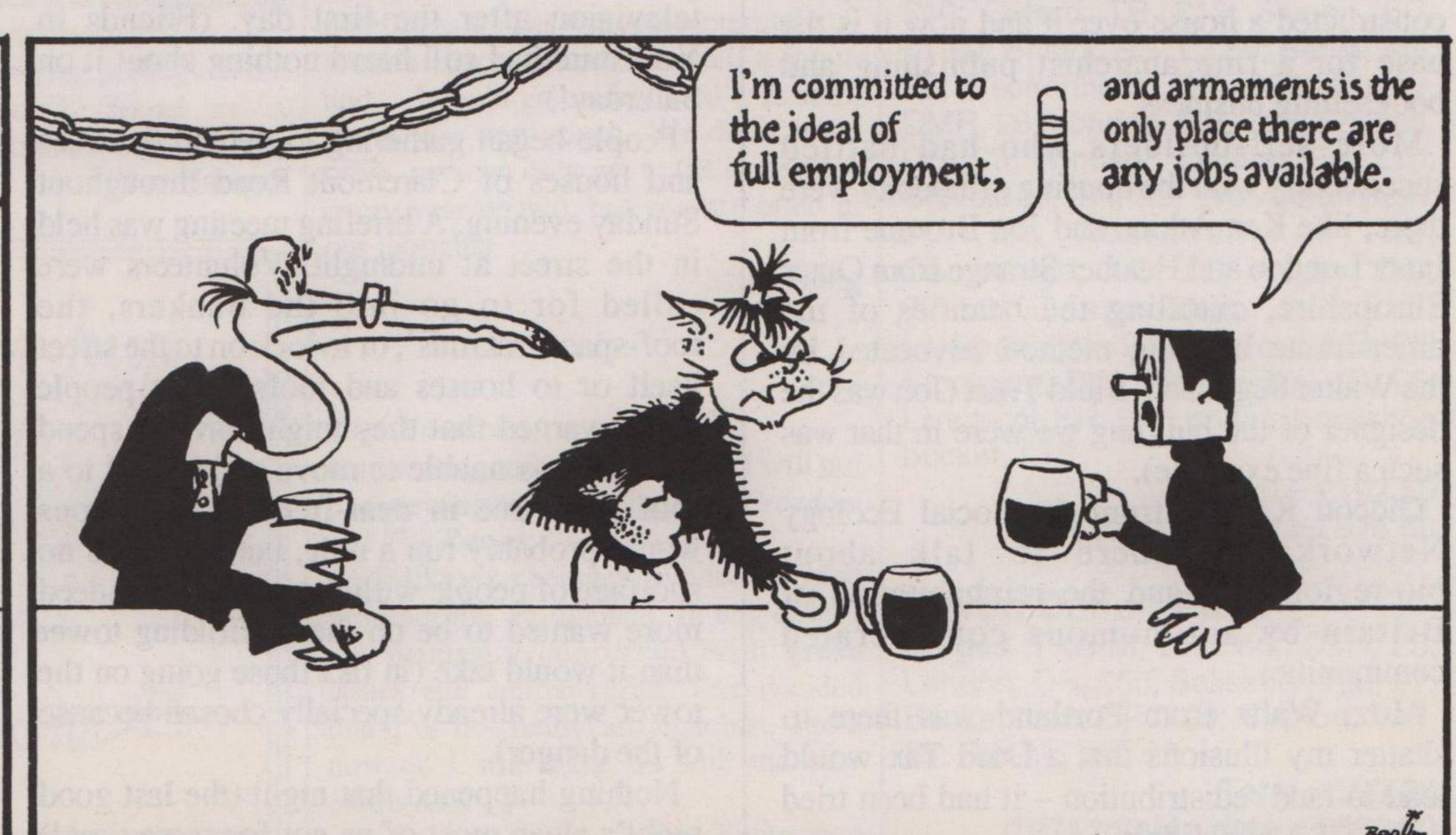
Malatesta offered us another solution – that the use and sale of cocaine should be free from restrictions in open kiosks "where it would be sold at cost price or even under cost". But at the same time "launch a great propaganda campaign to explain to the public, and let them see for themselves the evils of cocaine" (Malatesta: Life and Ideas, Freedom Press, 310 pages, £5 post free).

The 'Panorama' television programme on

L the safety of the Channel ferries confirmed, in our opinion, Freedom's argument that it is in the design of these ships and not in failures of nuts and bolts or that the sea was too rough. The new Minister of Transport Brian Mawhinney (he was an expert in another ministry a few months ago) was all smiles and reassurances that the ferries were safe and his views were confirmed by a quango ex-Admiral representing the ferries industry (there are more than 150 operating on our coasts). But one researcher showing a model to 'Panorama' was doing his best to convey, without saying it in so many words, that these boats are unstable. The naval architects have proposed the bulwarks which would prevent any high seas or accidents from sloshing into the whole car deck and not getting away before the whole stability of the ship is threatened. But this confirms this writer's view about the unstable construction of these ships when it is also proposed that they should have attached at sea level on both sides of the ship pontoon-type additions. We apologise for not having noted the official description, but we have not missed the obvious intention, as it was also explained that they would permit the ship to list without rolling right over. The ferry owners are resisting this proposal since it would cost anything from £2 million to £5 million depending on whose estimate is accepted. But surely what these bolsters are doing is making the ship wider at sea level because at present these ships are top-heavy. As we write, the cruise liner Achille Lauro is on fire off the African coast. All the passengers have been taken on lifeboats and rafts and the crew was on board fighting the fire in spite of the boat having a twenty degree list. A car ferry in such a situation would have turned turtle in five minutes with its human victims. Obviously one way of putting out the fire, but at what a cost! For goodness sake, when will we the potential victims say enough is enough and put these bastards out of business?







en days that shook the world? Well, the Learth moved for me in a modest way during this little self-organised discussion meeting in the lovely turf-roofed timber-framed Calthorpe Institute in Grays Inn Road. We started and finished with a slide show. A picture is worth a thousand words. It is difficult to explain in words what anarchist architecture actually looks like so we showed some examples – mostly of self-built homes with an organic feel to them. Unsurprisingly, most of this kind of building is done in spite of our 'top-down' planning system which profoundly discourages it - on the basis that if it were permitted in one place the floodgates would open and everybody would do it everywhere. What a glorious prospect!

How right they are in sensing this is really what people want to do, and how wrong in assuming that this would lead to the desecration of the countryside, and that there is no room for it in the town.

We who have to live out the plans, should make them for ourselves. We who love and care for our own places are going to be the most responsible planners and the most sensitive builders.

At the Calthorpe we were all conscious of the role the authoritarian planning system has in preserving the artificial scarcity of the land and thus keeping its price too high for ordinary people to obtain it to build on for themselves. Land distribution has altered little since medieval times - very few landowners (the old aristocracy joined by a few giant corporations) own the great majority of the land and make a great deal of money by controlling it through the planning system.

There was a wide range of responses to this situation, ranging from the comrade who would not be satisfied until all the capitalists' land had been expropriated as in the great days of the Spanish Revolution to the self-confessed not-yet-anarchists Peter and Hazel Ellison who had come from Devon to tell us of their experiences. They had encouraged travellers to make camp on their domain. The planners disapproved and issued Enforcement Notices. The Ellisons were unsuccessful at the Public Inquiry (unlike the proprietor of the Yoke Farm in Herefordshire about whom I wrote in Freedom's 'Good News' column recently) and were now trying to remedy the situation by establishing the New Use Land Trust.

There was much discussion on how, short of the 'revolution', we could get hold of land and live on it in a spirit of community according to our own, bottom-up, plans. Particularly constructive was Kraig from Cornwall who told us how Radical Roots, a secondary co-op, was devising a method for setting up self-help housing projects. The key was work-sharing in place of a bureaucracy and the setting up of an ethical people's bank in place of the money market.

From the other end of Europe came a group of German comrades. Wolfgang's father, a direct actionist faced with the catastrophic loss of dwellings due to the wartime attacks on civilian populations, had built a cellar in the back garden for his family. Later he constructed a house over it and now it is the base for a fine anarchist publishing and bookselling business.

More self-builders who had battled successfully with the housing orthodoxy were there, like Ken Atkins and Jon Broome from Inner London and Heather Strange from Outer Shropshire, extolling the beauties of the timer-frame building method advocated by the Walter Segal Self-Build Trust (Jon was the designer of the building we were in that was such a fine example).

Gideon Kossoff from the Social Ecology Network was there to talk about bio-regionalism and the reinhabitation of Britain by autonomous confederated communities.

Mitzi Waltz from Portland was there to shatter my illusions that a Land Tax would lead to land redistribution – it had been tried in the USA and didn't.

ANARCHITECTURE IN THE UK

More planned against than planning

Tot only was there a hum of (unrecorded) I good talk, but we got correspondence from people who couldn't make it on the day.

Tony Thompson from the Community Architecture Group wrote to us from Wells with a cascade of news and views from the nomads in the West Country. Tony, like me, resents the attempt to divide the traditional travellers, or gypsies, from New Travellers (or worse still, New Age Travellers). He points out that travelling, or nomadism, is an indigenous activity in Britain, well pre-dating the arrival of the Romany speakers in the fourteenth century. It persists to this day and deserves to be respected as an ethnic culture, which Tony claims is a term describing habit-of-life rather than race. He puts forward an intelligent and attractive plan to replace the now defunct 1968 Caravan Sites Act which requires local authorities to build permanent fully serviced compounds for gypsies. It is based on an environmental audit which would entail, among other things, "the location and protection of all existing droves (and the droves protected under the Enclosure Award Acts to be reinstated where lost) ... verges on unclassified roads exceeding ten feet to be protected, 1% of common land set aside for occasional legal camping and ½% of county farms ..."

