

# anarchist fortnightly Freedom

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FIFTY PENCE

*"History is written by those who survive, philosophy by the well-to-do; those who go under have the experience."*

W.R. Lethaby

## GREENPEACE VERSUS SHELL AND MAJOR A VICTORY FOR DIRECT ACTION

**B**ut for the spectacular and daring action by Greenpeace activists on the oil platform Brent Spar, the media would have said nothing and by now the 14,000 ton monster would be sunk out of sight in the Atlantic – less than 200 miles from the Shetlands fishing grounds and in spite of protests by the fishermen.

Letters to the press or questions in Parliament get you nowhere when you are challenging a multinational (Shell operates in 100 countries), and even more so when it has the blessing of government – Prime Minister John Major actually 'vigorously' defended

Plan A (towing the platform and sinking it) in the Commons.

Surely the fact that Shell gave in must be viewed, in all the circumstances, as a victory for the Greenpeace activists and which the media could not ignore. (And they certainly were not unanimously pro-Greenpeace – *The Independent*, for instance, has been all along in favour of sinking the monster.) But on this occasion the activists spurred on the sympathisers. According to one report Greenpeace has nearly four million members around the world and operates in thirty countries. A simple way for them to express their support for Greenpeace was to boycott all garages selling Shell petrol. In Germany, where the revived Green movement is one of the strongest in Europe, sales at Shell garages dropped by 20%.

Shell, unimpressed by environmental arguments, soon capitulated when they saw the drop in sales of petrol would hit them harder than the extra cost of disposing of the 130 metre high, 14,000 tons toxic-filled monster by other means than sinking it, gave

in and have since apologised to Mr Major for any political inconvenience caused (especially now!) and in spite of the fact that Mr Major, on learning of Shell's about-turn, had, according to *The Independent* (22nd June):

"angrily attacked the board of Shell as 'wimps' for caving in to the combined pressure from the German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, a European consumer boycott and the environmental group Greenpeace."

Surely Mr Major must know that 'business is business' and that's what Shell is about and they couldn't care tuppence either for Mr Major or for being described by him as 'wimps'. (Perhaps next week the political 'wimp' will turn out to be 'honest John'!)

Meanwhile Shell's dilemma and Major's humiliation is all good for the business entrepreneurs. A Norwegian firm has already offered to dismantle and dispose of Brent Spar on land. They may lost money on the first one, but there are some two hundred Brent Spars in the North Sea all coming to the end of their exploitation of the world's oil reserves and they can see a profitable polluted future!

### HOW MANY UNEMPLOYED?

**A**s has been the case for the past umpteenth month, official figures show that unemployment has been going down, albeit at a slower rate, for at least two years. *Even so, the official figure is still more than 2¼ million.* But everybody knows that the official figures are only of people who are drawing unemployment benefit and not of people who are seeking employment and that those having the odd job (and informing the authorities) are, as a result of their honesty, removed from the register though because of their modest earnings they are probably receiving financial assistance for rent or other essentials. But statistically they are not unemployed. Nor are a vast number of casual workers who don't make their way to entitlement to unemployment benefit but are nevertheless entitled to benefits from another department. And of course that army of people who have been unable to get a job for more than a year who are removed from the official figures, though they are still wanting a job. And if Lilley and the other government mafia have their way, they will remove from the official statistics of unemployed those who have been without a job for six months!

Technology in the capitalist world produces mass unemployment and misery. In an anarchist society it provides leisure and possibilities for happiness!

**W**e go to press when Mr Major is sunning himself in Cannes and issuing victory slogans for the benefit of the media while Mr Redwood, surrounded by his supporters, is smiling and presenting the 'challenge' as a typical lighthearted competition where we are, after all, all British and concerned only with the welfare of the nation, etc., and more blah, blah, blah!

Are we alone in thinking that these people, surrounded by sycophants and hypocrites and mouthing their concern for the welfare of 'the country they love', are a bunch of shits? One thing television allows one to do is to see them and their backers in action, and this is our 'considered' conclusion!

**W**ith the Tories' 'popularity' at its lowest, Major's advisers (Prime Ministers, Ministers and MPs all have an army of advisers, researchers,

political secretaries *et alia* to pump their brains as well as to write their speeches) must have told him that he could call the bluff of the Euro-sceptics in his party. We think he will, because it's only the Tory backwoods blue-rinsed ladies and ex-colonels who see Europe as the enemy. The capitalist world sees that Europe represents more than 50% of this country's exports. And this very month even the official figures show that the deficit balance to the rest of the world for the month had increased to more than £600 million.

**T**he idea that capitalist Britain can be independent – in the sense that any decision by the other fourteen or so nations can be either vetoed or opted out by Britannia – not only reflects a nineteenth century approach to Europe of *Divide and Rule*, but also that capitalist Britain  
*(continued on page 2)*

### THE POLITICAL CIRCUS PLUS ÇA CHANGE ...

G7, CANNES – SUMMITS GALORE ...

A GOOD TIME WAS HAD BY ALL!

It's only a few weeks ago that the so-called G7 – the seven major industrial nations – had their spree in Halifax, Canada. They, and all the hangers-on, had a regal bucolic time at the taxpayers' expense and produced the usual hand-outs for the media, also having a good time on expenses. Result: all kinds of good intentions to make the world 'prosperous'.

As we write the top boys of the European Union and their retinues were basking in a 'summit' in the Cannes sunshine. They allocated some of their historical ill-gotten gains to 'help' the third world countries. And they are talking about tackling unemployment, which is some twenty million (officially – but official figures, as we point out

elsewhere, must be accepted with a large grain of salt!). As President not only of France but for another week or two of this 'summit', Chirac has ambitious plans about dealing with unemployment. Now it's not only anarchists who go on pointing out that for the 'prosperous' western world full employment, with all the technological development being introduced, is a nonsense. As machines, especially in the offices, the banks, the supermarkets and all those jobs where nothing is actually produced other than paper, hundreds of thousands of people are being thrown out of jobs annually. But other than in a capitalist society it would be welcomed as *more time to live and enjoy not only having a family* (for those who love having children) but for exploring all the treasures that the human mind over the millennia has produced for our enlightenment and enjoyment.

In the capitalist world there is no solution to unemployment at the end of the twentieth century so long as it is not recognised that

there must be a redistribution of 'wealth' – which in capitalist terms means job-sharing, a living minimum wage (there are people in this country today being paid less than £1 an hour) and 'crippling' taxation of the rich (since 1979, when Thatcher took over, super-tax has been reduced from 80% to 40%). It also means eliminating the 'perks' for the rich (yes, they will emigrate to tax-free Andorra – and good riddance to these parasites).

But most important of all for those who still believe that all those politicians who were living it up in Halifax, Canada, and Cannes can do anything about unemployment we have to add that the capitalist world is operated irrespective of changes of government (Major, Redwood, Blair? – you must be joking!) by a combination of forces which are completely independent of governments: multinationals and transnationals who direct their capital to where labour is cheapest and preferably markets are on the doorstep, and banks, insurance and pensions funds where the returns are the most profitable.

The politicians are simply the performing bears and toothless lions in the capitalist circus.

IN BRIEF  
THE BITER BIT, BUT ...

Tory MP Roger Gale is (or was) president of a safe driving group until, alas, he was stopped while driving his Rover 214 at 102.7mph on the M26. Needless to say he has resigned, in spite of the fact that he thought he was only going "over 70 miles an hour". He also revealed that he "drives an average of 25,000 miles a year on public duties". He is an MP for Thanet North, Kent, not all that far away from Westminster. To clock up 25,000 miles a year "on public duties" at 72.5p a mile is an awful lot of money from you and me – a matter of £18,125 – more than half an MP's salary.

This is not unusual. There are Scottish MPs who use their cars to go to their constituencies at weekends because, said one, "trains are unreliable". So they travel 800 miles there and back and clock up 800 x 72.5p = £580. Are we, the public, so stupid and indifferent to allow this mafia to rule over us?

THE MINES IN PROFIT!

Can you imagine that British Coal (now non-existent) has declared a record profit of £500 for its last year in business thanks to what would normally be described as 'fiddling the books'!

Not only were the remaining mines after privatisation sold off to a questionable entrepreneur (see 'Miners Can't Strike: Official' in *Freedom*, 24th June) but it now transpires that the government wrote off a £1.6 billion debt when they virtually gave away the mines to the private sector. This latest news comes from a leaked Trade and Industry Memorandum. So even the privatised coal industry (what is left of it) has been *literally given to the privatised sector*. Will any Heseltine heads roll?

homes for the old go out of business with little notice to clients. If inspectors' recommendations for structural renovation cannot be met by private owners, they often sell up and set up elsewhere, causing much disruption to residents.

Older people are increasingly troubled by the changing regulations about their care. Properties and pensions are being taken from the able-bodied partner to pay for the frailer partner, and savings put by to ensure little luxuries in old age are being taken towards care costs.

The impression given by the media this week is that all people are interested in is whether Britain is governed from Brussels or whether Hugh Grant should be forgiven for his 'aberration' with a prostitute with a 'tucked in bum' in Los Angeles. Jilly Cooper and a *Daily Mail* feature writer spent a good ten minutes discussing the pros and cons of his behaviour in Radio 4 News.

Welcome to the Midsummer Cabaret!  
Silvia Edwards

PLUS ÇA CHANGE ...

(continued from page 1)  
(we emphasise *capitalist*) can be (or indeed *is*) independent of Europe. It is rapidly becoming, from a capitalist point of view, one of the weakest. The only quasi-monopolist situation it enjoys is in the exchange market – the biggest racket of all. No wonder the backwoods Tories are so militant about opposing a single currency in Europe!

Anarchists don't join in the election racket, but we are surely entitled to draw the attention of those who do take the vote seriously that what is now taking place in the Tory party is not just a possible change of leader *but of declared policy*. Surely this is a new manifesto and requiring the resignation of the present government and, as they say, 'going to the country'. We feel there is no intention on either side, Major or Redwood, to do this whoever wins. Anarchists are not worried since we know it makes no difference as to who will be saluted by the policeman on the door as he enters Number 10.

Anarchists can only go on exposing the ambitions of politicians whether they can boast of their proletarian origins or whether they cannot. They all seek power through office and can never accept that the power lies elsewhere. Not only with the permanent civil servants – the 'Yes, Minister' brigade – but, as we keep on saying, the multinationals, transnationals, the banks, the pension funds and the insurance funds – there lies the real power which no government can control but which a militant working class, politically conscious, could in the long term defeat.

A long term objective, yes. But all the short term compromises, the 'New Look' Labour Party included, will only bring us back to square one. Technology makes possible a good material life for all. It is surely time that the victims of capitalism acted to claim their rights and their share of the bonanza. We can assure them that neither Redwood nor Major will provide – P.S. Nor will Blair and the Labour Party!

