

anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

Vol. 56 No. 16

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FIFTY PENCE

"There was never a moment's discussion ... There was unanimous ... agreement around our table."

WINSTON CHURCHILL on swift decision of US and Britain at Potsdam to drop bomb on Japan (*Triumph and Tragedy, 1953*)

FOR THE 'SILLY SEASON': HOLES IN THE HEAD! **NOTES ON A SICK SOCIETY**

It is sick in more senses than one, as we keep on reminding readers, but on this occasion it was the headline "Prescriptions for drugs top 500 million" – an increase of some 12 million over the previous year. But that's only part of the story. The tens of thousands of chemist shops throughout the land, as well as dispensing the prescriptions, have

PROGRESS REPORT ON THEIR STOCKS AND SHARES

In *Freedom* (10th June) we asked "Who will regulate the regulators?" and sure enough their recent salary rises have outstripped those of the workers. But what about Sir Richard Greenbury the Marks & Spencer boss who was appointed by the government to report on top executives' pay. Not on did Sir Richard's salary last year increase with bonuses by £140,000 but he and his executive directors at M&S were last month "granted options on shares worth almost £5.4 million. And this was just days before he presented his report! The *Independent* (13th July) shows how Sir Richard was given his grant of 121,432 shares at 414p per share on 19th June, and their value was £502,000, and adds: "With the recent increase in the price of Marks & Spencer shares ... he has made a paper profit of £24,286 in less than a month." Surely nobody would complain! But what did he do for the £24,286 in a month?

Meanwhile the Sainsbury dynasty have been *selling* shares while at the same time casting longing glances to expansion in the USA.

Sainsbury's chairman David off-loaded a mere 200,000 shares, but Sir Timothy flogged nearly 7½ million, and at about £4 a share that's about £30 million. And the market reacted by other sales of some two million shares. We can only conclude that the Sainsbury's would not be selling unless they thought the shares would be depreciating in value and would then buy them back. That's business!

Freedom shareholders (in Sainsbury's that is) will be kept informed!

their shelves piled to the ceiling with cure-alls for the ills of our sick society. And how many millions are spent on advertising in the media, and colourfully on commercial television, instant remedies for insomnia, backaches (after all, it is said that 80% of us are sufferers), constipation and male impotence, not to mention headaches, colds, baldness, flatulence and flat feet.

Another statistic for the diary: "Epidemic' fear as £450 million cost of treating asthma is set to rise" (*Guardian*, 4th August 1995). Apparently "more than two million people in Britain suffer from asthma and the disease kills 2,000 a year".

It is fast becoming "the modern epidemic" and will soon be costing as much to treat "as smoking related diseases" according to figures just released.

But the 'experts' also recognise that the increase in asthma is directly linked to our *motor age*. The Liberal Party spokesman's solution is for "more research" and also "more rigorous emission tests as part of the

MoT and the fitting of catalysts and filters to older vehicles". As usual price the poor car user (who needs a car for his work) off the road, and meanwhile some of Mr Carlile's parliamentary colleagues are driving to their Scottish constituencies and back regularly, not because they collect 70p a mile from the taxpayer but because rail transport is 'unreliable'! (see *Freedom*, 8th July 1995, 'The Biter Bit, But ...').

The government's solution is that citizens should leave their cars at home "at times of high pollution". The Labour spokesman in Transport, Michael Meacher, declared that it "would produce a loud laugh from the public, if we could stop coughing for long enough" and was promising that New Labour would be publishing its proposals in November to achieve a "cheap, safe and reliable alternative to the car". We wish them well!

Meanwhile the British Road Federation's 1996 Basic Road Statistics Report suggests that by the year 2020 those of us who survive
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THOUGHTS ON BABY THOMAS HYPOCRISY AND THE LAW

Once again the case of, this time, a 22-month old baby with no hope of a life worth calling 'a life', has hit the headlines. The most recent was of the young Tony Bland, a victim of the 1989 Hillsborough football ground disaster who was left brain-dead after being crushed in the melée. He was only kept 'alive' – if one can so describe the condition of somebody who was brain dead and had to be artificially fed – until 1992 when the House of Lords agreed that the artificial feeding should be stopped. According to the *Independent* editorial (2nd August) "since then there have been five other similar decisions involving people in a persistent vegetative state".