Stage Two is to establish a network of sites within, say, five miles of market towns to be used in sequence "with a maximum tolerance of twelve dwellings for six months in every two years. Each market town would have, typically, six potential sites within its orbit." His Stage Three deals with management and he sets out the environmental criteria it would have to meet. Here is a selection from the list of advantages he claims for the policy:

• harmony with Agenda 21 - Indigenous Peoples;

cost effectiveness;

- congruity with the surrounding countryside - the small expenditure entailed in maintaining trees and hedgerows would be a community and wildlife benefit;
- no rents, which create dependency on the welfare state system and erode nomad freedoms;
- acceptability by both the surrounding population who would not be 'threatened' by permanent and ugly sites near their property, and by travellers who could then afford to live in the environmentally harmonious way they desire.

Tony also sent us news of Glyn Walters who is setting up a Land Reform Society to encourage the redistribution of the large areas of land currently going to waste in this country, such as Ministry of Defence 'peace dividend' land and set-aside farmland. He also referred us to Simon Fairlie's enterprise, the Tinkers Bubble low-impact-dwelling community in Somerset that recently gained a useful boost to its acceptability by playing host to Libby Purves' Radio 4 midweek programme.

We heard from Tony Wrench in Wales who had started out for the architecture meeting but had broken down on the way. In his absence I told the company about his notion of introducing permaculture zones into local

plans. The essence of permaculture land, he says, "is that there is a contractual relationship between the owner and the local/national authorities. This states basically, 'I will buy and live on just this piece of land. I will not buy several plots and speculate. I will not let

it out. I will conserve energy and nature. I will

plant over twenty trees per acre. I will cooperate with my neighbours over transport, infrastructure, power generation, waste disposal, water harvesting and supply, and common land. In return for the freedom to build my own house in the style I choose I will do without additional connections to mains water, electricity, sewerage or road systems'." The Dyfed Permaculture Farm Trust is embodying these ideas in an attempt to buy land and build a group of earth-sheltered eco-homes. Tony's own settlement glimpsed the other day on BBC 1 Wales 'Inside Out' programme is both anarchic and beautiful.

The difficulty with Anarchitecture is getting it out of the dream world and onto the ground, however lightly it might rest there. At some point the top-down planners will have to give way to upwards pressure from us at the roots. There are straws in the wind that give one hope, and they can be fostered and given substance by latching on to the Agenda 21 (of the Rio Earth Summit) obligation that is being put on local authorities for implementation.

One such glimmer of environmental enlightenment is the West Lothian District Council's 'Lowland Crofting' pioneering planning policy. This has as its focus "the improvement of the degraded landscape in the west" of the District Council's area which lies midway between Edinburgh and Glasgow. "The primary aim of lowland crofting policy" writes Anne Cunningham of the Policy and Implementation Section of the WLDC, "has been devised to allow for the restructuring of whole farms to provide croft holdings, new woodlands, nature conservation and public access areas and the retention of better agricultural land in productive use". The district is looking for "designers who are in tune with the whole concept of lowland crofting ... this means looking at the farms as a place to live and work, anticipating the evolution of new rural communities, taking on board principles of sustainability and last but not least adding to the attractiveness of the countryside." And they want to encourage self-build!

Brian Richardson

The Siege of Claremont Road

Iaremont Road in Leyton, East London, a leafy late-Victorian terraced street built for artisan workers, was last week the scene of a three and a half day battle as bailiffs, police and TSG attacked residents and their friends and allies to clear them from the street to make way for the unwanted and pointless M11 Link Motorway. Whilst the government probably didn't torch the 'Achille Lauro', they certainly planned the operation to evict the several hundred residents and anti-road protesters (ridiculously code-named Garden Party) to coincide with the Autumn Budget, thus guaranteeing us a minimum of publicity. So it was that one of the biggest police operations of the year, for which the DoT had earmarked £2 million, went virtually unreported in the national media and scarcely interested local television after the first day. (Friends in Yorkshire had still heard nothing about it on Saturday!)

People began gathering to defend the trees and houses of Claremont Road throughout Sunday evening. A briefing meeting was held in the street at midnight. Volunteers were called for to go into the bunkers, the roof-space 'rat runs', or to lock on to the street itself or to houses and roofs. Most people being warned that they might have to spend several days unable to move and locked to a roof or a tree in near-freezing conditions would probably run a mile, but there was no shortage of people willing to do it and indeed more wanted to be on the scaffolding tower than it would take (in fact those going on the tower were already specially chosen because of the danger).

Nothing happened that night (the last good night's sleep most of us got for some time!)

but just after 2pm on Monday (when tip-offs had told us to expect an attack) the Campaign office received a call to tell us that units of police and TSG were moving off from their base at the Whipps Cross TA Centre. They poured into the street, kicking the six people who had locked themselves to the tarmac at one end, and began removing anyone they could grab. Press and Liberty and other observers were especially targeted for removal; then they went for the others – about 200 people, mostly local residents and including several small children. A 70 year old women, who has campaigned against the Link Motorway for many years, was quite unnecessarily thrown to the ground and dragged away with her jumper up over her head. The intimidation succeeded in removing all but the most committed, about another 400 people.

Both we and the police must by now have been wondering where all the lefties, anarchos, greens, etc., were that the police were clearly expecting. Not a sign of them! (In fact the SWP held a meeting on Wednesday evening at Leyton Town Hall, two streets away, and not one comrade so much as came to the barriers to show solidarity with the road's besieged defenders.) In the end it was local residents and people following their own individual consciences who came and stayed in the street, brought cups of tea and donations of food, and kept the people in Claremont Road cheerful.

During Monday afternoon houses at the south end of the street were attacked and the occupants removed. Dolly Warren's house was the first to go. The café and former bicycle repair workshop (where I was) followed soon

after, apart from the people in the rat-runs and on the roofs. Throughout Monday and Tuesday even the TSG were being polite and giving people time to leave peacefully. There was a nasty incident on Monday evening when a woman slipped while crossing one of the three shipping nets strung between trees and houses. She landed on a digger, and the driver - who obviously saw this - moved away leaving her to fall to the ground. She was concussed but, luckily, not seriously hurt because she was pounced on by four policemen who showed no regard at all for possible injuries in dragging her away.

On Tuesday evening, though, things began to get nasty as the first net was cut. Food and water had been ferried across these, and it was clearly intended to starve us out. About twenty people were on one net, and it was miraculous that no one was seriously hurt. One man was beaten up by about five policemen.

On Wednesday morning when two houses isolated at the north end of the street were attacked by hundreds of TSG, things became more brutal. One young chap dragged out frozen stiff at about 8.30 in the morning had had his arm skinned as he was pulled out of plastic tubing; a girl afraid of heights was pulled down a ladder by he ankles by TSG. They swarmed over the roof with raised batons and a good number of people arrived shaking at the Elm Road regrouping point having decided to get out before they were injured. After the fall of these houses, only the bunkers and a few people on the roofs and scaffolding tower were left.

TSG eventually went for the scaffolding tower, removing people who had been chained to it on the roof for several days then bringing in 'cherry pickers' to try to remove the crew still on the tower – one of the first things they

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pecently 300 Indians marched under the banner of the huipala with the seven colours of the rainbow (symbolising the unity of indigenous peoples before the conquest) and the two black flags of Ruminhaui (legendary leader of the auchtonomous movement) and Atahualpa (the last Inca) through the town of Canar, Ecuador. Nearby a soldier filmed them from a jeep.

The march reached what had been the community centre Nukanchic Huasi (Our House) - a burnt out shell with only one remaining building with all its windows smashed. The local inhabitants looked on unsympathetically...

Nukanchic Huasi

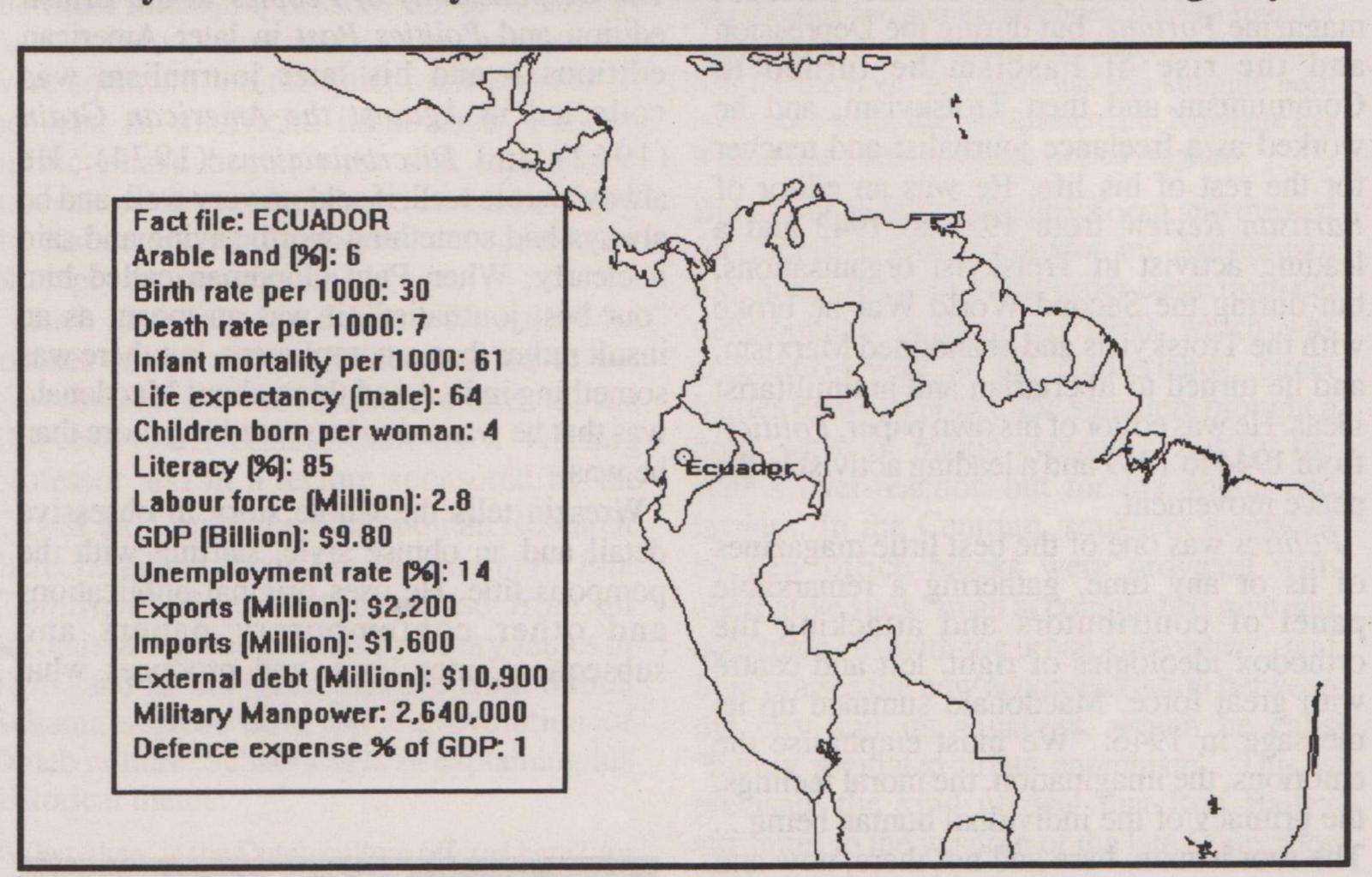
Throughout their history the Indians of Canar have seen their land seized by the big land owners. In the early 1960s they formed the Provincial Union of the Peasant Communes of Canar (UPCCC). With the support of Belgian and Norwegian NGOs the UPCCC they set up their own community centre – a library with some 60,000 books, recording facilities, computers, workshops, a health centre, education, etc., all in all twenty years work.