Behind the Smokescreen

In the midst of the Tory Party enactment of the pantomime version of *Julius Caesar*, there appeared in one newspaper a very modest sensible little letter. It started by saying that for the vast majority of people questions of the single European currency and Europe in general are probably of little consequence. People's priorities are that their jobs will be secure, that there will be quality education for their younger children, that their older children's education will not leave them with large debts, that if they are ill they will receive prompt and efficient treatment locally, that they can move house if they wish, be looked after with dignity in their old age and walk in safety on the streets.

Whilst the current Tory roadshow has revealed the creepy-crawlies beneath the stone and probably done much to dissuade people from ever voting for politicians again, it has also formed a smokescreen to obscure other items of news which affect daily lives.

The schools publication of league tables for examination results and rates of truancy will identify 'good' and 'bad' schools. The Labour Party intends to adapt these tables to include details of the social background of each school, producing 'value added tables'. The proposals strike at the very heart of the principle of comprehensive education. Tony Blair has shown his approval for grant maintained schools by gaining entry for his son to the Roman Catholic London Oratory in Fulham, thus showing indifference to destructive Tory educational policy. Under the grant maintained system funding is given directly to the governing body of a school rather than the democratically elected local

education authority. The grant maintained status policy will soon replace all LEAs as the funding organisation for schools and thus weaken the system of local government.

A survey report this week tells us that a quarter of all students on degree courses are dropping out. The majority of those questioned said they were leaving because of financial hardship. Some universities have rules forbidding full-time students from working, but many are turning a blind eye. The government is in the process of a three-year programme of cutting the maintenance grant by 10% annually and now rarely covers the cost of accommodation now that housing benefit for studies has been withdrawn. It will be worth less than £2,000 this September. Students were scared to borrow large sums under the loans system because they will be unable to make the repayments.

Housing Associations will soon be obliged to sell off their housing stock to tenants who wish to buy. Unlike council housing, housing associations have hitherto offered cash payments to those who wish to buy in the private sector, thus vacating public housing for those unable or unwilling to take on mortgages. Existing public sector tenants will have the right to choose private landlords to run their estates. Here is another area where local authority management is being undermined.

Care for the elderly is being given over to private home-owners too, often because they do it cheaper. Standards of care can be lower and private owners do not have layers of administrative staff to maintain. But private



Our comrades Dave Morris and Helen Steel have been defending themselves in the High Court against a charge of libel brought by the McDonalds Corporation, the international fast food chain, since 28th June 1994. The trial, originally scheduled to last three weeks, is at present expected to end early in 1996, but the schedule keeps getting extended and if McDonalds go on with the trial it may take two years or more. It is already the longest libel trial in British history.

Thursday of last week was the first anniversary, celebrated by a modest picket at the High Court and some modest press attention. Suzanne Moore in *The Guardian* (29th June) wrote that:

"in the David and Goliath stakes we should give three cheers to a real David – David Morris of the McLibel trial, which has now become the longest libel case in British history. For the last year David Morris and his equally plucky co-defendant Helen Steel have been in court, battling away, representing themselves and embarrassing McDonald's. McDonald's has probably already lost more than it can hope to win. Morris and Steel have nothing to lose as they are unemployed, but I should say that after their performances, when the case is finally resolved, both of them have fine legal careers ahead should they so desire them."

As we reported last issue, the report on the front page of the *Independent* (5th June), that McDonalds might be thinking of withdrawing, appeared to be a journalist's guess. It is still not substantiated, but there are a couple of indicators.

One is a cryptic statement in a press release of the McLibel Support Campaign, dated 16th June, that the defendants "are currently unable to divulge any details concerning the fact or substance of any settlement proposals by McDonalds".

The other is the information that some McDonalds Corporation shareholders, at the

## Trident Engineer becomes Health Chairman

All competitors for the job of leader of the Conservative Party speak of reducing taxes by 'cutting out waste', but besides wanting to lower taxes (doesn't everybody?) Tories in general are military minded so nobody promises to cut out the prodigious waste of wealth on armaments.

Take, for example, the British Independent Deterrent, so-called because it is neither British nor independent nor deterrent. The Trident submarine is a horrifying device produced in contravention of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty at a cost of rebuilding all the schools in the country. Yet the parliamentary committee investigating the cost only seems interested in the fact that it could have been built for £1,150 million less than it was.

Management consultants were hired. This is fashionable practice and the Committee would not object to it in general, but in this case the fee was not agreed in advance so the management consultants charged £250 million.

What they supplied for this money is confidential, but evidently they did not supply common sense advice like 'make up your mind what to build before you start building'. Building started well before the design was finished, and the bits which did not conform to the design had to be knocked down and rebuilt at a cost of £900 million.

In charge of the project was Admiral Sir Kenneth Eaton, who had trained as a marine engineer and risen as an engineer to the highest rank in the Navy. In the light of evidence it was a mistake to give him the management job because, like many brilliant engineers, he is useless as a manager.

Sir Kenneth has now retired from the Navy, and – this is the interesting bit – he has been appointed Chairman of the Guy's and St Thomas's NHS Trust.

## McLibel case a year old

shareholders meeting in Chicago on 26th May, voiced anxiety about the trial in London where witnesses called by McDonalds themselves have conceded that there was no objection to calling the products junk food, that beef is used from ex-rainforest land, and (what was proclaimed as the most damaging libel) that a diet of McDonalds-type food is associated with some kinds of cancer.

One shareholder said: "Whether or not we win the case, we are still getting raked over the coals in the media", which is something of an exaggeration. The case gets mentioned, but the reports are not nearly as frequent or as long as those of new openings, anniversaries and whatnot put about by McDonalds' excellent publicity department. Company President Michael Quinlan replied that the case is "coming to a wrap soon".

Meanwhile in court, McDonalds UK Vice-President, Sid Nicholson, has been giving evidence about employment practices. He joined McDonalds in 1983 as Head of Security after 31 years in the police, first in South Africa and then in London, where he rose to the rank of Chief Superintendent. In 1984 he became

Head of Personnel as well as Head of Security, and remained Head of Personnel until promoted to the Board in 1991.

McDonalds, he testified, was not opposed to trade unions and staff had a right to join one, though McDonalds preferred to deal individually as it was "very, very much in support of performance related pay".

On three occasions – in Hackney 1985, East Ham 1986 and Liverpool 1988 – he had been informed by store management that staff were interested in union representation and visited the stores, accompanied by other management and security people, to discuss it. After "light-hearted" meetings "to explain our point of view to them" there appeared to be not a lot of interest in joining a union.

Distributing literature or any kind of recruitment activity by a staff member on McDonalds premises would be gross misconduct entailing instant dismissal, and anyone who was not staff doing such things would be asked to leave. But he had no objection to such activities going on outside. "We are quite used to people standing outside our stores giving out leaflets".

## Don't Shoot the Messenger

They used to shoot the messenger who brought bad news, now they just rubbish the messenger and ignore the message. This they certainly did in reviews of *The Hanging Gale*, a recent BBC television serial by that excellent dramatist Alan Cubitt. Yes, even the liberals preferred to ignore the historical validity of this tale of five brothers during the Irish potato famine of the 1840s. When a fungal infection, the potato blight, destroyed the crop, tenant farmers were evicted from their land by the agent with the help of the military because they were unable to pay the rent. They faced starvation and death whilst Lord Hawsborough, the English landlord, declared from his Eaton Square residence that poverty was the natural state of the Irish, their own fault, the result of bad management and poor farming. The misery of the Irish peasants oppressed by absentee landlords and a Catholic church, which demanded submission to the law and offered prayer when they needed guns, was movingly portrayed. A dissident priest sympathetic to the plight of his flock could do little to help them. The land

agent, unhappy in his role, was too enmeshed in the structure of oppression to escape from it until inevitably he is killed by one of the brothers. An act which results in 'summary justice' and a public hanging.

But we would have learned none of this. Instead the story was mocked for its unrelieved gloom, as though it could be otherwise, and much was made of the difficulty for viewers in telling the five brothers apart. Don't be misled by this. If the production does ever achieve a repeat showing, then it should not be missed.

It is a common practice for those in power to rewrite history to their own advantage and this revisionism is no more apparent than in the history of Ireland where the story of the oppression of the people by British imperialist capitalism is a particularly unwelcome intrusion for British politicians at this time. We are reminded of the words of W.R. Lethaby, "History is written by those who survive, those who go under have the experience".

HS

## Manchester Building Workers Dispute

For the last seven weeks construction workers have been picketing the new Manchester Metropolitan University Humanities Building site on Oxford Road. The 27 electricians and pipefitters are fighting for reinstatement after a lock-out by sub-contractor Rosser & Russel (the contractor is Laings). They are appealing for help to keep the picket line going – the trade unions have refused official support.

The dispute started when two workers were sacked without warning or notice on 11th May for 'not working hard enough'. In fact the materials they needed to carry on working had not been delivered thanks to management inefficiency. All the electricians and pipefitters agreed that the sackings were completely unjust and walked off the site. Rosser & Russel refused to negotiate with a spokesman and informed the workers that they were all dismissed.

The workers responded by picketing the site. All electrical and plumbing work was stopped. Early management strike-breaking attempts failed when local building workers refused to cross the picket line. Unfortunately scabs have now been recruited from an agency in the North East.

The picket is getting a good response from passers-by. This is just as well as the workers get no strike pay and depend entirely on collections to keep going. Most are not in a

union and the unions have refused to give any official support or financial help. EEUPTU officials have been especially unhelpful.

Under current anti-union legislation trade unions risk sequestration of their assets if they support unofficial strikes – and then who would pay the salaries of the officials who make the decisions? It does raise the question of why this kind of trade union should continue to exist.

The building workers are asking for solidarity and financial support to keep the dispute going. According to their appeal letter:

"They can win, if they can hold out. That requires cash, every week.

Every site should support them. If they win, there will be a knock-on effect throughout construction in the area. Management who treat people like rubbish will be more careful.

Please do one or more of the following:

- Drop in to the picket line opposite the College of Music, or the collecting table on Oxford Road. Hear their story. Take cash.
- Pass the hat round, weekly, among your mates and take the money round there. They'll give you a receipt to take back.
- Invite a speaker to your branch or committee. Get your organisation to support them.

*An injury to one is an injury to all.*

On behalf of all those in dispute: Spokesman Terry McBride and Treasure Geoff Bridges." JH

Basic pay for crew (i.e. store staff) outside London is £3.00 an hour over 18 and £2.65 an hour under 18. There are no overtime rates and accepting tips is a sacking offence. But crew could increase their pay rates at regular performance reviews, in accordance with the company's support for performance-related pay.