According to the law, the case of Thomas the 22-month old baby is different. The law says "he is conscious, his brain is active. Indeed the chief difference between him and other very severely handicapped people is that he is fed via a tube rather than by

hand. So denying him food and water would represent a dramatic change in the law". That same editorial, in the opening paragraph, gives the reader a picture of poor little Thomas, who:

"was brain-damaged in the womb. Now aged 22 months, he is blind and deaf, cannot talk and has no control over his limbs. He cries inconsolably. It is said that he cannot be cuddled properly because touching sends him into painful muscular spasms. He has fits and is fed through a hole in his stomach."

(continued on page 2)

FREEDOM

The next issue of *Freedom* will appear in three weeks time, dated 9th September. Our printers Aldgate Press will be closed over the August Bank Holiday when *Freedom* would normally be printed. Subscribers will still get their 24 issues by December.

To contributors, please send your articles and letters in as usual.

NOTES ON A SICK SOCIETY

(continued from page 1)

until then will have to face up to the fact that there "could be as many as 31.56 million cars on the roads" - that is 10 million more than at present polluting, killing and maiming for life, in the interests of what?

The car for the 'masses' was supposed to give them freedom to make their way along the byways and beauty spots compared with the train or the charabanc which took you from A to B by the quickest and least 'interesting' routes. Well, unlike the train which has one driver for as many as 500 passengers, the motorways are cluttered with thousands of drivers each with at most four passengers, and when a lorry sheds its load at a roundabout the radio traffic news tells of six-mile tailbacks! So much for the freedom of the road (motorway).

One thing is certain: the future of the car in our society will be determined by the road lobby if a majority of car owners (who can ill afford the monster but are obliged to have a car because there is no public service available to get them to their jobs and back) go on strike - that is, declare that there is no public transport for them to get to work and they can't afford private transport. That they will have to make sacrifices in the first instance is obvious, but also they should bear in mind that their employers will also be concerned

when nobody turns up to turn out the profits!

Others might be as ignorant as this writer and not have realised that the ozone layer occupies an altitude between eight and eleven miles above ground and, according to the *Independent's* science correspondent, "protects against the harmful ultra-violet radiation from the sun". Apparently mankind has succeeded in blasting that protective layer. The media refer to the 'ozone hole'. In fact scientists are pointing out that the layer over the South Pole "has now thinned to less than 40% of what it was in the '60s".

Dr Farman, who first identified the destruction of the ozone layer when about 30% had already gone, now maintains that more than 60% has disappeared during October. He says there is clear evidence "that man-made substances are causing the ozone depletion" (the *Independent*).

Last but not least for the silly season 'Whole in the head' news is that of the Newmarket farmer who is opposing a scheme for a "Nitrate vulnerable zone" covering land which includes his farm on the grounds that the scheme "will cut the level of artificial fertiliser allowed there, causing the value of land to fall by 30%". Money, money, money!

HYPOCRISY AND THE LAW

(continued from page 1)

His parents, who have two other children as well, know Thomas better than any lawyer or doctor. They applied to the courts for permission that he should be allowed to die.

Francine Stock, the former *Newsnight* presenter, summed up the situation:

"Who cares most for him? Con and Fiona Creedon believe their little boy is suffering. As parents they have particular insight. They love him. They're not asking for anybody else to look after him. The offer of 24-hour lifetime care by a hospice is generous, but irrelevant. It is the suffering the Creedons wish to end, not the circumstances in which it takes place. They are very courageous, and must be very desperate, to have come this far."

Yet as she points out:

"Their conviction is not shared by some of the doctors who have been supervising Thomas's treatment. They consider his plight no more agonising than that of other children they deal with. They intend to oppose the Creedons' application that their son should no longer be fed through a tube in his stomach."

utterly inhuman treatment of poor innocent creatures such as Thomas, who out of love should have been allowed to die not at 22 months but as soon as the doctors and other responsible people realised that he hadn't a 'life' to live.

What a country we are living in! Thousands of people have been missing their breakfasts to go and try to prevent the cruel export of live sheep to the continent. Thomas's parents have not succeeded in inspiring (yes, *inspiring*) one demonstration for young Thomas's non-life to be quietly extinguished with love.