But unfortunately Canar is a stronghold of the landowning class and they didn't look too kindly on such developments. It was the uprising in June 94 which sparked off, literally, the reaction. 300 Indians were inside. No matter. They torched it. 35 injured and an activist and a child were never seen again. "They have burnt wood, they have burnt roofs, they have burnt stones", said one of the Indian community, "but they will never burn away our spirit. With the power of the smoke we will continue our struggle".

Immediately the Indians set up their own tribunal to judge the agrarian law they were opposing and which had started the whole affair. Self sufficient at the start of the '60s, Ecuador today imports food to feed her population. The agrarian laws aim to submit agriculture to the exclusive logic of the market. It is the 'lack of productivity' of the Indian way of farming which is singled out for

ECUADOR: the struggle continues ...

More news is reaching us from Latin America about activities and struggles over the past few months. With the continuing revolt in Chiapas, struggles in Guatemala and the activities of the Indian groupings in Ecuador a new force for change is emmerging in Latin America which is challenging the institutions of power. Here we bring you an update on the evolving situation in Ecuador and the press release for anarchist groups which has recently been sent out by the Brazilian Anarchist Information Agency.



attack despite the fact that the 'efficient' farming techniques of the banana, cocoa and flower plantations just happen to occur in areas where the best land is. In fact 80% of food production occurs on areas of land no bigger than 10 hectares. So who is feeding the country?

State of Emergency

As reported in Freedom the law was passed on 13th June 1994 and was immediately met

with an uprising which successfully sealed off parts of the country. The Confederation of Ecuadorian Indigenous People (CONAIE) called for a 'mobilisation for life'. Against them was the president Sixto Duran with his landowning political base and of course the World Bank which had 'tied' aid to the condition that his agrarian law was enacted. An unequal balance of power.

On 21st June a general state of emergency was declared. The military were called in to clear the roads and seize the means of communication that the Indians were using. The telephone lines of many organisations were cut off. The private militias of the big landowners were let off their leash with predictable results, "but we have an enormous advantage," declared one militant, "in the mountainous provinces like Canar, Cotopaxi, Pichincha and Chimborazo much of the road network is under our control. With or without an army presence, it is not hard to cause a landslide, cut trees, day and night..." The movement could not be squashed without all out civil war and Chiapas was breathing down their necks and the mess that is Peru was looking at them from over the years. After two weeks the government caved in.

Claiming that the Indians had never fully understood the law they took it upon their noble shoulders to explain it a little more clearly and after this benevolence they explained that the Indians had accepted it. In fact of the original act only six articles remain intact - forty have been modified. On the crucial question of water privatisation Nina Pacari of CONAIE declares, "We have ensured that water does not pass under the

control of the big landowners".

Anarchists will see the possibility of a dangerous complacency here and a looming sleight of hand which will put the state back in the driving seat but CONAIE is not regressing into triumphalism, "We have not satisfied all our aspirations. We have gone as far as we can in the current political context," they claim. Social, cultural and ecological questions now have to be faced, "We wish to show that the neo-liberal development route is not the only one. We have proposals for another way of development." One spokesman, José Ruminui, put it this way when speaking of the Peruvian guerrilla movement: "So much violence and for what? Marx, Lenin, Mao left wing political dogmas don't work. Our future is with us."

information from Le Monde Diplomatique November 1994

The Siege of Claremont Road

(continued from page 3)

did was destroy the water supply. The last person left the tower on Thursday night.

A couple of sideline issues have actually raised more concern as far as police activity went than the operation itself, which was largely peaceful and avoided serious injuries. On Wednesday afternoon, 1a Claremont Road (above the corner sweetshop) was attacked and the inhabitants evicted. This house was occupied by squatters unconnected with the anti-Motorway campaign; the siege situation was used to rush eviction papers through and police refused to allow lawyers into the building. This was not the only time police used the siege to evict non-involved people – on Thursday morning, almost unbelievably, two houses inside the cordoned-off area of Grove Green Road were attacked by police and bailiffs, apparently without proper papers. In the corner house – not a squat but rented accommodation – lived a couple with a severely handicapped autistic child and a friend of the family who helps with his care. Although eviction notices had been served, the couple had been told that because of the child's condition no action would be taken against them (or their neighbour) until the local council had found them suitable accommodation. Instead, police took advantage of the situation at nearby Claremont Road to forcibly evict the family from their home. The women and the terrified screaming child were held downstairs while police searched the house. W.S. Atkins, the DoT's Link Road Agents, said the eviction was forced through because a 'protester' had visited the family! Oh yes, and they weren't even invoking the Criminal Justice Act!

 Antimilitarists from together for the Latin

American Conference of Conscientious Objectors from the 8th to 14th May in Paraguay. Brazil was represented by SERPAJ. The meeting allowed participants to exchange information and share experiences of the realities in each country. It also allowed for the planning of joint activities and concrete actions relating to the two major themes of antimilitarism and conscientious objection. During the five days various themes related to that of conscientious objection were also discussed including freedom, civil disobedience, social justice and solidarity.

- Since June '94 the Brazilian Anarchist Movement has organised a national campaign for the liberation and against the execution of the anarchist Katsuhisa Omori who has been condemned to death by the Japanese state. Omori has been in jail for 18 years now for a crime he did not commit. During the first week of August letters, telegrams and a petition with more than 4,000 signatures calling for Omori's liberation were sent to the Japanese embassy in Brazil. In addition some cities saw public demonstrations against Japanese state terrorism.
- As the Brazilian elections came up various parts of the country saw activities against politicians and the elections in general. In Campinas (central Sao Paulo) some anarchists burnt their ballot forms on the public square protesting against the electoral farce and the system of compulsory voting.
- From the 8th to the 17th July the Festival of Art and Culture without Frontiers and Libertarian Education was held in Florianopolis. Lectures, exhibitions, performances, films

KA

eight countries in Latin America came Anarchist Activity in Brazil

and a workshop on computer networking were some of the attractions at this important event which brought together comrades from Portugal, Spain and Brazil. In addition to this the second southern conference of anarchist groups and individuals was held. The comrades who attended this conference decided to come together for propaganda purposes relating to common struggles and with the future objective of forming an anarchist federation.

- To mark the 49th anniversary of the American bombing of Hiroshima anarchist groups in Sao Paulo, Curitiba, Londrina and Salvador came out onto the streets to protest against military expenditure, war and the militarization of society.
- The historian, film director and anarchist Valencio Xavier recently produced his latest short film: Pao Negro - Um Episodio da Colonia Cecilia. It was 40 minutes of emotion, passion and anarchy. The film deals with the testimony of descendants of the colony and the story of Rossi and two colonies that were bought as pieces of land in Palmeira. A book will soon also be published about Valencio and the history of this anarchist experiment in Brazil.
- The University of Ceara saw anacho-punks from the north and north-east come together for a conference (15th/17th July) The meeting brought together individuals and groups from five separate states to discuss various themes.
- The anarcha-feminist group in Sao Paulo (CAF) organised an anti homophobia event in Espaco Vadiagem on 30th July. Ten anarcho-punk groups performed to young

audiences. The event was marred by the infiltration of Nazi Skinheads who were exposed and removed

by some young libertarians. Since that time some members of CAF have been the target of intimidation by these troublemakers.

- At the university of Campinas UNICAMP organised from 24th to 26th August a seminar: 20 years of the Archives of Edgar Leuenroth – one of the best libertarian archives in Latin America. Workshops were organised on the history of the left, the workers movement, industrialisation, human rights, culture and politics. There was also an international workshop discussing archives and social history. This was accompanied by a photographic exhibition. The conference closed with a talk by Professor Rudolf de Jong of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam with the title: 'The Spanish Civil War and the Anarchist Revolution'. Professor Martha Ackelsberg also gave a talk on the women's liberation movement and the anarchist movement in Spain.
- The Adventures of Joao Pao an Abandoned Youth is the title of the latest book by the anarchist writer Roberto Freire, published on 25th August by Casa da Soma in Sao Paulo. The book is a fictional account for young people about the adventures of street children in Brazil. It is all written from an anarchist perspective.