The defendants produced company documents showing that a crew member who scored 93.5% or more in performance review could earn a whole *fifteen pence per hour* on top of basic pay. The guideline for 87% (10p per hour) is "performance consistently exceeds job requirements and expectations".

For part-time crew there are no guaranteed hours, but they may be required to do extra hours if needed. Mr Nicholson said pay and conditions are in line with similar jobs in other firms (indeed, they are above minima laid down by the Wages Council) and he did not think catering jobs were badly paid.

Stan Stein, Senior Vice-President, Head of Personnel and Labour Relations of the McDonalds Corporation, travelled from Chicago and we hope to report his evidence next issue. The defendants will be calling forty witnesses on McDonalds employment practices worldwide, including two French trade union officials who will describe how five McDonalds managers were arrested for conspiracy to fiddle union elections.

For further information contact: McLibel Support Campaign, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX.

## Hampshire police on a false trail?

Hampshire police are still ranging far beyond the borders of Hampshire, raiding places with search warrants, presumably looking for something in particular. Latest incident we know of is a raid on Frontline Books in Manchester on 30th June.

Recently *Freedom* reported that Hampshire police were raiding premises far beyond Hampshire. In March we heard of a raid on the Inner Bookshop in Oxford, which mostly specialises in New Age 'Body, Mind and Spirit' literature, but also stocks *Freedom* and other radical stuff, and for a time provided an accommodation address for *Green Anarchist*. After two hours, the searchers found nothing they thought worth taking except some copies of *Green Anarchist*, which they could have bought over the counter.

The private address of the editor of *Green Anarchist* was also raided.

Later Hampshire police took a search warrant to the house of the writer Stephen Booth in Lancaster, and took away his computer and discs of the new novel he had almost completed, as well as a pile of leaflets advertising a past event which he had not got around to discarding.

A secondhand bookshop, Artemis Books, was raided by Hampshire police armed with a warrant allowing them to search for "articles made, used or adapted to cause damage or injury to persons or property". The shop mostly specialises in literature and philosophy, but has a small section of "leftwing and Marxist stuff". It certainly does not stock 'articles' as detailed in the warrant.

At Frontline Books in Manchester, the Hampshire police (accompanied, as propriety requires, by a Manchester detective) had a warrant to search for anything connected with two magazines. They took away *Green Anarchist* again, and a publication called *Scum Directory* (unknown at Freedom Press Bookshop).

Hampshire police told the journalist David Ward that "the raid [on Frontline Books] was part of a long-term inquiry into people conspiring to incite others to commit criminal damage and arson". Diana Burfield (Artemis Books) had the impression they thought she was "a link in a chain of people involved in animal protests". Anthony Cheke of the Inner Bookshop says "they are barking up the wrong tree". Neil Swannick, one of the Frontline Books collective, says they were "looking at books on the Angry Brigade and the Red Army Faction", apparently supposing history books to be about current events.

A possible explanation of all this activity is a practical joke. Perhaps somebody, perhaps even the conspirators themselves, have persuaded Hampshire police to look for a conspiracy in the wrong direction.

## Focus on ... Brazil

### A 'MODERN' ECONOMY

There were high hopes for the Brazilian economy in the 1970s and indeed with a gross national product (GNP) equivalent to over US\$230 billion, in 1980 Brazil's economy became the world's tenth largest (roughly on a par with that of the People's Republic of China or Canada). S/he also became the third largest agricultural exporter and the tenth largest producer of automotive vehicles in the world. All this fuelled by US capital. The style of Brazilian growth was an immediate outcome of the major national goal to build in Brazil a 'modern' economy... So how fares the 'modern' Brazilian economy? In this, the first part of a two-part 'Focus', we look at the background and the current situation in Brazil.

#### FACT FILE: BRAZIL

Population:	153.8m
Population per sq km:	19
Human Development Index:	73
Average annual inflation (88-93):	1,179%
Main export destination:	EU 29.6%
Foreign debt as % of GDP:	31.3
Cost of living (Sept 1993)	
(New York = 100):	77
GDP per head in purchasing power parity	
(USA = 100):	22
Origins of GDP:	
Agriculture:	10.8%
Services:	55.4%
Industry:	33.8%



country's social problems are largely felt in the medium sized and large cities, where since about 1980, the government's financial difficulties have meant that investment has not kept pace with population growth arising from earlier urban migration. A recent study in the city of Sao Paulo suggests the situation is getting worse. Conducted by the state-supported Seade foundation and covering 3,800 families, the survey shows the effects of recession on the city's poor. The number of families categorised as 'miserable' (that is, lacking adequate living conditions, jobs, income and education) increased 8% between 1990 and 1994 to 640,000 families, or more than four million people. Although income fell for all groups, it fell furthest for families that were already poor. The number of 'very poor' families, defined as having per capita income of less than \$49.87 a month, nearly doubled to 13% of the population during the period (*Financial Times*, 17th May).

In other words they may have the televisions

but other more basic necessities are somewhat missing: "There is a complete lack of citizenship here", says Caio Ferraz, a resident of the Vigario Geral shanty town in Rio in the same report. "Living conditions are extremely precarious. The government doesn't supply water, there is no sewage disposal, there are power cuts every day, the roads have no tarmac, and the nearest secondary school is 10km away. We lack all basic rights", he says. President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, a former left wing sociologist, has pledged to address these issues. He is known for saying that Brazil is no longer underdeveloped just unjust. Not a bad definition of any 'modern' economy.

In the rural economy, the *Financial Times* continues, the picture is perhaps worse. Infant mortality rates in some states are on a par with black Africa. In parts of the north east, one of the poorest regions, the number of cases of leprosy – a disease often associated with poverty and poor sanitation – has increased since 1990. Government studies point to under-

nourishment and rural poverty, which are exacerbated in the north east by extremely unequal land ownership and corrupt politicians.

Social policies are regularly abused by local politicians. The health system is notoriously corrupt. In the north east, schools are regularly built shortly before elections to win votes. Mr Luiz Pedone, a Brasilia academic, says the new government could "change the educational face of this country", but is hostage to the education ministry's bureaucracy, corruption and political opposition. There are also doubts about the commitment of Mr Cardoso's own government to social reform. His main coalition partner, the right wing Liberal Front (PFL), is governed by traditional politicians who control their regions by preventing change. Mr Cardoso's agriculture minister, Mr Jose Andrade Vieira, is himself a landowner who appears opposed to the government's plans to resettle landless farmers on expropriated land.

Here, according to the *Guardian* last year (29th August 1994), feudalism is more of a reality than a 'modern' economy. Parliamentarians, companies and private banks (Andrade Vieira is not only a landowner he is president of one of the largest banks in Brazil (Bamerindos); this is the man in charge of land reform in Brazil) are among the owners of the ranches, reforestation projects and alcohol distilleries in Brazil's Amazon and Mato Grosso regions where thousands are reportedly being forced to work as slaves. Runaway labourers say they witnessed killing and torture. Children as young as four are involved. Entire families are "thrown into the middle of the forest, living in plastic-roofed huts and drinking water from oil drums" according to a trade union leader. Projects set up with government tax incentives are employing 7,000 Amerindians mainly from the Kaiowa tribe in slave-like conditions. A labour inspector Jos Gomes said slavery was on the increase because the modernisation of agriculture was worsening rural unemployment, and the market economy's need for a 'flexible' workforce was undermining labour rights. Companies found they could maximise profits by deducting all costs including transport over hundreds of miles from wages, turning the workers into debtors.

Brazil is not so strange. It is often by looking outward that we understand what is happening internally as well. Brazil is indeed a 'modern' economy with all that that entails. Shades of this scenario can be found in all capitalist economies. But also there are signs of resistance focusing largely on the land question. Once again Europeans can, perhaps, start to see a mirror image.

#### TO BE CONTINUED

## Demographics and the Economy

The so-called science of economics is no better than New Age mumbo jumbo. All the predictions end up like the Harmonic Convergence. For ten years after World War Two Marxists were making Isaiah-like prophecies about the 'coming depression'; in the '60s the Keynesians trumpeted that they could 'fine tune' the economy; in the '80s Thatcherites bombastically claimed a cure for the English Disease. All have come to naught. Why is this so? Economics remains a pseudo-science because of two closely related errors: an over-emphasis on structuralism and a tendency towards reductionism. The first error is most evident with Marxism – a tendency to reduce all economic problems to capitalism (the economic structure) and ignore accident, ideology and the influence of pre-capitalist holdovers. There is also the blatant reductionism of the Keynesians, who see all problems as resulting from lack of demand, and the monetarists who reduce everything to the quantity of money in circulation. To become a genuine science economics will have to look at all the factors. One of the factors most frequently ignored is demographics.

We all know about the famous Baby Boom generation – in fact more than a third of the population are members. It should be obvious to anyone with half a brain that this generation is

passing through the economy like a pig in a python's gut. Back in the '50s we had the first evidence of this. There was a massive boom in school construction and anyone whose knuckles didn't drag on the floor became a teacher. A decade later and the same was true of universities. Then in the 1970s jobs had to be found for all these young workers. Too stupid to reduce the working week, our beloved leaders simply mushroomed the state sector, helping to lay the basis for the present deficit crisis. By the 1980s the boomers had passed through the school system and schools began closing down, teacher were laid off and many wondered why.

This wasn't all that happened. Young workers just getting established in life are borrowers. They need money for their mortgages, cars and household appliances. Hence in the 1980s there was a tremendous demand for credit, which increased both the interest rate and rate of inflation. All these people buying houses and condos inflated the price of real estate. It is easy to see how demographics exacerbated the underlying (i.e. structural) economic difficulties.

Today the boomers are all entering middle age and most of them have already bought those expensive items, so there is a falling off in the need for credit and a dampening in the price of real estate.

Nor is it likely that the '90s recession will be ended by a consumer boom, for our famous generation is no longer buying but saving for retirement.

At present more than \$600 billion, or about 40% of Canadian business assets, are in pension funds or mutuals. Since the boomers are just now entering the age when saving becomes important, in the next fifteen years we should see an explosion in this area. Retirement savings will gobble the entire economy and capitalism, already largely institutional, should become completely so. Capitalists may become archaic vestiges like the present Royal Family.

Pension money has already affected the economy, and often in a negative way. Fund managers, seeking a maximum return for the future pensioners, have been responsible for some of the worst leveraged buy-outs and derivatives deals. This is beginning to end, since pension funds are becoming active investors and are hence more interested in the long term. The future pensioners will also have an impact since they prefer economic stability to short-term gain. One must also not forget the social concerns of this generation. Concerns about the environment and the third world will become more and more evident in these sorts of investments. Retirement saving will therefore have a revolutionary effect upon the economy and society in general.