When will we be courageous and confident enough in our values and intentions to take into our own hands the decisions which we now leave to the faceless lawyers, medics and government?

Postscript: In Southern Ireland a woman who had been in a coma for 23 years had all the wires and services that succeeded in keeping her in that state for 23 years removed! Progress in Catholic Ireland!

LATE NEWS

A man is being interviewed by the police after admitting the mercy-killing of his seven week old brain damaged daughter in November 1992.

The *London Evening Standard* (10th August) reported that Mr Nigel Nelson of Poole, Dorset, "last night voluntarily surrendered himself to detectives in the town".

Mr Nelson's action may have been motivated by sympathy for the plight of Mr and Mrs Creedon and their baby Thomas.



Demonstration and vigil outside the French embassy, 8th August 1995, and every Tuesday from 5.00 - 7.30pm. Photo by Julia Guest.

Fifty years on ...

As we watched distressing scenes of hatred and violence in Bosnia and the brief news report about peace protesters at Faslane commemorating the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, I asked my daughter what she knew about these bombs. She remembered two things: being made to read out the sign under the commemorative cherry tree on our occasional walks through Tavistock Square, and the shadow people she'd seen over the years decorating the walls and floors in incongruous places. She's been told nothing at school and as I tried to piece together the history, the sense of outrage, the better of two evils argument, I realise how sketchy was my own grasp of the details surrounding the bombings and their horrific and ongoing effects.

The planes which transported the bombs were blessed by Christian priests and it is ironic to learn that the bomb in Nagasaki exploded over the Christian area of the island. The bombs had been made in great secrecy in the USA, the world was exhausted after six years of war and the bombs realised their goals and Japan surrendered. The cheering in the streets as the news was announced was short lived as soon the terrible legacy of nuclear warfare was revealed. Arguments still rage and books are still written about whether Japan was about to surrender anyway or whether they should have surrendered on the threat rather than the delivery of the bombs. Were they dropped to warn the Russians not to get too ambitious? It does seem likely that no one knew about the long-term effects of radiation, but they know now and little changes.

In his diaries Tony Benn tells how, as a Cabinet Minister, he progressed from enthusiast to sceptic to staunch opposer of nuclear power. Between 1970 and 1979 he

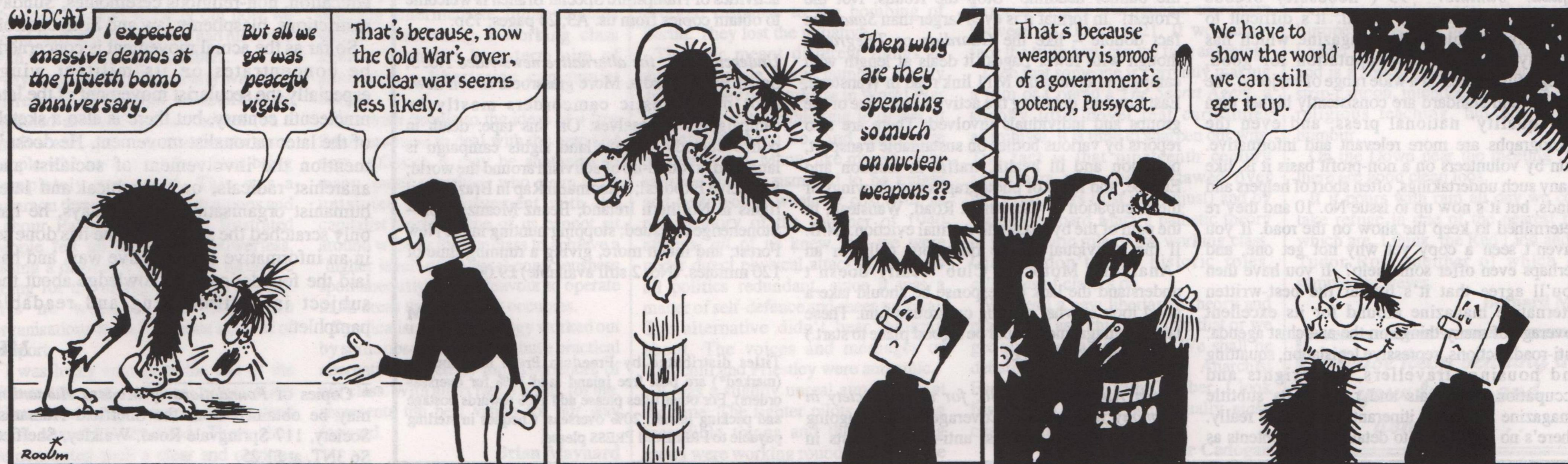
began to realise that plutonium is physically and geologically unstable. The fire at Windscale refinery in 1977 was put out by 300,000 tons of water. 200,000 tons of this water was contaminated with radiation and lying 10ft below the soil for three months before anyone realised it was there and toxic. Benn also realised that atomic energy plants had become a discreet cover for the development of nuclear weaponry and British plutonium was being transferred to fuel bomb factories for the Pentagon without his knowledge.