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A Rebel in Defense of Tradition: the life and politics of Dwight Macdonald

by Michael Wreszin
Basic Books, £17.99

When John Campbell published his Lives of the Lord Chancellors without consulting their families or friends, 150 years ago, it was said that he had "added a new terror to death". The biographical reign of terror has steadily intensified ever since, especially after Lytton Strachey's Eminent Victorians (1918), and now people are scarcely dead before their private lives are publicised in increasingly frank books. Dwight Macdonald was an American journalist with a considerable reputation who made the mistake of keeping all his papers and leaving them to his alma mater, Yale University; Michael Wreszin is an American academic who has mined what he calls "this motherlode of material over 73 linear feet long", talked to all his family and friends, and produced a 600-page biography which does what can be done to destroy his reputation. Wreszin admires 'Dwight', as he calls him, so much that he smothers him with admiration; he tells us far more than we want to know about every stage of what was a pretty dull life, like most journalists' lives, and adds yet more terror to death. Yet he does provide some material of interest to anarchists, since

Two Anniversaries

Two important anniversaries have passed almost unnoticed in the anarchist press. This year marks Voltaire's 300th birthday. The author of Candide, as a confidante of emperors and believer in the 'enlightened monarch' was hardly an anarchist, but he was an early freethinker who struggled unremittingly against l'infame (religion). He was also deeply opposed to war. It was precisely his hatred of war which made him comment during the Seven Years War, for which Canadians have never forgiven him, that Canada was quelques arpents de neige.

At a time when PC arseholes are spewing about the evils of 'Eurocentrism', it says something about our culture that Voltaire's savaging of the church should earn him a peaceful death in bed in old age. Meanwhile in 1994, Salman Rushdie is threatened with murder for his mild satire on Islam.

Voltaire is remembered for more than opposition to religion and war. During the twentieth century one hundred million people have perished through execution squads, deliberately made famines and concentration camps. In no small measure these monstrous crimes are the result of fanatical ideologies. Voltaire was highly suspicious of ideology, for he was well aware of the limitations of human knowledge. The ideologue, however, thinks he knows everything and hence always ends up playing God. Ideology always has an authoritarian bent and to be consistently anarchist we must adopt Voltaire's suspicious attitude and constantly fight the tendency to ideologise.

Tolerance was another important aspect of his thinking, one which logically flows from his view of human limitations. Lack of tolerance for other people's opinions is also one of the most obvious manifestations of the authoritarian personality. In order to be true to our anarchist beliefs we should again borrow from Voltaire and do everything in our power to eradicate intolerance.

The other anniversary is that of the Rochdale L Co-operative Society, founded 150 years ago. The 28 working men who created the organisation did not invent the co-op, nor did their inspiration, Robert Owen. Co-operative societies were first developed by artisans in the eighteenth century. What Rochdale did was give rise to a movement that has never stopped growing since that day in 1844. Co-ops are ubiquitous, every neighbourhood and village has at least several. They are the most obvious form of mutual aid in our society. Worldwide, the movement has over 335 million members and assets run into many thousands of millions of dollars (trillions if you add credit unions to the list). They are also the most practical form that socialism can take in the midst of a capitalist society. It is a form which is not statist, and which emphasises democratic control, federalism and localism. Anarchists have always promoted the development of co-operatives, especially those that are worker-managed. Therefore we should raise a glass to the Rochdale pioneers.

Larry Gambone

A Rebel in Defence of Tradition

Macdonald had a significant relationship with anarchism for part of his life.

Dwight Macdonald was born in New York in 1906 and turned to journalism while he was a student. Unlike most journalists he was very well educated, but like most journalists he had difficulty writing anything but journalism. He worked for seven years on the business magazine Fortune, but during the Depression and the rise of Fascism he turned to Communism and then Trotskyism, and he worked as a freelance journalist and teacher for the rest of his life. He was an editor of Partisan Review from 1936 to 1943 and a leading activist in Trotskyist organisations, but during the Second World War he broke with the Trotskyists and abandoned Marxism, and he turned to libertarian and antimilitarist ideas. He was editor of his own paper, Politics, from 1944 to 1949 and a leading activist in the peace movement.

Politics was one of the best little magazines of its or any time, gathering a remarkable panel of contributors and attacking the orthodox ideologies of right, left and centre with great force. Macdonald summed up its message in 1946: "We must emphasise the emotions, the imagination, the moral feelings, the primacy of the individual human being ... The root is man, here and not there, now and not then." He also wrote at the time of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki: "We must 'get' the national State before it 'gets' us. Every individual who wants to save his humanity – and indeed his skin – had better begin thinking 'dangerous thoughts' about sabotage, resistance, rebellion, and the fraternity of all men everywhere." The paper contained much material of great interest to anarchists, and was distributed in Britain by the Freedom Press.

When *Politics* closed, he became a highly regarded (and highly paid) contributor to prestigious papers, and in particular he worked for the *New Yorker* from the 1940s to the 1970s and for *Encounter* in London in the mid-1950s. He became an ex-leftist, though not an anti-leftist. In 1957 he wrote a two-part essay in *Encounter* called 'Politics Past', in which he recalled his career. He remarked that despite his disillusion, "anarchism makes more sense today than any other radical philosophy", and he explained:

"The revolutionary alternative to the status quo today is not collectivised property administered by a 'workers' state', whatever that means, but some kind of anarchist decentralisation that will break up mass society into small communities where individuals can live together as variegated human beings instead of as impersonal units in the mass sum. The shallowness of the New Deal and the British Labour Party's post-war regime is shown by their failure to improve any of the important things in people's lives - the actual relationships on the job, the way they spend their leisure, and child-rearing and sex and art. It is mass living that vitiates all these today and the State that holds together the status quo. Marxism glorifies 'the masses' and endorses the State. Anarchism leads back to the individual and the community, which is 'impracticable' but necessary - that is to say, it is revolutionary."

But he abandoned political activity, reluctantly supported the West in the Cold War, called himself only a 'conservative anarchist', and became best known for his elitist criticism of mass and middle-brow culture.

However, in an unusual development, he returned to the left towards the end of his life, supporting the student movement and the campaign against the Vietnam War during the 1960s. In 1960 he spoke on 'The Relevance of Anarchism' to student meetings, and in 1968 he wrote: "I have reluctantly decided that civil disobedience is the only answer to the immorality of our times." In a way he didn't change so much as react to changes in society,

and he always questioned all of what George Orwell called "smelly little orthodoxies".

His last years were not happy, as he struggled for work and health and reputation, and he died in 1982. His early journalism was collected in The Root is Man (1953) and Memoirs of a Revolutionist (1958) - called The Responsibility of Peoples in the British edition and Politics Past in later American editions - and his later journalism was collected in Against the American Grain (1962) and Discriminations (1974). He always wrote well, if seldom very well, and he always had something worth saying and said it clearly. When Paul Goodman called him "our best journalist", it was an meant as an insult rather than a compliment, but there was something in it. A sad thing about Macdonald was that he wanted to be something more than

Wreszin tells the whole story in obsessive detail and an obtuse style, starting with the pompous title. He uses original publications and other contemporary papers and subsequent interviews, and produces what



Dwight Macdonald, centre with cigarette

must be a definitive account of the facts of Macdonald's life. He quotes Macdonald's sharp criticism of a long boring biography without realising how well it applies to his own effort. No doubt it all has much interest for insiders, but much of it has little interest for outsiders. In particular it has insufficient analysis of Macdonald's various versions of political theory. Wreszin's special contribution, as with so many recent biographies, is in revealing the intimate details of Macdonald's private life. The current fashion for emphasising sexual and medical details is often unpleasant and irrelevant, but it can help to put things into perspective. Thus it is worth knowing that Macdonald's turn to Marxism in the 1930s and away from it in the 1940s was influenced by his first wife, and that when he described *Politics* as "a one-man magazine" much of the work and most of the money were actually provided by her. It may be relevant but it is depressing to learn that he drank and smoked too much, didn't treat his wives or his sons very well, tended to insult men and pursue women, and so on. Rather than all this stuff, it would really be much better to have new editions of some of his books or at least an anthology of his writings.

One aspect of Macdonald's life which isn't properly covered is stays in this country in 1956-1957 and in 1960-1961. Wreszin is ignorant of British geography and society, and also of Macdonald's contacts with the far left here. He doesn't mention that he spoke to the Malatesta Club in March 1957 (as reported by Colin Ward in *Freedom* on 13th April 1957), and although he does mention that Macdonald joined the Aldermaston March in 1961 he doesn't mention that he had also joined the Committee of 100's first sit-down demonstration in February 1961 (as recorded in photograph number 33 in Vernon Richards's book *Protest Without Illusions*).

The final verdict must be that Dwight Macdonald deserved a good book, but that this is not it; yet anything which reminds us of his idiosyncratic life and work and which recalls his individual resistance to our age deserves some welcome.