Larry Gambone

Today, according to the World Bank, Brazil has one of the world's widest gaps between rich and poor. The richest 10% receive about 50% of the income, while the poorest fifth of the population make do with just 2.6%, a truly 'modern' economy which used as its example the Western 'industrialised' nations.

Hopes ran high in the period 1965-80 when growth rates hit 8.5% p.a. And in turn this Brazilian model inspired many other middle income countries usually with similar long-term results. The reason they followed suit was the material well-being that the growth supposedly brought to the people of Brazil. However even at the height of it all malnutrition, high infant mortality, and lack of access to basic public services were still the reality for a large proportion of Brazilians.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless a glossy picture was painted: capital-intensive and high technology industries such as petrochemicals, aircraft, and nuclear power absorbed large amounts of capital and led to rapid increases in the demand for skilled labour that helped raise the salaries of skilled technical and managerial personnel to levels at or above those paid in much richer countries. They did not, however, create as many jobs for the unskilled. Perhaps a familiar pattern – an island of wealth in a sea of misery – a 'modern' economy.

But still there was cause for celebration. In 1976 almost 76% of Brazilian homes had a radio, 47% had a television, even among the poorest third of the rural households, located mainly in the rural Northeast, Brazil's poorest region, 52% had a radio (although very few had a television). But even with these wonders of modern capitalism the gains of the rich were "immeasurably larger than those of the poor, reflecting persistently high levels of income inequality".<sup>2</sup> Available estimates suggest that throughout the late '60s and '70s the richest 10% of families received over 50% of the nation's wealth ... haven't we heard that somewhere before?

It is revealing that the measure of progress in the 'modern capitalist economy' is the number of people who have a radio or television rather than malnutrition or leprosy and begs the questions as to whose interests are best served in this way. Ricardo, an agricultural student in Brazil, explains the importance of the television and radio in the context of the recent presidential elections in Brazil. When *Freedom* asked him if he believed in the electoral process as a way to bring about change he replied: "Even if it is possible of honestly winning an election for president in a country like Brazil, where one man owns 90% of the media (newspaper, television, radio), whatever new proposal you have will be smashed by the legal system and as a final resort they just have to put some tanks and soldiers on the streets." He points out the way in which this measure of the 'modern' economy is used to spread misinformation, "once there was on the news that if he [the 'left' candidate – Lola] was elected, every one that had a house would have to share it with someone of the party".

#### How fares Brazil today?

So, happy with their television sets, how are Brazilians coping with the 'modern' economy and the riches promised by the 1970s? Fernando is right to draw a link between the media and militarism. Brazil is a society which is becoming anaesthetised to violence and particularly that coming from the forces of power and death – the state. Sao Paulo, the biggest city in the world is also one of its most violent. Here the police last year killed 520 civilians, 20 times more than in New York. Urban violence has several causes. Poverty is sometimes to blame and the media play its role too. But the main culprit is the state, if only indirectly by its failure to invest in basic services which has now failed a generation who have nothing to show for it other than their television sets and draft cards. But the

1. Meyer

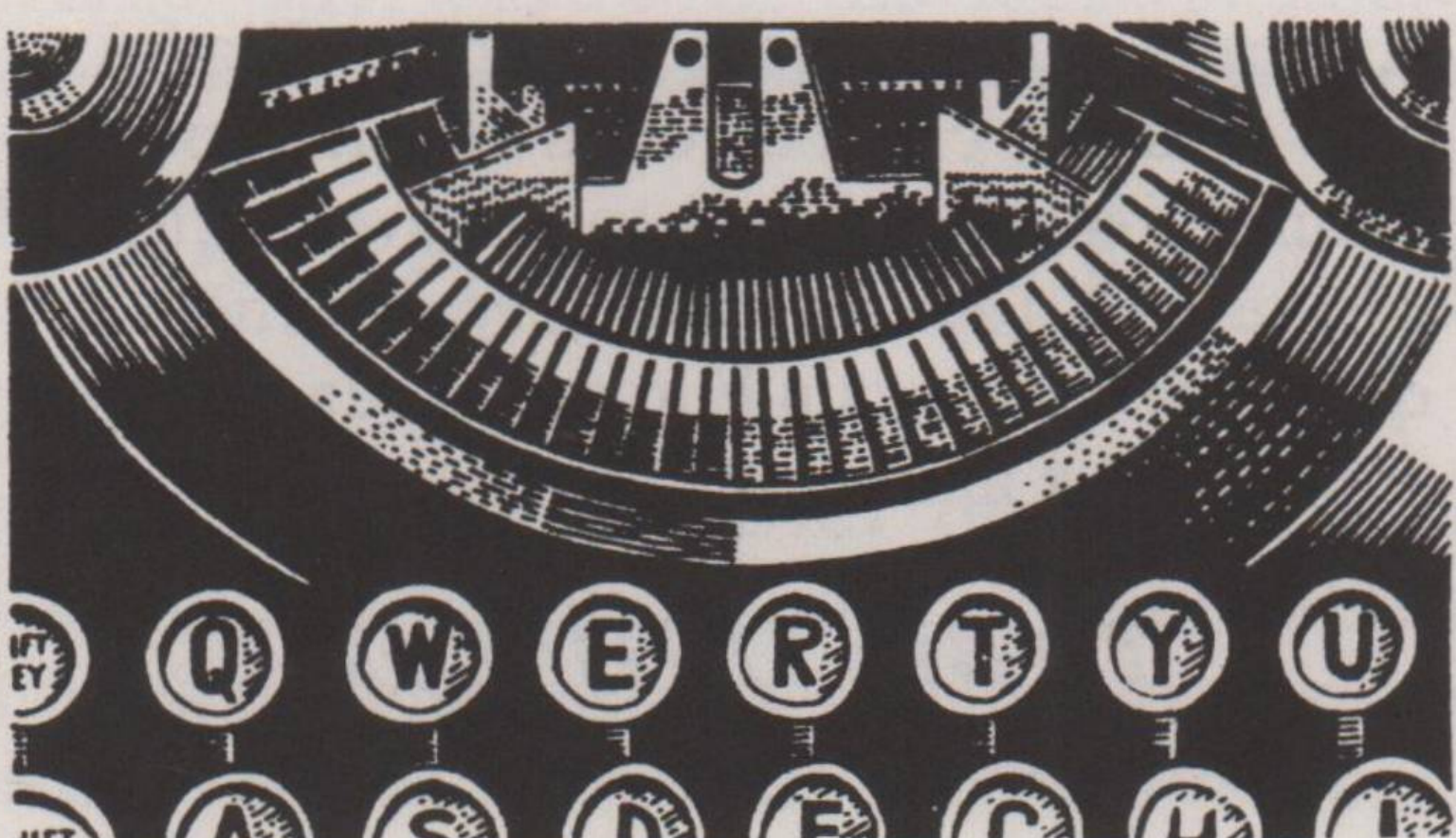
2. ibid

## Through the Anarchist Press

I cannot review *Visions of Poesy*, for I have contributed to it. Nevertheless, I hope that a proper assessment will appear in *Freedom* one day, for I think it is an excellent compilation. There are seventy poets included and it is a treasure store, a good book to browse through.

With a novel or other type of fiction it is easier to deal with in a review. With poetry it is a more personal matter. Something jumps off the page and sticks in your mind. To give you a few examples:

"we want / to put to music and truth / in our underwear" (Julian Beck); "justice comes to those who take it, / not to those who wait" (Boffo); "I'm an anarchist same as you when you are telephoning, turning on/off lights, drinking water" (John Cage); "shall every official tongue be fried" (Bryony Dahl); "their children, according to / the laws of heredity / one played the clarinet, one danced a minuet / and two were fortune tellers" (Janet Dubé); "For wars will cease when men refuse to fight" (Tom Earley); "Anarchy begin at the turnstile and the queue" (Douglas Fetherling); "I am waiting for the age of anxiety to drop dead" (Lawrence Ferlinghetti); "Who stole the Goose off the Common? / Who stole the Common of the Goose?" (Dennis Gould); "I appoint Messrs Bakunin and Kropotkin my executors" (Adrian Henri); "Laughter filled with sherbert fountains" (Bernard Kops); "While our upper class Governors / lead lovely lives of crime" (Tuli Kupferberg); "many poor people have to wait for their boxes" (James Laughlin); "The offspring of flowers is a work of generations" (Ursula Le Guin); "Words that may have the power / To make the sun rise again" (Denise Levertov); "We have it here growing in our hearts" (Philip Levine); "I think, am weak, need help, must live, / and will - with your permission - live" (Christopher Logue); "Finally I was given the Chair of / Comparative Ambiguity" (Adrian Mitchell); "gluing uncle Jim's false teeth / brought an end to all his shouting" (Tom McSorley); "They didn't tell us what it would be like without trees" (Tina Morris); "In rented rooms we mouth through dreams" (Arthur Moyle); "When living resembles airport food" (Marge Piercy); "I have waited to ask you this / I could not ask you in prison / I waited until you were free!" (Paul Potts)



"Ain't got no job / got what you deserve" (Maxine Querty); "They marched five miles / carrying the black and scarlet banners" (Herbert Read); "there is that land, oh land of the free / Don't say it never existed" (J.R.); "What is it all for, this poetry / This bundle of accomplishment / Put together with so much pain?" (Kenneth Rexroth); "Right now! Ah ha ha / ha ha! / 'Cos I wanna be anarchist / It's the only way to be!" (Sex Pistols); "Plays oolya oolya to your bones" (Michelle Shocked); "Why is life so difficult for my sons?" (Monica Sjöö); "the sweet prairies of anarchy" (Stevie Smith); "I must turn and go back: / caught on a snowpeak / between heaven and earth / And stand in lines in Seattle / looking for work" (Gary Snyder); "Poets are a meagre species" (Muriel Spark); "They accuse me of ras-ca-li-ty / Will the roses grow wild over me" (T-Bone Slim); "underneath the asphalt / lies the tilth" (Patricia V.T. West); "Let the black day die / Let the new day dawn" (George Woodcock)

And to end this anarchists dictionary of quotations with both by anon:

"Ova tannas Siam / Geeva tannas Siam / Ove tannas"

"Nineteenth century Spanish anarchist called their beliefs *The Idea*."

Right now! Ah ha ha ha ha ha!

John Retzy

## — ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK — A SQUATTING TALE

Some of us try very hard to bridge the gap between real life and anarchist theory over day-to-day issues like housing. Among the well-known theorists, Kropotkin is full of interest. His chapter on 'Dwellings' in his book on *The Conquest of Bread* (in French 1892, in English 1906) was, essentially, his manual on what should happen in a revolutionary society: an equitable share-out of existing housing according to needs.