In 1995 we learn that no one is in control overall of Russia's nuclear arsenal. Plutonium should be as carefully controlled as gold bullion appears to be. As with all technology, smaller is more beautiful and portable and a small nuclear device could wreak havoc over a large area. A small bomb in a low flying light aircraft could devastate a city over a one-mile radius and kill a million people.

As I write this a faint whiff of sanity comes on the news as Clinton calls for a total test ban agreement - with the proviso that the US could withdraw if US defence was in danger! Jacques Chirac, however, feels it is better to have a good deterrent in the hand rather than a couple of good global relationships in the bush. Despite his surprise at the extensive international outrage, he is determined to continue nuclear tests in the Mururoa atoll. He has agreed for scientists to monitor the results, but only after the testing have been completed in May. When will they ever learn?

In his autobiography Bertrand Russell stated: "Those who try to make you uneasy by talk about atom bombs are regarded as troublemakers, as people to be avoided, as people who spoil the pleasure of a fine day by foolish prospects of improbable rain".

We must remain uneasy.



Anarchist Voices

By Paul Avrich

Princeton University Press, £60

When Paul Avrich says that "in many ways I consider this work the most important that I have ever undertaken", he really is saying something. Over the past thirty years he has produced a series of articles and books, first on the Russian and then on the American anarchist movement, which amount to one of the most important individual contributions to our historiography and biography since the work of Max Nettlau. From the time of the revival of anarchism, in the 1960s, he has done more than anyone else to learn and tell the truth about the anarchists of the past. During this huge enterprise he has used not only the original documents but also the personal testimony of survivors. He has talked to thousands of anarchists (and a few non-anarchists) from many countries, and he formally interviewed hundreds of them in the United States, in a variety of languages, over a period of nearly thirty years. *Anarchist Voices*, containing some of the results of this research, is one of the most valuable records of anarchism ever published.

As Avrich says, it provides "a unique oral history of the anarchist movement, preserving for posterity the story of the anarchists as they themselves have recalled it", and the interviews "add a human dimension often lacking in scholarly monographs, not to mention the accounts of journalists, policemen, and officials, and of other, for the most part hostile, observers". He is too polite to his own profession to mention that some of the worst offenders have been academic historians, among whom he is such a rare exception. On the other hand, he is well aware of the dangers of oral evidence, and has added introductions to each section, headnotes for each interview, and endnotes for obscure references. He provides the necessary background information, itself amounting to an outline history of the American movement during the early twentieth century, and tactfully corrects the inevitable lapses of memory. But most of the time he keeps out of the way, takes care not to take sides, and lets his witnesses speak for themselves.

Anarchist Voices

There are 180 interviews, grouped in six sometimes overlapping but sometimes quite distinct categories – the Pioneers, the Emma Goldman circle, the Sacco-Vanzetti circle, the Schools and Colonies, 'Ethnic' (Jewish, Russian, German, Spanish, Chinese) anarchism, and a miscellany on the 1920s and After. The subjects don't include any of the major figures, who died too long ago, but they do include many of their relations, who tell revealing tales of the facts behind the myths. They include minor figures of all kinds, who give testimony of all kinds. There are nearly as many women as men, more Jews than Gentiles, natives and immigrants, militants and moderates, terrorists and pacifists, individualists and communists, optimists and pessimists. Most came from working-class backgrounds, and many were very poor, though several bettered themselves in one direction or other. Most were well educated, usually by themselves.