NW

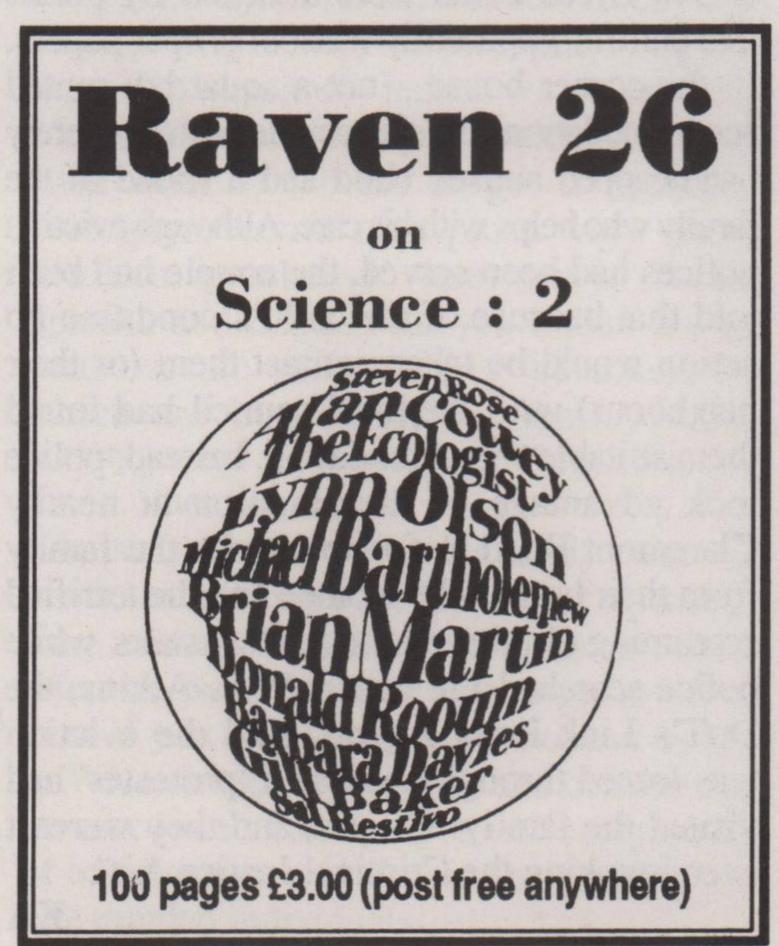
Through the Anarchist Press

popular preconceptions still abound on the I nature of the universe. That 50% of thinking (?) people in the US still believe that the Sun revolves around the Earth shows the strength of their educational system in its inverse proportions. I've mentioned before the bewildering fact that some of the knowledge of ancient times practically disappears for a thousand years and I quoted the case of the Latin author Tacitus whose work was suppressed by the church for many centuries. I have recently come across the work of the African author Martianus Capella whose work written in the fifth century AD only surfaced a thousand years later (to be derided), nevertheless in his chapter on astronomy in which Venus and Mercury are described to go round the sun, a book known to Copernicus, he had important things to say.

How such suppression takes place can easily be explained by present-day examples. Many works of art suffer such a fate. It is good to hear that there is an exhibition of 'Unshowables', works of art which disappeared into the vaults of public collections never to see daylight again. Richard Niman's polychrome sculpture was bought by the Imperial War Museum (the sculpture shows a marked similarity to a well known mid-century eccentric who is shown tearing a doll baby to bits) and never exhibited. If you want to see the exhibition telephone Arts Now on 071-582 5785 (see caption to photo).

In the beginning there was counterfeit money. In the end there was a long queue at the fish 'n' chip shop where the staff were holding up £20 notes to the light and making everybody feel uncomfortable, scrutinising the notes and tearing at the silver foil. You patted yourself on the back if it was alright. No chips, but the bum's rush if your laser photocopy didn't pass the test.

London Film-makers Co-op has been at it for many decades and visiting their Gloucester Avenue hide-out can be an enriching experience. Once a month they show films by all comers and this time I saw some admirable film animation work by absolute beginners. We were also shown a film purportedly made by the Ministry of Art (military section) about 'the dream cognicity of bereaved twins'. This is recommended showing at cinemas – certificate A.



xplaining the British political climate to Lewis Mumford in the summer of 1945, Frederic Osborn wrote that "In the last few weeks there has been organised squatting in empty mansions, with enough public approval to force the government and the authorities into more active requisitioning - a score for the anarchists". Nearly a quarter of a century later, squatting was revived in the London boroughs because of the scandal of publicly-owned housing left empty for years awaiting future redevelopment that frequently failed to happen. It was met with ruthless mayhem by 'bailiffs' employed by councils and the deliberate wrecking by council

Then some local authorities aimed at a more constructive policy. It is significant that Ron Bailey, one of the initiators of the 1968 squats, dedicates his recent book Homelessness: What Can Be Done? to a Conservative local politician "in admiration of the astonishing courage and vision he showed in entering into the first legal agreement with squatters in 1969", and he goes on to say that "as a result of his action, tens of thousands of homes that would otherwise have stayed empty have been brought back into use and hundreds of thousands of homeless people given new hope and dignity".2

employees of habitable houses.

This provides interesting insights into the 'threshold of tolerance' of politicians, for since the early 1970s governments of both major parties have sought to update the laws of 1381 and 1623 relating to squatting and to shift it from the realm of civil law to that of criminal law, finally (so the government thinks) settled by the inclusion of a clause about Aggravated Trespass in the Criminal Justice Act of 1994.

It is always useful to make international Lcomparisons and the first of these that occurs to most people is that of Copenhagen where the big area now called Christiania has

- 1. Michael Hughes, editor, The Letters of Lewis Mumford and Frederic Osborn (Bath: Adams & Dart, 1971).
- 2. Ron Bailey, Homelessness: What Can Be Done? (Oxford: Jon Carpenter, 1994).

to BBC radio listened in vain.

employ people's power.

thought are discernible.

at its best.

di et amo, quare id faciam, fortasse

Prequiris. Nescio, sed fieri sentio et

excrucior. Carullus wrote the above to explain

the unexplainable, the emotions aroused by

the terrible twins of love and hate. Although

Latin was the ruler's language, the slaves were

the scribes and many of their locked-in

oing backwards and forwards in time to

Texamples takes less time than actual

travel. Shakespeare 400 years ago (in 1594)

published his Richard III with its famous cry:

"A horse, a horse, my kingdom for a horse"

which still sounds to me anarchist economics

- ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK -

Home truths from Amsterdam

been a squat for almost a quarter of a century. A visit to its variegated site is by now part of the tourist agenda.

But it is Amsterdam, for many people the most enjoyable city in Europe, that provides the most interesting lessons about squatting. As in London, there were always people who were squatters 'on the quiet', not wanting to be seen as unofficial inhabitants, but the public phase began with that interesting movement, first called Provo and then called the Kabouters, who pioneered the occupation of empty property in the old city.

Much more recently Edward W. Soja, who teaches urban and regional planning at the University of California, came to the University of Amsterdam as a visiting professor and in a lecture sponsored by the City at the Centre for Metropolitan Research there, he talked about The Stimulus of a Little Confusion.3 He took this phrase from an account of the Netherlands by Henry James in 1875, and as his text a passage from Simon Schama's great book on the evolution of Dutch culture. Schama says in explaining his historical theme:

"What, then, is the Dutch culture offered here? An allegiance that was fashioned as the consequence, not the cause, of freedom, and that was defined by common habits rather than legislated by institutions. It was a manner of sharing a peculiar very peculiar - space at a particular time ... the product of the encounter between fresh historical experience and the constraints of geography."4

It is in this light that Soja sees Amsterdam's

- 3. Edward J. Soja, The Stimulus of a Little Confusion (Amsterdam: Centrum voor Grootstedelijk Onderzoek, 1991).
- 4. Simon Schama, The Embarrassment of Riches: an Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age (London: Fontana, 1987).

squatters, "a remarkably successful example of gentrification by the youthful poor", and he notes that:

"... the squatter movement was more than just an occupation of abandoned offices, factories, warehouses and some residences. It was a fight for the rights to the city itself, especially for the young and for the poor. Nowhere has this struggle been more successful than in Amsterdam. Nowhere has it been less successful than in Los Angeles."

But as our familiar property boom and the lust for lucrative redevelopment hit Amsterdam too, pressure for law-and-order came from the development industry. In 1980, which was coronation year in the Netherlands, street battles between police and squatters brought a great wave of public sympathy, not for the state's over-reaction but for the young and lawless. In the Centrum, squatters displaced by new office blocks were provided with alternative sites "in an accomplished give and take trade-off with the urban authorities", and Soja praises the new accommodation between the city and its squatters, which he calls "highly regulated urban anarchism". This is precisely the kind of deal that Ron Bailey attributes to the wisdom of the late Councillor Herbert Eames of Lewisham.

In steps another witness. David Carr-Smith has spent five years watching squats in abandoned industrial buildings in Amsterdam, not in the central Spuistraat district studied by Soja, but in the waterside equivalent of say, London's Docklands, full of vast buildings outmoded by economic change. On 28th November at the University of North London, he dazzled an audience of designers by showing 200 slides to demonstrate the aesthetic qualities of this improvised architecture, which provides "the vitality of a modern urban-vernacular based on recycling of rich-city refuse, improvisational intelligence and individualistic self-interest, enabled and sustained by its context of co-operation".

He went on to illustrate how these buildings have engendered:

"... an astonishingly rich variety of self-invented architecture: living-places, apartments and indeed whole houses build within the vast and simple or labyrinthine factory spaces. Improvised from basic construction products and the detritus of their sites and the surrounding city, they evolve from simple enclosures through stages of increasing complexity - some become 'expressive' espousing daring structural inventions, others develop into 'aesthetically superb city-apartments' or complete little 'family-homes' bizarrely nested within the impersonal factory spaces."

He showed pictures of Tetterode as a place where the squat had evolved from huge living-spaces into self-contained family dwellings as the occupants had children and were alert to their needs. Both sides in the arguments over squatting had learned from the battles over the site now occupied by Holiday Inn, and the unofficial occupiers of Tetterode won a collective 50-year lease with collective mortgage terms in their favour.

And he showed slides of a site of long former railway sheds near the central station which had been converted by its occupants into a waterside idyll of little houses, and of another huge grain warehouse, Silo, transformed into "an enormous warren of cave-like spaces". Despite the lessons of the past, these sites are threatened. Carr-Smith had seen the members of the City Redesign Team walking around the northern edge of the city without noticing these creative transformations since their minds were fixed on redevelopment proposals, as in similar areas of British cities, for office blocks, up-market residences and appropriate boutiques and restaurants.

He doesn't envisage the confrontations of

the past, but thinks that very inadequate alternative sites will be offered to these creative squatters. In British terms, the very thought of negotiations with squatters belongs to the past - 'licensed squats' and short-term housing co-ops and Ron Bailey's negotiations with councillors. Government has settled for the Criminal Justice Act. Our assumptions about the nature of urban living have been shrivelled down to the quick-buck culture of the property development industry, and it is left to the disinherited young to protest against the loss of the stimulus of a little confusion.