Most of us do not live in revolutionary situations but still need to house our families and get by in whatever kind of society we chance to inhabit. Here, I think, another classical anarchist is a better guide. This was, of course, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon who, in a famous but unreadable book *What is Property?* (1840), coined the slogan that 'Property is Theft'. I'm like anyone else. I rejoiced on that day in September 1969 when the squatters at a former royal residence at 144 Piccadilly in London suspended a banner with Proudhon's slogan in metre-high letters.

But one of the ironies used by Proudhon's critics was the fact that he also used the slogan 'Property is Freedom'. It ought not to be necessary to explain that the first slogan was directed at the absentee landowner, defined by George Woodcock as "the man who uses it to exploit the labour of others without any effort on his own part, property distinguished by interest and rent, by the impositions of the non-producer on the producer". The other kind of property, he explained, was that of the owner-occupier or peasant cultivator and 'possession', or the right to control the dwelling and the land and tools needed to live, was seen by Proudhon as "the corner-stone of liberty", while "his main criticism of the Communists was that they wished to destroy it".

Our local paper, the *East Anglian Daily Times*, carried on 10th June an interesting tale of a speculative developer foiled by direct action:

"A man inspired by the personal tragedies of squatters who took over one of his properties celebrated the site becoming a home for young people. Seven flats for single people have been created in the house which Nicolas Percival had been planning to knock down for an office block. The complex is being managed by housing charity the Community Organisation for Single Housing with support from Babergh District Council. Mr Percival explained how the seeds of the project in Cornard Road, Sudbury, were sown. 'I had bought the site for redevelopment, but when I heard it had been occupied by squatters I went to investigate. I found five Sudbury youngsters living there in very poor conditions. They told me stories of violence and abuse at home, of suicide attempts and of poverty and crime. I decided something had to be done and contacted Babergh.' ... Mr Percival was offered a £20,000 renovation grant towards restoration and also receives rent from the charity."

Cynics like me will reflect that the office block market is in a state of collapse, but the

tale reveals housing needs that the market ignores. Anyone who lives in rural England knows that, in the housing field, there is a mismatch between supply and demand. Every estate agent in every high street has long lists of properties for sale, while everyone who studies homelessness reports an unmet demand for homes: not only with tales of the footloose young sleeping in night shelters or sleeping rough, but of new families doing a circuit of relations, or of the plight of families who have lost their homes through repossession or divorce. Where I live, in Suffolk, the adult children of local families move to rented rooms in the nearest big towns as they have been priced out of the market locally.

The economic theory accepted as a kind of religion by government, and increasingly by opposition politicians too, claims that, if left alone, the supply of housing and the demand for it will reach equilibrium.

Every student of the history of housing known that this never was true, and that this was the reason for public intervention in the housing market a century ago. Since 1979 government policy has been to wipe this experience out of history, replacing 'public' housing by 'social' housing, with the pretext that housing associations, dependent on government funding, are private and therefore ideologically correct.

Today everyone fears a free market in housing, simply because the owners of capital have long ceased to invest in productive industry and have put their money in property. The building societies which began as non-profit 'friendly societies' have shed their friendliness and they, the banks, the pension funds and the Church of England, have suffered huge losses as a result of chasing quick profits, while the collapse of the job market combined with the downturn in property prices has brought misery to 300,000 house-buyers in the last five years alone, and they, like all the others in a situation of 'negative equity', are still faced by a mountain of debt.

Indeed an upturn in property prices, which obstinately fails to appear, is seen as a crucial indicator of economic recovery. It is worth remembering that a century ago, when Ebenezer Howard and his friends set up the Garden Cities Association, they built their hopes on creating a downturn in property prices in the cities, and on making the upturn in rural property prices the collective property of the community.

These issues are remote from any political agenda, and this is why I, as a pragmatic anarchist, have always welcomed popular direct action, less as a harbinger of revolution than as an impact on policy and opinion in the tightly regulated world of housing.

This was true in 1946 when the large-scale occupation of former service camps and

empty requisitioned buildings obliged government to make these places officially available in the post-war crisis of housing. It was true in the late 1960s when the highly-publicised re-introduction of squatting in Greater London, instigated by Ron Bailey and Jim Radford, led to various local councils first destroying houses they owned to keep squatters out but then legitimising squats as short-life tenancies and housing co-ops.

I drew attention in this column (19th March 1994) to Bailey's recent book *Homelessness: What Can Be Done* (Oxford, Jon Carpenter, 1994) and in particular to its dedication to a former Conservative Chair of Housing in the London Borough of Lewisham, in admiration for "the astonishing courage and vision he showed by entering into the first legal agreement with squatters in 1969. 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."

Similarly I tried again (10th December 1994) to reinforce this message with the tale of urban renewal in Amsterdam through the remarkable achievements of the squatters' movement there, and I regretted that in the increasingly authoritarian climate of contemporary Britain "the very thought of negotiations with squatters is lost in the past". I was thinking, of course, about the impact of the Criminal Law Act of 1977 and that of the Criminal Justice Act of 1994, shifting squatting from the realm of civil law to that of criminal law.

The good news is that I was wrong. There are still important lessons to be absorbed by the official world, whether public or private, from direct action to turn property from being valuable to being useful.

In the village of Pulham St Mary, near Diss in Norfolk, there is a big sixteenth century manor house (needless to say, a listed building) on which a vast mortgage loan had been given. The building society repossessed it and it has been empty for years. As we live in the period when 'architectural salvage' has shifted from being junk to being a priceless commodity in the world of market values, everything useful had been stolen: gates, fountains, five marble fireplaces and lead from the roof.

In October last year six Norfolk squatters, as an alternative to sleeping rough, moved in, patched up the roof and windows and set about making the building habitable, as well as planting vegetables in the ruined walled garden.

They were, of course, sued by the building society in Leeds, and two of them went up to the court hearing to defend their occupation with an Affirmation of their needs supported by a petition from local residents and councillors declaring that the house should be protected and inhabited.

They actually succeeded and were given a shorthold tenancy at £80 a week for six months. The local paper was told by the building society that "we are currently finalising a formal agreement. It must be stressed, however, that this is a unique case ... and it is not the normal policy of the society to take over empty properties that are up for sale."

Those of us who watched tenancies granted with a short life to urban squatters in the 1970s, which still flourish as successful housing co-operatives to this day, hope that the right help and advice can enable this venture to succeed and expand. I suspect that the building society, too, recognises that it will never find a rich plutocrat to take their losses off the hands of their investors.

In the urban housing climate of the post-war years, it was left to Dr Graham Lomas to uncover the rather shocking fact that in London more fit houses had been destroyed than had been provided. For those who really worry about the failure of the economics of the market to match supply and demand in rural England, those Norfolk squatters have an important message.

Colin Ward

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The airwaves are to the free radio stations what paper is to the journals. Without airwaves free radio couldn't broadcast and of course, just by chance, this area has always been completely monopolised by the State. The State has, in every country of the world, seized exclusive control of this area and has only just conceded, above all because of private initiative within the business world, a part of this exclusivity in the form of Users Licences. Not even the governments of the left, who currently hold power, have deigned to make of the radiophonic medium an area for communication and not simply an area of information dissemination and other things which has always typified its very character. For this reason the free stations apart from demanding freedom of speech, something which we could say to a degree we have achieved, also demand the freedom to transmit, which entails of course prising a few crumbs from the exclusive control of the airwaves by the State. We want a slice, a simple slice so that what the powers that be call freedom of expression can become a real possibility. The concept of free radio in itself, is already a blow against this concept of sovereignty of the State over the air waves, and the free radios in fact have not demanded legalisation but rather the simple recognition of a basic right: the release of a section of space on the airwaves.

One might say that the free radios were born in Paris in 1978 when the International Federation of Free Radio Stations was formed

# ANARCHY IN ACTION?

— NUMBER 2 —

## Radio Contrabanda FM (Barcelona)

With this edition of *Freedom*, and in the 'Anarchy in Action?' section, we begin a series of feature articles looking at the media and the different ways in which anarchists and libertarians are trying to communicate with each other, and indeed other people too. We begin with the first of two extracts from the book *Anarquisme: Exposició Internacional* which covers the September/October 1993 conference held in Barcelona.

at a meeting of The Association for the Liberation of the Airwaves (ALO) and the Federacione de Radio Emitenti Democratiche (FRED) which ended up being called ALFREDO 78. Many Spanish and Catalan comrades were at the meeting which gave rise to the first experiences of free Spanish radio in Catalonia in 1978 with broadcasts by Ona Lliure, first from Santa Maria de Corco and since then in Barcelona currently from the Centre Civic in the Calle de Blay en Poble Sec, Barcelona. Contrabanda, the radio station I work with, has immersed itself in the

philosophy of free radio.

Contrabanda is not a libertarian radio station in the strictest sense of the term. At Contrabanda there are libertarians but there are also others who we might say are vaguely Marxist or people who defend ideas of Catalan independence, ecology or feminism. Personally I like it that way. I don't share the hangups of others and it's a good thing that there should be a wide variety of views on a free radio station like ours. Contrabanda started running in September 1988 when in the course of a meeting of people from differing

ideological backgrounds, professions and so on it was decided to set up a legal Cultural Association with the express intention of founding a free radio station. Our first move was to find premises, get subscribers to help get some minimal income, buy equipment and put into effect a variety of initiatives from selling 'solidarity bonds' to outings with food that we provided to help raise cash.