They tell all kinds of stories, long and short, interesting and boring, funny and sad, of heroism and villainy, struggle and suffering, loyalty and betrayal, horror and humour. They describe their activity in the labour movement and the peace movement, in education and communal life, in prison and in hiding, in demonstrations and strikes, learning and teaching, living and loving, speaking and

writing, producing books and preparing bombs, fighting in various ways for a free society. The full flavour comes from reading right through the book, with all the repetitions and contradictions, changes of view and shifts of opinion; but a taste can be obtained by dipping into some of the anecdotes.

One of the best of these comes from the author himself. At a New York meeting he attended in 1969, a young man shouted that anarchism really means "Up Against the Wall Mother-Fucker"; Israel Ostroff, born in Russia in 1892 and living in America since 1914, replied: "I've been an anarchist for sixty-four years, and for the first time I think maybe I made a mistake". At the other end of the time-scale, Alexandra Kropotkin, no anarchist herself but the daughter of the greatest anarchist of all, tells how her father taught her fencing and she taught him English swear-words, and how her nurse, who belonged to the Salvation Army, taught her prayers. She also gives her judgements on the Russian Revolution and on the anarchist movement: "The Commie sons-of-bitches wanted power". Yes. "There were a lot of funny bastards among the anarchists too". Er, yes.

Lena Shlakman, born in 1872, concluded that the idea of anarchism would live but the practice would not come in her time. Anne

McVey concluded more simply: "Government? I'm against it!" Nellie Dick, still alive at the age of 102, remembers running a secular Sunday school in the East End of London at the beginning of the century. Fred Woodworth, not yet 50, is producing his idiosyncratic paper *The Match!* in Tucson, Arizona, today. The cumulative effect is an astonishing kaleidoscope of policies and personalities unobtrusively revolved before our eyes.

There are a few regrets. The author doesn't give enough information about the protocols of his research – how he approached his subjects and how he interviewed them, whether they knew the results would be published and whether they were able to check their contributions. There are some sad omissions from the interviewees (Paul Goodman, Murray Bookchin) and a few minor errors in the editorial material (Guy Aldred, Burnett Bolloten), but they don't seriously affect the value of the book. It really is unique – although historians have been interviewing anarchists for more than a century, no one has put them together like this before. It is beautifully produced, but what a shame it is so expensive that those who would enjoy it most can afford it least.

A final verdict is that although almost everyone in the book rejected religion, taken as a whole it recalls the famous text from Ecclesiasticus: "And some there be, who have no memorial; who are perished as though they have never been ... But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten ... Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth for ever more." *Anarchist Voices* is their memorial, and Paul Avrich has made their names live for ever more.

NW



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Food for Thought ... and Action!

Scottish Anarchist: No. 2, Glasgow Anarchist Group. Coverage of a wide spectrum of topics includes part two of 'Spain and its Relevance Today'; the struggle against the M77 construction project outside Glasgow; an analysis of the globalisation of capitalism; an account of the fight against the closure of the Unemployed Workers' centre, evicted by Lothian Regional Council in February; activists and the Internet; part two of 'Anarchism in Glasgow'; police powers under the Criminal Justice Act to forcibly take DNA samples, and thus build a UK-wide DNA database; and various other pieces. (With the arrival of the second issue of this Scottish magazine, and an Irish one already well established, can we expect to see a Welsh anarchist periodical soon?) 32 pages, £1.00.

Squall: summer '95 ("necessity breeds ingenuity"), quarterly, Squall. It's difficult to overestimate this bulky magazine which has already established a reputation for good, thoughtful articles on a wide range of subjects. The content and standard are consistently higher than the 'quality' national press, and even the photographs are more relevant and informative. Run by volunteers on a non-profit basis it is, like many such undertakings, often short of helpers and funds, but it's now up to issue No. 10 and they're determined to keep the show on the road. If you haven't seen a copy yet why not get one, and perhaps even offer some help? If you have then you'll agree that it's by far the best-written alternative magazine around for its excellent coverage of many things on the anarchist agenda: anti-roads actions, repressive legislation, squatting and housing, travellers, land rights and occupations, festivals and raves – its subtitle "magazine for sorted itinerants" says it all really. There's no space here to detail all the contents as

it's so big, but in addition to the topics above there is a six-page round-up of the 'Road Wars' taking place across the country (one coming soon to a construction site near you ...), pieces on the persecution of and mutual aid amongst travellers, the Public Order and Criminal Justice Acts, and five pages on the well organised Dutch squatting movement and squats dating back to 1980. A3, 52 pages, £1.20.