Now I'm aware of course that there are anarchists around who regarded Ron Bailey and people like him as renegades for entering into deals with local authorities for licensed squats, even though there are housing co-ops in London today which grew out of them. These critics would rather that the squatters had gone down fighting under the banner of 'No Surrender'. Maybe they have their equivalent in Amsterdam too.

I don't share this view. When Bailey had the chance to write a book on The Squatters his publishers, Penguin Books, cut out his chapter called 'In Defence of Direct Action' which, no doubt, they thought was only of interest to a partisan audience. He eventually got it published in 1974, and in it he explained that:

"In the squatters movement I have worked with ordinary non-political people for admittedly small gains, and we achieved a large measure of success. Ordinary people acted and won; and ordinary people manage the houses in which they now live. So when councils offered to hand over houses, we accepted these rather than fight over them unnecessarily. And I make no apology for this, for a number of reasons: first it achieved the immediate aim of the squatters, a decent place in which to live, and secondly it achieved more - additional houses were handed over to the squatters. What do those who claim that these deals were a sell-out suggest we should have done? Should we have refused to accept the houses and so leave them empty? Or perhaps we should have insisted that the squatting in them remained unlawful so that a confrontation could occur."3

His belief was that the squatters' movement of those days "demonstrates daily the message that badly housed people are capable of organising their own lives. This is the kind of message that revolutionaries should be seeking to get across day after day month after month".

Bailey was writing twenty years ago, and the appalling thing to my mind is that public attitudes towards the squatters have shifted in harmony with those of politicians and bureaucrats. My Dutch friends always chide me for having too optimistic a view of the culture which enjoys the stimulus of a little confusion. But that's because they haven't experienced the descent into claustrophobia of British politics in the 1990s. They haven't experienced a piece of legislation like the Criminal Justice Act.

Colin Ward

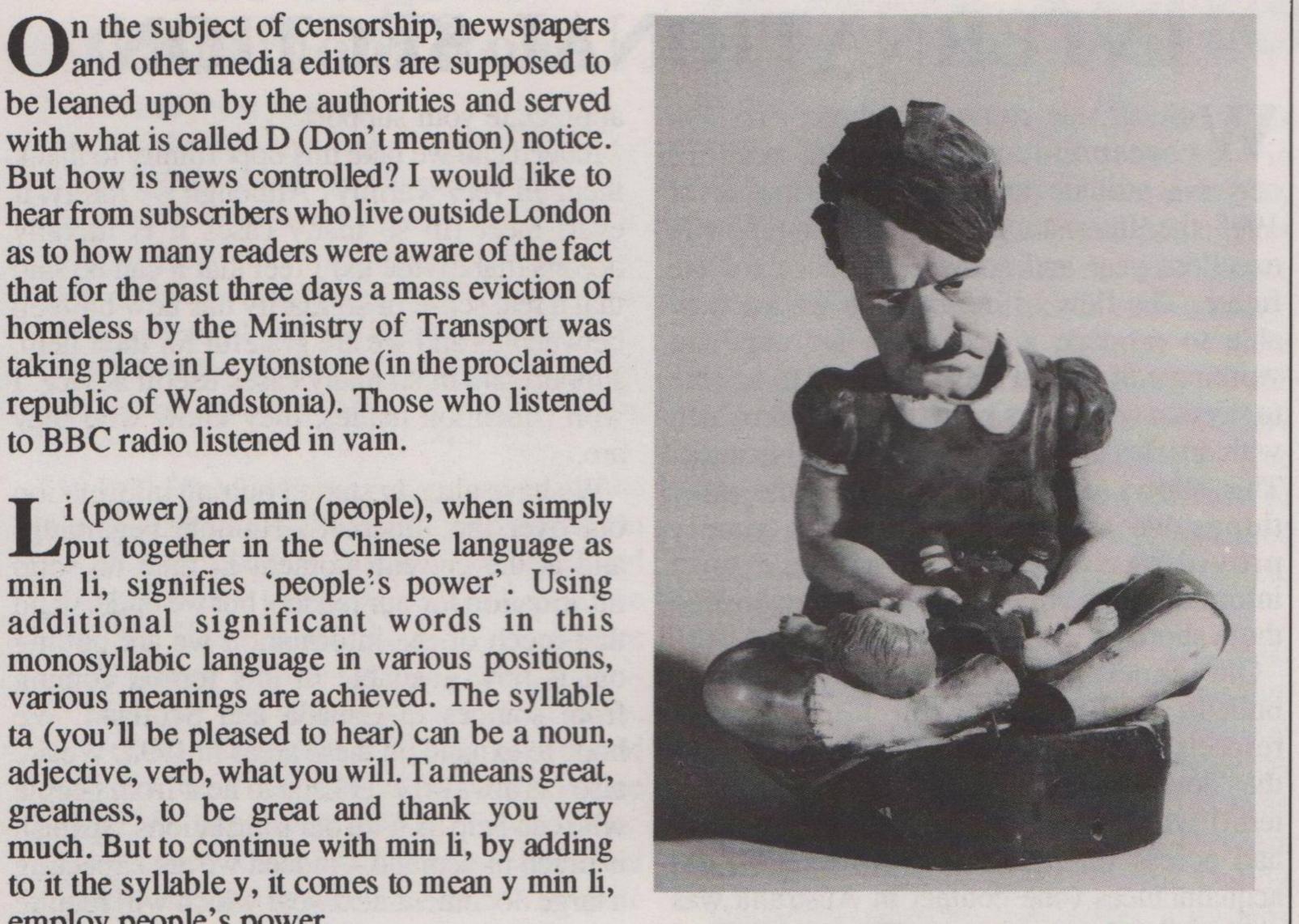
5. Ron Bailey, In Defence of Direct Action (supplement to Wildcat number 3, November

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 Rooum's 'Wildcat' cartoons to be published by Freedom Press, but the first in which Donald has worked with a collaborator.

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.

ISBN 0 900384 73 5 £1.95 48 pages



Richard Niman, 'Penny For Your Thoughts', ART NOW, 17 Haslemere Road, London SE5.

Tet Shakespeare's language was anything L but decorous. Here is Richmond exulting over his slain foe: "The day is ours, the bloody dog is dead".

A correspondent has chided me for not having treated the War Office with more respect in recent articles. I am told, and concede, that the War Office is still the greatest textile manufacturer in the world since 1914 and have made enough khaki to put a girdle round the world six or seven times over.

John Rety

August 25th: Back to the commons? The Quebec organisation Rural Solidarity has developed a new, or perhaps not so new, concept of forest management. This group which unites community activists, trade unionists, arts and crafts people, representatives of the tourist industry, farmers and the financial milieu (chiefly the credit unions) wants the forest to be taken out of the hands of the state and given to the villages. These lands should no longer be treated, "simply as a resource to be exploited by the forest industry". They would also like the private forest lands, which comprise only 9% of the total wood lots, to also come under local supervision. Rural Solidarity sees this as the best means of creating sustainable development, multi-purpose usage and a sense of responsibility toward the woodlands.

August 30th: The New Democratic Party (NDP), the Canadian version of the Labour Party had its first congress after its disastrous showing in the last election. Debate was chiefly polarised around two conceptions of party policy; remaining with the old and unpopular state capitalism or adopting neoliberalism. A few voices were heard suggesting a more populist direction, but neoliberalism predominated. Since we have a Liberal Party government operating on

— FREEDOM INTERNATIONAL REPORT — CANADA

neoliberal economic principles, the adoption of these policies will not save the NDP, but may hasten its demise.

September 1st: The libertarian municipalist movement in Montreal has taken a big step forward. The Ecology Party, influenced by ideas derived from Murray Bookchin, has united with another small municipal party called the Democratic Coalition. This latter group is made up of activists in the anti-poverty, tenants and co-operative housing movements and is in favour of a decentralist and grass-roots approach. During the last city election, two Democratic Coalition candidates were victorious and proved themselves a thorn in the side to Montreal's arrogant administration. The new party is called the Democratic Ecological Coalition and will be running in all 51 wards of the city. Dimitri Roussopoulos of Black Rose Books (and of the former Ecology Party) will be standing as a candidate. Since Montrealers are extremely angry with the present regime, as evidenced by anti-tax riots

earlier this year, there is a good chance that the libertarian municipalists will do well in this November's election.

September 6th: Thirty-eight people were arrested in the town of Jonquiere attempting to stop the school-board bureaucracy from closing the school. About 100 citizens formed a human chain preventing the removal of the furniture and building closure. In a neighbouring town, Batiscan, the people seized the school, collected money and hired their own teachers. The mayor of this village of 900 stated, "the entire population is mobilised". The authorities denounced the school as 'illegal' and threatened reprisals. Some twenty-five different committees have been formed in the rural areas to save local schools. Eighteen of these have federated to fight the school closures.

September 10th: Four Montreal doctors have been on hunger strike for the past two weeks. These representatives of the Association des Medicins de hors Quebec, (AMDHQ) a new organisation of physicians educated outside of Canada, are fighting to have their diplomas recognised (immigrant doctors have been forced to work as char ladies). The Quebec Medical Association, infamous for attacking midwifery and alternative medicine, is doing its best to maintain its present monopoly and scoffs at the AMDHQ claim that the rural areas could use more doctors.

September 13th: The undemocratic nature of the 'first-past-the-post' electoral system was clearly shown in the Quebec general election. A mere 0.4% of the popular vote separated the victorious nationalists, the Parti Quebecois, from the losing Liberal Party. Yet the winners got 77 seats compared to the losers 44, and the 11% who voted for the small parties were rewarded with one seat only. This single seat was a victory for the twenty four year old

leader of the Action Democratique, a split-off from the Liberals. The Green party, number three in the last election, was almost obliterated, resulting from the defection of members to the party Quebecois. The new government, and unholy alliance of right-wing nationalists and social democrats has its work cut out for it. In order to get elected they promised everything to everybody and now they will have to deliver. And whilst most Quebecois are in favour of greater autonomy, only a minority seek outright independence, the true and stated goal of the Parti Quebecois.