Another problem from the word go was the passing of legislation in December 1988 which allowed the minister to go ahead with his plan for a complete clean up of existing free stations and pirate stations (which put out publicity). The last one to be closed down was Radio Pica. After that it became extremely hard to even contemplate trying to set something up despite the fact that there had been calls for them not least from the International Federations which were backing up calls for free radio in Spain. It was all in vain. The new legislation simply ended up promoting the interests of the private companies and the state sector including military communications and so on. Contrabanda, or the group that was trying to get it on the road at the time decided that there was no point in trying to do things the hard way and for that reason it started negotiating with the Generalitat (Catalan local government) and groups within it that might listen sympathetically to the demands for freedom to broadcast. It was felt that without this softly, softly approach it would be

(continued on page 8)

— PART TWO —

(the first part of this article appeared in *Freedom*, 24th June 1995)

# The Role of the Intellectual

From the beginning of the nineteenth century there has been a long and diverse 'anti-Jacobin' tradition, not only among anarchists but among liberal and conservative intellectuals. Edmund Burke was one of the more famous of the conservative critics of Jacobin intellectuals; Paul Johnson (1988) is the latest among them. Johnson bewails the increasing influence of secular intellectuals – whether deist, sceptic or atheist – who, since the demise of the cleric intellectual at the end of the eighteenth century, are seen as dominating cultural life. The intellectual Johnson perceives as a 'radical', a person who has a "special devotion to the interests of humanity", who is critical of the status quo and thus, like a pontiff, tells us how best we may conduct our affairs. They have, he suggests, an "evangelical duty" to advance or improve human life by their teaching. Johnson thus narrowly conceives 'intellectuals' as secular radicals, and as Jacobins. Their hero, he writes, "was Prometheus, who stole the celestial fire and brought it to earth" (1988, page 2). He thus gives some refreshing and readable portraits of such intellectuals as Rousseau, Shelley, Marx, Ibsen, Tolstoy, Hemingway, Brecht, Russell, Sartre and Chomsky, focusing on their biography. He highlights the fact that although such figures were keen to critique their society and to freely offer "advice to humanity", their own lives, strange as it may seem, were not those of a saint but rather like that of an ordinary mortal – full of contradictions, foibles, petty hatreds, moral weakness, egoism, family quarrels, guilt and confusion. Although the book is on 'intellectuals' it has little in the way of intellectual critique, and little intellectual substance. One wonders why he did not subject intellectuals like Burke, Smith, Popper, Hayek, Schweitzer and Ayn Rand to a similar treatment? Johnson himself is an ardent supporter of Thatcherism, which combines arrogant nationalism, authoritarian politics and the so-called 'new liberalism' – an advocacy of nineteenth century laissez-faire capitalism – as well as of US imperialism. He seems unaware that many of the intellectuals he discusses were anti-statist and thus not Jacobin intellectuals or followers of Prometheus; that radical intellectuals do not dominate the cultural landscape but tend to be marginal or to be dismissed as eccentric figures, and that since the end of the nineteenth century there has been a proliferation of intellectuals who are neither clerics nor secular radicals, but academics or technocratic intellectuals. The latter function to provide ideological support for the status quo. Such technocratic intellectuals dominate the 'culture of capitalism' and come in all shapes and sizes – as media figures (like Johnson himself), as academics, as

research scientists, as economists, as management consultants, they often take on the guise – or rather disguise – of being 'experts', whose expertise Brian Martin (1991) has sought to challenge and discredit. 'Scientific' experts, in particular, have come to be seen as the 'new priests' of modern society. In his focus on secular radicals, Johnson seems to be oblivious as to what is going on in contemporary intellectual life. Boggs has emphasised that the essence of the Jacobin – Promethean – tradition is a close relationship between intellectuals and the state apparatus, involving a "fusion of intellect and politics, knowledge and power, vision and development" (1993, page 16). The real Jacobin intellectuals these days are not the likes of Chomsky but Muslim fundamentalists and the Thatcherite intellectuals (like Johnson) who seek to impose by authoritarian means

their technocratic vision and managerial politics on all areas of social life.

Carl Boggs writes that modern intellectuals have lost their "global Promethean capacity" to reshape society and to transform human beings in accordance with some Platonic – or Marxist? – vision. It is doubtful outside of fascist or Marxist states if Jacobin intellectuals ever had this kind of power. But with the rise of modernity, Boggs suggests, we have seen the 'waning' of both the traditional (classical scholar, philosophical cleric and literary figure) and the Jacobin intellectual, and the emergence of a new kind of organic intellectual, the technocratic intellectual. The ideal of a self-contained community of scholars within the university setting, devoted to liberal scholarship and humanism (as celebrated by Bloom), has virtually disappeared, he suggests, to be replaced by a technocrat who, in various ways, seems to legitimate the "smooth functioning of bureaucratic state capitalism and other forms of industrial society. They are located in the state bureaucracy, university, corporations, the military, the media and the culture industry" (1993, page 3). Higher education is fully integrated, he argues, into this corporate-state network, and essentially serves capitalist interests. The notion that the university is an isolated realm of learning is largely a myth, for academics are subordinate to the imperatives of the power structure (page 103).

What then Boggs sees as emerging is a new intellectual culture, based on scientific-technological rationality, which is serving to unify an elite of technocratic intellectuals comprised of technicians, marketing experts, economic consultants, corporate managers, psychiatrists, health-care administrators, as well as university academics. He thus concludes that the modern university is:

"the locus of state-corporate management of education that administers and controls the production of knowledge. Virtually all forms of scholarship are saturated with a positivist world-view corresponding to this highly rationalised system" (1993, page 111).

One could well argue that, rather than replacing the Jacobin intellectual, the technocratic intellectual is the archetypal development of this earlier type – concerned with professionalism, bureaucratic control and with mystifying and depoliticising public discourse – often via the esoteric language which Paglia and Jacoby have critiqued. Political science, for example, has increasingly reduced the study of politics, to games theory, rational choice models, and has made a fetish of statistical techniques, about voting behaviour, interest groups and policy-making procedures,

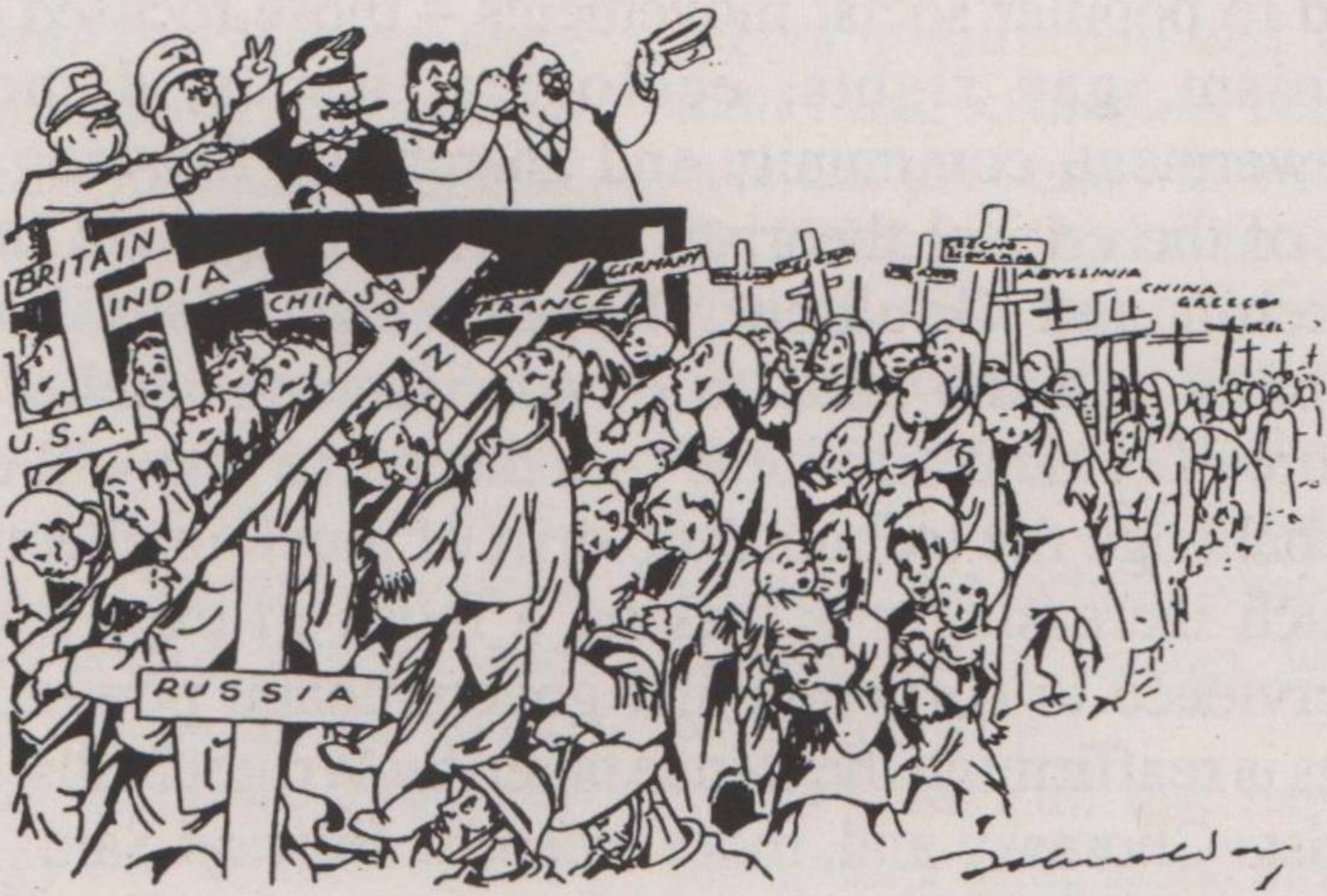
(continued on page 7)

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## Anarchism and 'Outlaws'

"Witness to Anarchy" proclaimed a *Guardian* headline over a 20th June obituary.

I blinked.  
"The last living link with the Siege of Sidney Street has been broken with the death of Kathleen Smoothy ... just three months after her 102nd birthday."

I blinked thoughtfully.  
"During the 1911 incident" it went on "a group of Russian anarchists was besieged in a house in East London ..."

At this point my blink rate became a blur and my corporeal presence began to achieve the sort of vertical lift off *Freedom* readers normally associate with a particularly angry Wildcat. The reason for this display of bad temper on the part of my famously placid self was that the story carried my byline. I hadn't written this claptrap. My beautifully modulated prose had been sabotaged by editorial interpolation.

Kath Smoothy died on 1st June 1995. She was born in 1893, the year the Manchester Ship Canal was completed, Henry Ford's first motor car took to the road, and the Anarchists were thrown out of the Second International by the Social Democrats. Born into a baker's family in the village of Cross-in-Hand, Kath was faced, like most young women of the time, with a choice between becoming a seamstress or going into service. The rebellious Victorian child had developed a fiercely independent adult manner which verged on the autocratic. She would not have lasted long as anybody's servant. She opted for sewing and, appalled by the South London sweatshops of the time, soon escaped into marriage.

I recorded a series of interviews with her earlier this year. In one she described how her husband, City of London PC Smoothy, had carried his wounded friend Tucker from the firing zone only to have him die in his arms. She was quite ribald about the mystery made in some books as to the origins of the fire which ended the siege, declaring it was common knowledge among the City of London Police that 'The Met' had fired the house. Her husband never completely recovered from the experience and moved to Herne Bay, becoming the local beadle,

arresting people for riding bicycles along the sea front and chasing would be bathers into the bathing cabins.

Of course in 1911 the term 'anarchist' was used about most types of dissenter, a press habit that seems to be returning. The marginal involvement of Malatesta in lending one of the alleged protagonists some equipment certainly helped the legend along. Further confusion was caused when it was established that some of the people involved had visited the anarchist club (a dodgy habit I once indulged in myself) and by Ramsay MacDonald who, along with the East End Russian community, believed Peter the Painter to be a Tsarist *agent provocateur*. Certainly Scotland Yard, not notorious as the anarchists' friend, denied the anarchist connection and efforts to have Malatesta deported – he had been convicted of criminal libel for calling someone a police spy – ultimately failed. The general consensus today is that if a political label can sensibly be attached at all then Latvian social democrat comes nearest.