East Ender: a journal for regeneration by conservation – not redevelopment, Vol. 2, No. 1, Souvenir Edition, quarterly, EastEnder. This special issue is devoted entirely to the growing protests against this lunatic government's road-building fetish (see Tim Francis's article in *Freedom*, 22nd July), sentiments encapsulated in the banner headline "Stop the Roads, Not the Protest!" In format it is even larger than *Squall* (in fact double – like the *Guardian* or *Telegraph*) though with fewer pages. It deals at length with campaigns against the M11 link road in Wanstead, East London, detailing the activities of some of the groups and individuals involved. There are also reports by various bodies on sustainable transport, pollution and ill health, traffic in London and Europe, and loads of photographs and drawings of the occupation of Claremont Road, Wanstead, in the path of the by-pass and its final eviction. (N.B. If the individual whose ridiculous calls for an 'Anarchist Motoring Club' really doesn't understand the lack of response he should take a good look at what's going on around him. These last two magazines would be a good place to start.) A2, 20 pages, 30pence!

Green Anarchist, No. 38: for a free society in harmony with nature. Coverage of the ongoing anti-MacDonalds actions; anti-roads protests in

Lancashire, London and Solsbury Hill; the veil wars at ports and airports; diaries of nationwide community resistance and Animal Liberation events. The main articles include John Moore on Anarcho-Primitivism; a history of the Swedish Animal Liberation front; and Larry O'Hara on the way the anti-fascist magazine-cum-MI5-listening-post *Searchlight* used an agent provocateur to infiltrate the BNP and Combat 18 in Leeds as part of a conspiracy to escalate political violence in 1993 at the behest of its state controllers in order to increase pressure for MI5 to be called in to either monitor or take over C18. (This is a simplified summary of the piece – it's actually far more complex, involving even the leadership of Leeds Anti-Fascist Action.) Anyone whose local bookshop has no stocks of *Green Anarchist* due to the activities of Hampshire Special Branch is welcome to obtain copies from us. A3, 24 pages, 75p.

Undercurrents: the alternative news video No. 3, Small World Media. More grassroots action news shot on domestic camcorders mostly by campaigners themselves. On this tape: death in police custody; a new land rights campaign is launched; a round-up of activism around the world; Stop Live Exports!; Yanomami Rap in Brazil; civil rights in Northern Ireland; Beanz Meanz Copz – Stonehenge revisited; stopping hunting in the New Forest; and much more, giving a running time of 120 minutes. (No. 2 still available) £9.00.

KM

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Foundations of Modern Humanism

Foundations of Modern Humanism
by William McIlroy
Sheffield Humanist Society, £1.00*

Bill McIlroy has been a leading member of the freethought movement for several decades, and is best known for his long service as general secretary of the National Secular Society and editor of *The Freethinker*. He has also been active in various local humanist groups, and he gave a talk to the Sheffield Humanist Society in February which was published as a pamphlet in April. It sold so well that it has already been reprinted, and it is well worth reading.

He means by 'foundations' the historical background, and by 'modern humanism' the organised movement in this country. Speaking in Sheffield, he refers to several points of local interest, but his narrative is mainly a summary of selected events during the last century. He is particularly interested in propaganda against religion, the freethought press, church privileges, the industrial revolution, radical politics, education, non-religious ceremonies, Sunday restrictions, blasphemy law and birth control.

So far as the actual movement is concerned, he concentrates on its militant wing, especially the secularist movement of the late nineteenth century, but there is also a sketch of the later rationalist movement. He doesn't mention the involvement of socialist and anarchist radicals, or the ethical and later humanist organisations. As he says, he has only scratched the surface, but he has done so in an informative and effective way, and has laid the foundations of knowledge about the subject in a stimulating and readable pamphlet.