September 25th: Regionalist sentiment continues to grow. At a recent meeting of the Quebec Union of Municipalities delegates pushed for decentralisation of governmental powers to the regions. They were worried that the government will give them certain duties on paper but without the power or money to do anything. The newly elected Parti Quebecois has set up a fifteen member regional council whose duty is to oversee the decentralisation which they have promised and to act as regional representatives. This plan has been met with a good deal of scepticism. Delegates feared the creation of a fourth level of government at a time when people are "pestered to death with government" and expressed the worry that powers might be removed from the villages to this regional level. Village autonomy must remain they declared.

October 14th: The Reform Party, the major force for decentralism and direct democracy in Anglophone Canada, has at its recent congress made a sharp turn to the right. 'Workfare', the 'Three Strikes And You Are Out' formula for serious crimes and a tough approach to immigration were adopted. The centralists (Liberals and NDP) are rejoicing since this will limit the populist Reform's appeal to the average Canadian who tends toward social liberalism. The need for a 'left' decentralist movement has never been more evident.

Larry Gambone

Canada's Maritime Provinces

This summer my wife and I visited New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. We arrived at the tail end of the Festival Mondial d'Acadie and so the Acadian presence was very strong. The Acadians are the descendants of the French people deported from Nova Scotia by the British in 1755. (There is still a large enclave of them in that province, but most now live in New Brunswick.) The area where they are mainly congregated is called La Republique and they have their own flag, schools, radio stations and newspapers. What is interesting, from an anarchist perspective, is that all this occurs without a trace of nationalism or a desire to build a state. The Acadians neither wish to be imposed upon nor impose on others. Nor is there any resentment or desire for vengeance (so often disguised as a demand for 'justice') against the Anglo-Saxon majority.

institution in La Republique is the Caisse Populaire.

fish-farming. So far this industry has been ignored by the corporations. The largest cultivated mussel producer is a co-operative. Since agriculture is dependent upon unpolluted tidal water, this rapidly growing industry is also a major force for environmental sanity.

Other possible allies of the environmental movement are the pulp wood cutters who are increasingly using selective cutting and sustainable development. Wood cutting tends to be largely an individual or family occupation, but they are being threatened by the big timber companies who want to use timber harvesters. (I don't know if there are any pulp wood worker co-ops like in Quebec.) The pulp cutter association has suggested that violence may occur if this should happen. A mechanical harvester was burned last year, presumably by wood cutters.

They are, without a doubt, the friendliest people I would tell us their stories and history of the region.

else in Canada, the highest crime rates being found in the richest provinces. People even leave their doors unlocked. How to explain this? There seems to be almost no feeling of alienation. Most Maritimers live in small towns or villages and a large city will only have about 100,000 people. Family and community are still very strong (and church too). Although unemployment is very high (more than 15% according to official figures) this tends to be seasonal unemployment, with people working half the year as wood-cutters, fishermen or construction workers and the rest of the time collecting unemployment insurance. Hence the sense of being productive, of being a worker, is not lost and the population has not been lumpenized Home ownership is more common here than elsewhere, with about 80% having their own house. It may be only a fisherman's shack but it's theirs, with no landlord or government bureaucrat hovering in the background. One gets the feeling that 'Well Grandad was a Liberal (or Tory) and so am I'. Maritimers are very socially conservative, but underneath this conservatism lies mutual aid, concern for the environment and strong regional sentiments. Since social conservation emphasises the maintenance of values such as family and community, in contradiction to the nihilism of the market and the machiavillianism of politics, strange allies can emerge. Small town environmental or third world support groups will contain the usual socialists and radicals, but also the Baptist minister. A new development has been the birth of a decentralist and direct-democratic movement in one of the towns in New Brunswick - not as a political party but as a local phenomenon. Hopefully this idea will flourish.

Larry Gambone

NEWS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL SECTION

With all due respect to those Freedom corespondents who take a more negative attitude towards the prospects for 1995, the 'International Section' can report an excellent year and some confidence for the future. The flow of information we are now able to produce is too much for our hard working editors and we are pleased to be able to say that we always keep them well provided with articles and information for publication. This allows us to concentrate on the other things we are doing apart from simply providing Freedom's readers with information about what is happening beyond these shores.

Our experiment with an international bulletin has been successful in a number of respects: it has brought news to anarchists in the 'developing' world (for want of a better term) which they would otherwise not have had access to, it has helped us renew old acquaintances (one contact in Australia was surprised to hear we were still going), helped us make new ones (particularly in Latin America), allowed us to announce our presence to a wider audience (a special thanks to The Anarchist Media Group in Australia for the free advertisement they have recently carried) and last, but most certainly not least, allowed a few comrades to stretch out a hand, make contact and work on a project that seems worthwhile.

We say worthwhile because the reaction we have had from you, the readers, has been positive. One comrade at the Bookfair said it was the only part worth reading in Freedom these days. Unfair, but thanks ... a growing number of readers have put time and effort into this project and I know that they all will appreciate your support.

Indeed can we take this opportunity to thank them all very warmly? Although we rarely, if ever, meet (in so many cases it is literally oceans that divide us) I feel that it can be said that a real sense of solidarity has now built up between us and we are grateful for their help, support and in so many cases useful advice. I won't mention names, they know who they

We have already started putting information out over the 'Internet'. Humble beginnings and at the current moment in time no solid information for our readers but we understand that much of the information we are putting out is now available in this format coming from sources in Canada and Scotland. We hope to expand on these areas in 1995. We are also (as always) ever keen to hear from people who can help us with our translations. Spanish is much in demand – indeed we are expecting a large document next year which will require team work if we are to get it translated. Portuguese could also prove very useful. 'Bulletin number 5' went out in French, Spanish and English (maybe Italian but as I write we are still awaiting the translation) which are by default our main working languages but we are very keen to put this stuff out in other languages.

Appeals like the following rarely meet with much success. We have learnt over a period of time that personal approaches are more effective but ... if you'd like to get involved, even if you don't know how, contact us here in Whitechapel ... the work and commitment involved is minimal but you will enjoy a sense of achievement and pleasure at working with like minded individuals.

Mutual aid is a major factor in Acadian life. Many of the farms were built upon marshland dyked and drained through collective action three hundred years ago. This spirit continues today with a co-operative movement which includes credit unions, consumer co-operatives and fishermen's co-ops. Nine out of ten Acadians belong to a co-operative, and the most important financial

Mutual aid isn't restricted to the Acadians, for the co-operative movement has strong roots in the Maritimes, most particularly among the fishermen. One interesting example of this occurs with the weir fishermen. Fish weirs are constructed out of poles hammered into the tidal mud to catch the herring. There is not a great demand for herring at present and rather than competing like mad fools for a small market, the fishermen take turns selling their catch and everyone benefits.

With the dwindling stock of wild fish has come

The Maritime Provinces are the poorest area of Canada and the rest of the country tends to treat them with condescension. In my opinion, however, Maritimers could teach the rest of us something. have ever encountered. Each day we would have lengthy conversations with total strangers who

There is also rather less crime here than anywhere

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Anarchism: Left, Right and Green

Dear Freedom,

Larry Gambone (letters, 26th November) is of course right to point out that fascism, with its belief in a centralised corporate state, is incompatible with anarchism—there can be no such thing as anarchofascism. But the American concept of anarcho-capitalism seems to me to fall into the same black hole of logic.

Of course there will always be an individualistic aspect to any libertarian philosophy, but the beauty of the anarchist tradition has always been the way it combined this with a collectivist approach. The anarchist argument is that society can function perfectly well on its own without authorities ruling from above. For this to work, communities must be based on co-operation and cohesion rather than competition and division. The moment you introduce a seed of capitalism, even on a decentralised level, you introduce exploitation, power structures, the need for laws to protect the haves from the have-nots, and so on.

Mr Gambone is also right to say that the conventional left, with its liking for state control, is closer to fascism than are the anarcho-capitalists. But fascism of the left or right is not the only, or indeed even the main, threat to human freedom in the 1990s – that honour is reserved for capitalism itself.

If too many anarchists start thinking, like Mr Gambone, that the idea of anarcho-capitalism is somehow less of a dog's dinner than anarcho-fascism, we are in serious trouble.

It is the creative tension between personal freedom and collective responsibility that fires the very soul of anarchism and will keep its message alive into the 21st century. Being anti-state is only half the story. Bakunin did point out that "socialism without liberty is slavery and brutality". But perhaps Mr Gambone and his American friends forget that this was only after insisting that "liberty without socialism is privilege and injustice".

Peter Drew

Dear Freedom,

I would like to take the opportunity to respond to Larry Gambone and Murray Bookchin (letters, 26th November 1994).

Perhaps I should have been more precise in my use of terminology, but insofar as there are right wing libertarian elements advocating racist philosophy and revisionist history, which gives aid and succour to contemporary neofascists such as David Irving et al, then I don't think 'crypto-fascist' is too strong a term to describe the people concerned.

Perhaps I should also make clear that I believe that there is a distinction to be made between 'individualist anarchists' who do genuinely believe in 'voluntary organisation' on the one hand, and some so-called 'anarcho-capitalists' on the other. In the case of Murray Rothbard, his concept of 'voluntary organisation' merely amounts to a privatised version of the state which reproduces repressive institutions in a new 'privatised' form. I don't think that having such entities as prisons, courts, police, armed forces, etc., in the private

sector makes them any more acceptable than when run by the political state.

Some anarcho-capitalists, again Murray Rothbard for example, even advocate the death penalty, which is surely the ultimate exercise in coercive power against an individual. This is a dilemma which individualist anarchists are aware of, see David Wieck's article in Michael E. Coughlin's Dandelion vol. 2, no. 6.

In response to Murray Bookchin, I can only agree with him that he has justified concerns at his treatment by Heider. However, there are real issues of concern raised by his 'new' ideas of 'municipal libertarianism', such as were raised earlier this year in Anarchy: a journal of armed desire. Municipal libertarianism involves the use of electoral politics. Many anarchists, possibly most anarchists, oppose the use of the ballot, even in a local situation such as that outlined by municipal libertarianism. Discussion of this latter idea and the related issues is quite legitimate, though it should indeed be open and honest.