Some of the myths about the Siege of Sidney Street have been demolished. My favourite, that Peter the Painter escaped back to Russia and became Joseph Stalin has been exploded by documents showing he was in prison in Northern Russia at the time. But the myth that the shootings were the result of a bodged 'anarchist expropriation' continues and the *Guardian's* liberties with my perfectly balanced prose will doubtless make its small contribution. Intriguingly Kath Smoothy, who at the end of her 101st year could remember and describe every detail of the affair, never once used the word anarchist about the participants. Even so I never dared tell this formidable survivor, my mother-out-law, that her daughter was living with one of these dubious people.

Kath Smoothy's life after Sidney Street was relatively tranquil. She had five children, lived on her own after the death of her husband in 1961, managing house and garden until the age of 97. She ran a fire fighting team in World War Two for Lasting Peace. Just an everyday story of centenarian folk one might say.

What made her remarkable was her individuality, her intelligence, and her

## A World Elsewhere

Bernard Levin has for more than forty years been a successful journalist, especially as a reviewer and columnist. He is well known for his combination of ignorance and arrogance, and for his self-regarding and long-winded style. He specialises in intemperate attacks on obvious targets, usually based on clumsy research and frequently prompting indignant replies. He has also been a successful broadcaster on both radio and television. He has produced a dozen books, mostly collections of his articles or scripts of his programmes, but sometimes standing on their own. *A World Elsewhere*, first published last year and now available in paperback, is one of the latter. It purports to be a serious study of utopian theory and practice, but reads more like a series of newspaper articles or television scripts. Levin says that he "has been tinkering with his subject for twenty years", but he also says

**A World Elsewhere**  
by Bernard Levin  
Cape, £16.99; Sceptre, £6.99

tenacious memory. She enjoyed playing oracle to the string of researchers who visited her during her final five years, enquiring about the siege of Sidney Street, life in nineteenth century Sussex, or conditions in the sweat shops of East and South London in 1910. She showed no lack of intellectual vigour, arguing that as God was a myth she wanted a secular funeral. "Sex promotes the world and money rules it" she would declare, before going on to urge the wisdom of a federal Europe, or telling Angus Calder's research assistant that Dr Calder had got the Second World War all wrong.

When even her indomitable will began to fail following a broken femur she announced firmly that enough was enough, refused medication and announced that she intended to die in her sleep. A week later she did.

Whatever the real political affiliations of Peter the Painter and his associates it is a pleasing irony that Kath Smoothy's funeral service was written and conducted by an anarchist.

John Pilgrim

that he does "not lay claim" to scholarship; the former seems unlikely, and the latter is all too obvious. The result is a deeply felt but badly expressed journalistic attack on various attempts to build a better world.

Inevitably, it includes an attack on libertarian utopianism. One of the eighteen chapters, called 'Bless Relaxes', includes a six-page account of anarchism. It isn't clear what this is based on; it is clear that Levin has no direct knowledge of the anarchist movement or anarchist literature. He says that Herbert Read's *Anarchy and Order* ought to be familiar, but there is no evidence that it is to him. He also says: "Peter Marshall's *Demanding the Impossible* (HarperCollins) is a serious plea for Anarchism; clearly, he would never throw a bomb at anybody, so charmingly naive is his thesis – that governments are unnecessary". But there is no evidence that he has read this any more than any other book on the subject; indeed the evidence is that he hasn't read most of the books he refers to.

Levin mentions only four actual anarchists. He includes Proudhon mainly to sneer at his anti-feminism and anti-semitism. He then says that "only two serious figures ... could be taken seriously as utopian anarchists" (the clumsiness is typical). One is "the savage Bakunin", who "advocated and promoted violence" in the form of bomb-throwing; the other is "the gentle Kropotkin", who "eschewed all violence". Both claims are of course utter nonsense. Emma Goldman is mentioned mainly because she first supported and then denounced the Communist regime in Russia; this is something Levin learnt only after he sneered at her ten years ago in a review of a biography in the *Observer* (and he still thinks she wrote two books about Russia, and still gets wrong the details of her changing views).

This is a typically ignorant section in a typically ignorant book by a typically ignorant writer. No one who knows anything about the subject will take it seriously; the trouble is that it will be widely read by people who know no more than the author about the subject, and they may take it seriously. But we have had this trouble for more than a century.

NW

## The Role of the Intellectual

(continued from page 6)

even of slavery. A survey of top academic journals in sociology and political science has revealed that very few articles addressed serious political issues and social events – like the war in Vietnam (P. Jacoby, 1987, page 158; Boggs, 1993 page 115).

As Marxism has moved into the university setting and developed into an academic discipline, it has lost, Boggs argues, much of its critical thrust, while continuing to contain within it a theoretical 'mirror image' of capitalist productive relations. And it carries forward, he writes, all the elements of bourgeois industrialism – the fetishism of economic growth, technological rationality and a productivist ethic with its emphasis on control over nature. Marxism thus still lacks "an ecological, feminist and democratic critique of the advanced industrial order" (1993, page 127) – thus reiterating a critique of Marxism earlier developed by anarchists like Bookchin and Clark.

Yet, significantly, though Boggs distances himself from the Jacobin strand of Marxism – developed by Lenin – and is sympathetic to what he describes as 'spontaneism' (anarchism, syndicalism, council communism), he still retains and advocates a crucial role for intellectuals in counter-hegemonic movements. He writes that "clearly no revolutionary movement hoping to conquer power and initiate fundamental social change could succeed without the leading, educating and organising role of intellectual-activists" (page 61).

He thus retains an adherence to Gramsci's Marxism but apparently without the advocacy of a revolutionary party. Anarchists, of course, question the very notion that popular movements need to be 'led' or 'organised' by an intellectual elite, and do not seek to 'conquer power' but to dissolve it through what Boggs describes as "worker self-activity", "direct democracy" and "collective self-emancipation".

But although Boggs acknowledges that the logic of instrumental rationality is hegemonic, and that centralised forms of power have penetrated all aspects of social life, this does not imply, he argues, that such technocratic ideology is monolithic. Through funding councils the state has increasingly bureaucratized academic life, and disciplinary power, systems of surveillance and management styles and values now permeate university institutions (Shore and Roberts, 1995) such that the majority of academics now begin to think like bureaucrats with their emphasis on control and management, and to behave like experts – "accomplices in the exercise of power" (Boggs 1993, page 112). Thus Boggs argues the need to develop a critical intelligentsia, a counter-hegemonic stratum of intellectuals that will be organically linked to popular social movements – those focused around feminism, gay rights, ecological issues, democratic empowerment, community and anarchism. Drawing on the work of the critical theorists and the writings of Chomsky, Bookchin and Gouldner, Boggs emphasises both the possibility and the need to develop among intellectuals a "culture of critical discourse" – a discourse that will counter and challenge the technocratic drift of much intellectual life – which increasingly is making a fetish of expertise in its subservience to corporate and governmental power. In this Boggs is reaffirming the stance taken by Wright Mills, critical theorists Chomsky and, more recently, Edward Said.

Chomsky (1987) has long critiqued the role of intellectuals in the United States. Although tending to adopt critical and liberal attitudes, and to assume the role of independent scholars, many US intellectuals – the "new mandarins" as Chomsky describes them – are ready to serve as ideologists, functioning to bolster corporate and state interests. Chomsky calls for a committed scholarship and repudiates the idea that knowledge and understanding is the preserve of intellectuals and experts. Specialist knowledge may be important in certain fields, but the understanding of social life is open to everyone. To unmask political ideologies, he writes, all that is needed

is open-mindedness, healthy scepticism and normal common sense.

In a similar vein Edward Said critiques the cult of the expert – for 'expertise', he writes, has very little to do with real knowledge. He calls instead for the critical intellectual to be a kind of 'amateur', an 'exile', a committed scholar who resists the pressures of patronage and authority. In a world crowded with intellectuals – professionals, experts, consultants – the true 'intellectuals', Said suggests, are those who question patriotic nationalism, corporate thinking and privileges of any kind (class, gender, race), and who in taking a principled stand "speak the truth to power" (1994, page 71).

Brian Morris

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# Christianarchy

Dear Freedom,

Thank you very much for your thoughtful and challenging review by Brian Morris of my pamphlet *Christianarchy: a Primer in Christian Anarchism* (Freedom, 13th May 1995). I would like to raise a few points in answer to this review.

Firstly my real name is Wayne John, not a pseudonym.

Secondly my views on atheism are largely derived from Jurgen Moltmann's *The Crucified God* where he writes: "God is hidden and unrecognisably present in those who quarrel with god and destroy all images of god and are never satisfied". I personally believe that

atheism and the god of conventional theism are simply two sides of the same coin, one has to transcend both the submissiveness of 'religion' and the false rebellion of atheism and be against god for god's sake as Jesus himself was.

Thirdly I believe in the bisexuality of god, god in his humanity is both female and male while the divinity of the godhead transcends both. Masculine terminology in the Bible at best is interpreted in this 'inclusive' sense. To use only female terminology would imply a specific gender bias, to use she/he or he/she would be clumsy, to use 'it' would objectify god while 'he' does have one positive use in stressing the personalist side of god that one can enter into a relationship with. The use of capitals in this context implies the supra-personality of 'God'. Interestingly there is now a translation of the Bible, the New Revised Standard Version, which is inclusive in its terminology for god.

Fourthly I am aware of the comments on anarchism Nicolas Berdyaev makes in his book *Slavery and Freedom*. Brian Morris quotes Berdyaev out of context. Berdyaev attacks "the materialistic anarchists who always appeal to force and bring in power and compulsion from the other end" (page 148) "thus the domination of the stateless communist society can be still more totalitarian than the domination of the state" (page 147). Berdyaev concludes (which Brian Morris omits to mention) that "the religious truth of anarchism consists in this, that power over man is bound up with sin and evil, that a state of perfection is a state where there is no power of man over man, that is to say anarchy. The Kingdom of God is freedom and the absence of such power. The Kingdom of God is anarchy. This is a truth of apophatic theology - the religious truth of anarchism is a truth of apophatics" (pages 147-148).

This brings me to my last point. Brian Morris concludes that my vision of christian anarchy would find its home not

in the stateless society but the 'monastery'. As an ex-monastic, I can see the truth in this. Thomas Merton, the Catholic monk and contemplative activist, once wrote of monasticism's 'anarchist character'. Indeed early monasticism was seen as a prophetic and subversive force when contrasted with the state recuperation of the early church. It was only later that monasticism was itself recuperated, which in turn led to its total pre-reformation corruption.

As a Quaker I believe the early Friends/Quakers were the best and closest example of a libertarian christianity and until both 'christians' and anarchists, etc., can reclaim something of their spirit and prophetic social vision, right-wing fundamentalism will rule the day. Without a vision the people perish.