MH

* Copies of *Foundations of Modern Humanism* may be obtained from the Sheffield Humanist Society, 117 Springvale Road, Walkley, Sheffield S6 3NT, at £1.25.

Through the Anarchist Press

I went to three demonstrations recently and I mentioned the demo on St George's Hill, and have given a longer account in a previous issue of *Freedom*. However, this land occupation in retrospect appears as a glimpse into the future and has left a coherent picture in my mind of an anarchist village.

The demonstration at the Angel to 'Reclaim the Streets' was a partially successful event. The busy roads were closed to motor traffic and again a glimpse was offered of how urban folk could spend their day. There was a very festive crowd and even a sanded area was provided for the children, busy with their buckets and spades in Upper High Street. But of course the usual palaver surrounded the event. The noisy intrusive helicopter circling about non-stop. The gallant surveillance men with their optical wonders on the roof-top of the Royal Bank of Scotland. Photographs for their files. But no other bother until the finale. Just when everybody was dispersing, the heavy brigade clambered out of their vans, carefully put on their riot gear – right out of a bad Cocteau film with helmets, shields, truncheons, what else. Such brave men, such heroes. Whereas on St George's Hill the celebrations took place unmolested, here reaction showed its fangs. Reclaim the Streets, comrades, don't just leave any littered corpses behind.

For nobody presumed that this was for real. It is very good community theatre where people are encouraged to be themselves, to play themselves, even if some don't succeed. In an alienated society it is the most difficult part to play.

The third demonstration was at the French Embassy, organised by YCND, to protest against the threatened atomic tests in Polynesia. More than anything else, the decision to go ahead with these tests is a crime against humanity. Politicians are mad for power and they feel that nuclear weapons give them this power. The nearest inhabited island to the tests is Tureia, 160 miles away, and has 60 inhabitants whom the French colonialists do not intend to evacuate. Neither has the British colonial power given two thoughts about the Pitcairn Islands 400 miles away, a British possession with a population of 70. The French authorities claim as usual that they will be holding the tests when the wind is in the right direction so as to avoid the numerous islands in the area being affected.

Judging from the enthusiasm of the demonstrators, the applause of onlookers and the drivers' tooting their horns in support, there is a lot of anger about the French tests. In fact it was remarkable how responsive was the population with all that beeping in support. There was a lot of whistling and trumpeting which sounded like ko-ko-ri-ko, not that anybody was listening or visible in the French embassy, a sorry-looking shuttered building with its paint peeling off the walls. Perhaps they have spent all their francs on sparklers. If squatters treated their Grade Two stucco edifice in such a manner in lofty Knightsbridge they would have been turned out without ceremony.

We have protested and warned on countless occasions, not just against the French tests. It is a mass suicidal exercise with a global fall-out of Strontium 90, which has a half-life of 28 years, it comes down in a rainfall and is absorbed by plants, animals and human beings – it causes leukaemia, bone cancer and cancer of the blood. The cloud travels round the globe with surprising speed. Radioactive dust reached Rome in eight days, trebling its atmosphere's radioactive content – this was from the Chinese bomb test about eight days previously.

Perhaps this is the reason that both the Chinese and French embassies have such extremely dirty windows.

John Rety

Solving the crisis of capitalism in France, Italy, Britain ...

CLOBBERING THE 'UNDESERVING' POOR!

There is a crisis of capitalism not just in this country but among all the G7 most prosperous nations, and what is interesting and typical of their solutions is always to clobber the least well off.

Chirac's France can well afford a few billion francs testing nuclear weapons in a Tahiti atoll, but the Minister of Health is warning the population that *free health care in France* cannot go on as at present. Far from reducing the defence budget, Monsieur Chirac has added 2% to VAT and since the 20% VAT is charged on virtually everything, including most foodstuffs, who suffers most? The poor as usual.

In Italy parliament has approved measures to reduce the huge public debt and the first target is an *overhaul of Italy's generous pensions system*. Once again it won't be the Berlusconi and the Agnelli but those at the bottom of the pile who will pay the price.