As for whether Freedom Press Bookshop should stock Heider's book, that is for them to decide.

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old and new friends welcome

Jonathan Simcock

News from Angel Alley

This is the last issue of Freedom for 1994. The Freedom Press Bookshop will be open until 5pm on Christmas Eve, and will then close until 10am on Wednesday 4th January 1995, although voluntary workers will be on the premises stocktaking and dealing with the post and the many expected subscription renewals and donations.

will be dated 14th January, and we shall again produce an issue every two weeks with the exception of Easter (8th - 29th April) and the August Bank Holiday (19th August - 9th September) when there will be three-week breaks, and the last issue of 1995 will be dated 16th December, making 24 issues in all.

The next issue of our quarterly journal The Raven (no. 27) is on 'Fundamentalism' and will include the text of Colin Ward's talk at the Conway Hall during the Anarchy in the UK Festival, to which reference has been made in these columns. The Raven no. 27 should be ready before Christmas and no. 28 early in the New Year, which will include Murray Bookchin's extended review of the controversial book Anarchism: Left, Right and Green which is the subject of correspondence in this issue of Freedom. And a further four issues of The Raven are scheduled for 1995.

the envelope in which this Freedom arrived should bear a four-digit number above your name. This shows the issue at which your subscription ends. 5524 means vol. 55 no. 24. About half the current subscriptions expire with this issue. If yours is one, we ask you to renew promptly, and our thanks to readers who have done so already.

The season's greetings to all our readers and best wishes for a happy new year.

Bouquets & Brickbats

Dear FP Folks,

*

Xmas approaches and I think of potential gifts in the forms of books and sources thereof – and then of our friends at Freedom Press. I enclose a small order as well as a contribution to funds.

The main reason for writing, however, is just to say 'thank you' for the excellent work you do year-round. Freedom has never been better in the close to thirty years I've been reading it (as a regular subscriber for less than that), and The Raven also seems to be settling down (I find most issues 'variable' in the quality of the articles, but the recent ones on science, religion, etc., seem to be getting stronger). I pass copies around members of our Wobbly group here in Honolulu, as I do Freedom, in the hope that new subs will develop, but most folks are fairly strapped for cash and I may be killing off the potential new buyers by giving them the freebies! Colin Ward's regular pieces for Freedom are simply excellent, the short book and 'zine reviews in 'Food for Thought' are very helpful, as well as witty, the international section much better with Neil's input, and ... I could go on, but won't. In sum, thank you very much. We don't write often, and can only get to the store once every year or two, but you are often in our thoughts.

Mike Long

Dear Freedom,

I am writing to inform you that I will not be renewing my subscription to Freedom and The Raven.

I dislike your being pro-vivisection and pro-abortion on demand. In any case, I am primarily concerned with green issues and animal rights. I've decided that I'm not really an anarchist. From now on I will make do with the New Statesman.

Tim Thompson

FAC members on trial by journalists | Fundamental

Feminists Against Censorship meeting at Conway Hall on Tuesday 22nd November 1994.

One of the first things that attracted me towards anarchism was sexual freedom. My first introduction to modern anarchism was from the late Jack Goundry of the then Teesside Humanist Group. Not only to Freedom and Freedom Press pamphlets, but to the ideas of Wilhelm Reich and his followers.

Sexual freedom and sexual harmony appeared to represent a sane reality from the oppression and suppression of authoritarian structures and sexual puritanism, although the reality was somewhat different. Most anarchist women I found were itinerants passing through the anarchist movement as a prelude to conventional marriage. Few stayed anarchists, but those that did were worth knowing.

When women's liberation started I joined in wholeheartedly yet was surprised to find barriers to male participation soon appearing and instead of sexual freedom and harmony the so-called women's movement became rigidly authoritarian and, amazingly so within anarchism, very puritanical and suppressive. So much so that many comrades and writers like myself find feminism anathema, the antithesis of anarchism. It was therefore nice to find a meeting organised by feminists, by a feminist group, that was not anti-men and where men were invited to participate.

The meeting consisted of four members of Feminists Against Censorship being interrogated by three journalists with a very strong but liberated chairperson, and after the first hour speakers from the floor were taken. Generally speaking the discussion was supportive with no real opposition and a feeling of serene good-fellowship operated. One speaker did comment that the journalists who were playing devil's advocate were too supportive, but it was pointed out that when FAC tried to get a public debate going with those who opposed pornography their overtures were rejected. On a David Frost programme, for instance, the anti-pornographers were appalled to be on the same programme with those who opposed their views. These did not want a rational debate but subservience to their ideology.

I did go with my little speech already prepared—after all by some mistake Time Out had put my telephone number (for the London Anarchist Forum) under the FAC item and I did get a few odd phone calls—but it was unnecessary. I felt I was amongst friends. I could have been attending an anarchist meeting but, as one of the panel pointed out, they too

were quite amazed that a group of so-called anarchists had gone to W.H. Smiths to protest about top shelf publications and, not finding any, had ripped the front covers off every publication that had a woman on the front. They found this bizarre. I found it embarrassing. The FAC appeared to be much nearer my type of anarchism than most anarchist feminists I have met in recent years – and their feminism much more convincing because of this.

The meeting was mainly composed of heterosexual women with a sprinkling of liberal minded lesbians representing a caucus of liberated opinion with whom I felt very relaxed. They appeared to be the kind of mutual anarchists that I had supposed existed from my initial participation in the movement: clear thinking, rational, perceptive – just the opposite of most feminists I have known. And most important, they had a sense of humour, something often lacking in the anarchist movement.

Go to the next meeting. You will find it enjoyable.

Peter Neville

Individual viewpoint

Dear Editors,

Your oft-repeated appeal for donations and letters never fails to remind me of the classic forces letter home: 'Dear Mum, Please sent me five shillings and a copy of the Christian Herald. I am quite well. P.S. Don't forget the Christian Herald!'

admired the purist letter from our Norwegian friends spelling out why they wouldn't attend the anarchist festival. The skeletons they uncovered have to some extent been brought into sharper focus by pieces in the current letters by Bill Brewer and Denis Pym (Freedom, 26th November). The skeletons are, of course, fellow travellers and intellectuals. When we get to the end of our anarchist path the former will be all around us shouting 'to hell with this, we've got to organise' and the latter will be bellowing somewhere behind us 'wait for us, we are your leaders', and many good anarchists will get trampled underfoot in the confusion. At the moment we treat them rather like sugar on a plate of cold porridge, but really we would be better off without them at this time for they can only serve to lengthen the journey.

Anarchy is for the individual – it is a way of life that comes from within and blossoms with like minds. It cannot be learnt by rote.

Garry Bradford

Fundamenta Facts

Dear Editors,

Colin Ward asks "Can we cope with the fundamentalist issue?" in an article under that heading (Freedom, 26th November). In my view, we never will until we recognise that the common factor in religios and secular 'fundamentalism' is that they are male-inspired ideologies, managed by males for males. Having acknowledged this fundamental fact, we have only to notice that in the comparatively successful 'lower' animal societies everything defers to the mother and her offspring, so that Martin Buber's 'social principle' reigns supreme.

Far from asking women and children what they would have us do on their behalf, anarchists generally appear to discount them.

Ernie Crosswell

Anarchy in the UK: the down side

Dear Freedom Press,

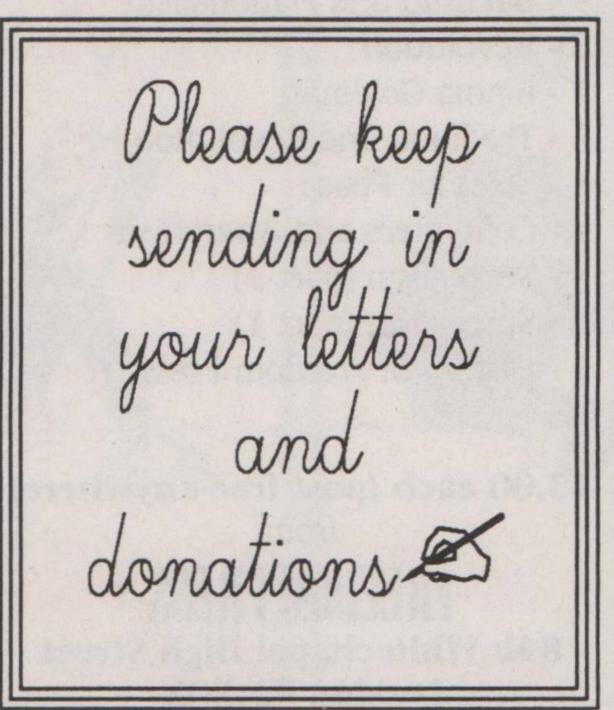
I have just read your article covering the Anarchy in the UK festival (Freedom, 26th November).

As someone involved in the publication of the Bulletin in the Head I can say that I am grateful for your support in the matter of the violent assault on us and our paper. We were all rather shocked and confused by what happened and not sure what we could have done under the circumstances. After the event I felt thoroughly disheartened and depressed. Reading your article has cheered me up

and also put over our case a bit.
We are still considering putting out the

collected Bulletin the Head as a cardboard covered booklet.

Roy Hanney



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27th January General discussion

3rd February Vacant slot

10th February General discussion

17th February Anarcho-Terrorism – a debate between Peter Cadogan and Nicolas Walter

24th February General discussion

All slots are vacant to the end of July, although a number of invitations have gone out. If anyone would like to give a talk or lead a discussion, overseas or out-of-town speakers especially, please contact either Dave Dane of Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (telephone number 081-847 0203, not too early in the day please) giving subject and prospective dates and we will do our best to accommodate. These could be instead of a general discussion but the latter are not merely unfilled slots but popular occasions in their own right so we are unwilling to relinquish too many.

Peter Neville / Dave Dane London Anarchist Forum

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