Wayne John

## Information please

Dear Freedom Press,

Freedom Press (with the address 127 Ossulston Street, London NW1) published in 1926 *abolition*, a curious writing of the Dutch architect Robert Van 't Hoff (1887-1979). At that time Van 't Hoff had stopped building and was fully concentrated on new forms of an anti-capitalist society. For me, an architectural historian and working on a dissertation about Dutch Avant-Garde architecture (especially De Stijl), the ideas of Van 't Hoff are extremely interesting. Unfortunately *abolition* is not in the possession of the daughter of Rob Van 't Hoff, nor is it to be found in the libraries of any of the Dutch universities, nor in the British Library, the Cambridge University Library or the Bodleian University.

Although I know that in 1967 a printed version of the text was lent by Freedom Press (at that time with the address of 17a Maxwell Road, London SW6) to a Dutch museum for an exhibition of the work of Van 't Hoff, I can find nowhere the book. (It is also possible that it was published in 1923 with the title *abolismen*.) It might be extra difficult for you to find it because it was published anonymously (and possibly also without a title).

Drs. D. Broekhuizen  
Van der Meydestraat 10-c, 3039 TH  
Rotterdam, Netherlands

[Freedom Press does not have a copy of this book. Can any readers help?]

the ranks of the Spanish syndicalists).

No doubt if you have a caricature definition of syndicalism - that it is only concerned with industrial organisation - (and, if, as you do in your letter, you leave out of that industrial organisation all the things that are fundamental to syndicalism) you can, by your own definition, say that the addition of anything (including the things you left out) takes on board concepts that end up distorting its original ideas.

But to make your argument stick you need to be specific.

Laurens Otter

Dear Comrades,

The enclosed poem [see below] was found amongst the papers of the first(?) AFB, the forerunner of the Syndicalist Workers Federation. The History Study Group would be interested to know when this was printed and who by? We think that this pre-dated the Second World War as it was with some material that appeared to date from the 1930s, however this doesn't prove anything either way.

In solidarity,

Ron  
Solidarity Federation, Manchester  
Group, PO Box 29 SWPDO,  
Manchester M15

## The Anarchist and the Soldier

"Captain, what do you think," I asked,  
"Of the part your soldiers play?"  
The captain answered: "I do not think -  
I do not think - I obey."

"Do you think you should shoot a patriot down  
And help a tyrant slay?"  
The captain answered: "I do not think -  
I do not think - I obey."

"Do you think that your conscience was  
meant to die  
And your brains to rot away?"  
The captain answered: "I do not think -  
I do not think - I obey."

"Then if this is your soldier's code," I cried,  
"You're a mean, unmanly crew,  
And with all your feathers and gilt and braid  
I am more of a man than you."

"For whatever my lot on earth may be,  
And whether I swim or sink,  
I can say with pride, "I do not obey -  
I do not obey - I think!"

please keep sending  
in your letters and  
donations ...

## Norwegian Anarchist Press

Dear Freedom,

We were pleasantly surprised that you mentioned *Lønnsbladet* in your 'tour of the Norwegian anarchist press' in your issue of 27th May 1995. Please find enclosed issue no. 6, the most recent issue, in exchange for your international bulletin.

We feel, however, that *Lønnsbladet* constitutes a manifest exception to your reviewer's summary of the periodicals as "triumphantly nihilistic and chaotic". It is far from easy to communicate anarchist/libertarian socialist ideas in a country without any continuing anarchist tradition. We try anyway, and we hope both through our contents and our presentation to give an impression of engaged seriousness and not impulsive chaos.

Let me end by saying, for my own part and as a subscriber to *Freedom* from 1970, that the last years have seen a great improvement in the paper and, although I do not necessarily share your positions, I respect what you are doing and all your efforts and I wish you luck.

R. Myklebust  
for *Lønnsbladet*

## Open Letter to Dave Dane

Dear Dave,

The fallacies in Malatesta's anti-syndicalist arguments were amply demonstrated at the time by Monate; which is why, to my memory, for nearly half a century every few years *Freedom* reprints Malatesta's article, but despite frequent promises has never yet dared reprint the reply.

You say (*Freedom*, 29th April 1995) that syndicalism can only be relevant to the modern world by taking on board other concepts that end up distorting its original ideas. Obviously to the extent that technology has changed that is true of all anarchist theories, but if anything rather less so of syndicalism than any other variant.

Incidentally, despite the views of the Platformists, all anarchists, including syndicalists from the days of the Charter of Amiens, were involved in the Peace Movement, overlapped with feminism, were interested in what we now call Green issues (it is worth recalling that the 'modern schools movement' began within

## Radio Contrabanda

(continued from page 6)

impossible to broadcast transmissions with an acceptable degree of quality since the prohibition was a kind of Damocles sword, ever threatening, and laying down the risk of seizure of equipment as had happened to Radio Pica and it would not be feasible to transmit at will.

These negotiations took a long time before giving rise, thanks to a collective petition put together by the radio stations and the parliamentary group Esquerra Republicana, to the introduction in the Catalan parliament of a motion, not a law, calling for the recognition of the existence or the right to exist for the free stations and that as a result of this the government of the Generalitat should set up legally this right to exist. Curiously, or perhaps miraculously, this law got through. And I say miraculously because in the Basque Country a petition for a similar project which was put before the Basque parliament by Euskadiko Ezquerra was rejected.

The Generalitat, seeing itself forced to legislate on the matter decided to set up an experimental period for free radios until the end of 1990 which was permissible within the framework of existing legislation. This is not what the free radio stations wanted but they decided to put up with it. Anyway, the authorities identified three frequencies which would be made available to and could be used by the free stations. At the time there were six of us in the metropolitan area. We split up the allotted frequencies. In January 1991 Contrabanda FM began transmissions along with Radio Pica on 91.0 FM for 24 hours a day. Contrabanda from 3pm to 3am and Radio Pica the rest. This continued until Radio Pica moved to 91.8.

Contrabanda is a self-managed radio station.

We work by assembly; the means are collective. The people who make the programmes pay to sustain the collective and all those who make programmes have a voice and a vote on the assembly. As I said earlier Contrabanda is legally speaking a Cultural Association and amongst other initiatives we have recently set up a Counterinformation Agency. Our philosophy could be defined as the cultural melting pot. On the one hand we should make it clear that we broadcast in Catalan. We believe our language has been monopolised by certain sectors of the bourgeoisie which has allowed the two to be

mistaken for each other. We aim to use the language differently, not so pure, not so grammatically correct, but giving it other strengths. So our language is Catalan and our philosophy that of the free stations that is to say to give a voice to those who have no other platform. A number of collectives put the programmes together. Some 36 to 40 go out, of which 21 are internally produced, nine by outside collectives and six by individuals. News takes up 31% of airtime, culture 14.6%, music programmes 27% and the other 26% is non-stop music.

The collectives involved are indeed varied

**JOHN CAGE** Born 5th September 1912 in Los Angeles, USA, died 1992. Researcher, author, printmaker, musical director, professor, composer, art director, Cage was a major figure in the music world for some fifty years. He experimented with the use of noise and of extended silence as musical material, invented the prepared piano, was America's earliest proponent of electronic music, and originated the multi-media happening. Regarded by many as the foremost avant-garde composer, he has often called himself an anarchist.

"Logic, organisation, government should all be forgotten inasmuch as they begin themselves by making us forget the essential."

"We should learn to live without working. That would mean we would have to live creatively."

The portrait, right, is a black and white copy of one of 36 portraits of anarchists drawn in three-colour line by Clifford Harper, included in a set of picture cards each with a potted biography on the reverse and published by Freedom Press. Other portraits include such varied anarchist figures as Buenaventura Durutti, Errico Malatesta, Marie Louise Berneri, Emiliano Zapata, Noam Chomsky, Michael Bakunin, Louise Michel, Colin Ward and many more.

The 36 picture cards (known to collectors as trading cards) come in a neat box and are available in our bookshop or by mail order, price £5.00 (post free in UK, £5.45 including p&p abroad) from: **Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX**



JOHN CAGE

for example there is a Serbo Croat broadcast another called Demanem la Paraula, African Hour - a programme put out by women from Guinea - and also the Alternative News Agency which is yet another libertarian group working in the information field producing two weekly slots and with whom Contrabanda works closely on an alternative news project. Then there is 'Immigrant Viewpoint' made by Magrebine collectives, The MOC Programme (Conscientious Objectors), The Red Missile (Gay). This is what Contrabanda puts together in order to allow for an open space for those collectives and individuals who otherwise would have no way of making themselves heard. The financing as I have said is partly dealt with by 'solidarity bonds' paid for by those who are not necessarily connected with making programmes. They pay some 500 pesetas per month. May I say that the best way to support the free radios is to tune in and listen to them in order to ensure that there is another means of communication. Contrabanda hasn't even been going for three years. The first years have been taken up, as is always the case, with fine tuning our technical skills and we now consider ourselves in good shape both internally and externally. We've come out well.

In another field we've put together special programmes as for example during the last general strike from 5am to 10pm covering the developments from the doorstep of a departmental store! The Working Woman's Day on 8th March is another tradition. To finish I would simply like to say that we call on you to help us in the ways we have described. If we get this support from the people there is no reason for us to lose this space we have found, as has been shown by the experiences of Radio Klara in Valencia and others in the Basque Country. We hope one day to celebrate our tenth anniversary.



## London Anarchist Forum

Meets Fridays at about 8pm at Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Square, London WC1R 4RL.

### - 1995 PROGRAMME -

**7th July** The Forum's programme for 1995/6  
**14th July** Arguments in favour of Government (discussion led by Michael Murray)

**21st July** General discussion

**28th July** Anarcho-Syndicalism: an outdated myth? (speaker Dave Dane)

It has been suggested we continue meetings over August, a time we know many international comrades come to London and want to meet 'the British anarchists'. Anyone interested in coming, especially those interested in giving a talk or leading a discussion, please contact either Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (telephone number 0181-847 0203, not too early in the day please) giving subject and prospective dates and we will do our best to accommodate.

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

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## BEACH PARTY CORNWALL

Every year, on 6th August, for the past ten years a group of anarchists and other interested parties have held a beach party at Sennen, which is one mile from Lands End in West Cornwall, Britain.

This is to both remember the appalling nuclear bombing of Hiroshima on 6th August 1945, and to celebrate the fact that we are still alive - in spite of the race towards armageddon.

This year is the 50th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and we want this to be a 'happenick' to remember.

If the weather is utterly appalling then the 'happenick' will be on Nagasaki day on 9th August.

So, don't forget - commemorate Hiroshima day on Sunday 6th August on Sennen Beach, West Cornwall, Britain.

If you need any further information or have any ideas you want to contribute, telephone Pete le Mare on 01736 787056.

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