And nearer home, the Tory right-wing 92 Group have been urging Chancellor Clarke to make at least £10 billion cuts in public spending, which again is not at the expense of defence (for instance, the latest *folie de grandeur* is the Navy's £5 billion new frigate!) but, in the words of their chairman John Townsend MP:

"through a moratorium on recruitment in local government and the public sector, 'except for key workers such as doctors, policemen and teachers'. He also said money could be slashed from the overseas aid budget and the heritage fund, and that 'we should stop encouraging 16 and 17 year old girls to have children when they've got no husbands'."

However the 92 Group of Neanderthals do not suggest that the savings should be used for a cut in income tax but to help "those who save, and families who provide a secure environment for raising their children". Thus in practical terms, an increase by £1,000 in tax allowances to the over-80s "to help those who have made provision for their retirement". And anything for the over-80s who never had an opportunity to make provision for their retirement? No, but the state has increased the old age pension by 25p a week! The 92 Group also propose phasing out "capital gains tax

Green Anarchist reader raided

A London subscriber to *Freedom* ordered some literature from *Green Anarchist* in November 1994, and was visited at 7.10 in the morning of 2nd August 1995 by two detectives from Hampshire armed with a search warrant and the letter he had sent to *Green Anarchist*.

They took away a copy of *Green Anarchist*, a bundle of posters and eight booklets including the Anarchy in the UK programme from last October. They also took details of his bank account so they can check where his money goes, and checked through his diary.

The search warrant, signed by a Hampshire JP, entitled a Hampshire Detective Constable (who was accompanied by a Detective Sergeant who seemed to be an expert on the literature) to search for "any article/record connected with *Green Anarchist* newspaper, together with any article/record related to similar publications/advertisements, and any other material inciting acts of arson/criminal damage".

Our comrade, who would rather not have his name revealed, is not a known arsonist or anything like that. It seems Hampshire police are going on 'fishing expeditions' to all the addresses they found at *Green Anarchist*. We have been warned.

We would be interested to hear of any similar incidents. *Green Anarchist* at BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX, would also like details.

and inheritance tax over three years". Again, unto those who have ... And finally the restoration of the married person's tax allowance. That will make those 16 year old hussies get married – so what?

One needs only a brief conclusion to the foregoing. Even the *Independent* summed it up in a few words: "The submission suggests a series of reliefs aimed at winning back core Tory supporters".

But where is the justice, and any kind of solution to the problem of unemployment? It surely is obvious to any thinking person that in a capitalist society – that is one in which the

majority of the working population have neither land nor capital and therefore depend on a minority of employers in order to earn the money to provide *the basic needs of life* – they are entirely dependent on others for their livelihood. Is this democracy?

As we keep on repeating, there is only one solution to massive unemployment in this technological age: that the working week for employees (the self-employed, let them work themselves to death if they so wish) should now be 20 hours a week maximum. And so long as the system is a capitalist one the multinationals and transnationals should be curbed by a complete control of the export of capital. Then perhaps one could talk about the 'acceptable face of capitalism'. But it won't happen and for that reason we believe anarchists are the only realists when they call on the majority of our fellow citizens to get rid of capitalism once and for all – and not by the ballot box!

Focus on Women

As though to set the mood for next month's United Nations Fourth World Conference of Women in Beijing, this week saw the publication of the Social Focus report on women.

Compared with conditions for women in many parts of the world, British women are faring very well. It is difficult to give equal weight to unequal pay and unfair shares of domestic chores as, say, to the violation of female circumcision or the systematic culling of female babies in China recently exposed by Channel 4's documentary *The Dying Rooms*. It is unlikely that the conference's host country, China, will focus on its own obscenities and many excluded international women's groups are calling for a boycott of the conference.

The report on British women tells us little we don't already know or could conclude with a few educated guesses.

We may all know women who earn more than their partners, we may know one or two New Men with sex appeal, but by and large women still seem to be clinging to their generous share of housewifely duties, childcare and the care of elderly parents. Perhaps if incomes were more equal it would not seem so sensible that the women give up jobs to cope with family crises. Whatever happened to the time when one wage was adequate for a family of four?

The statistic that did stand out was the one that stated that only 3% of women belong to a political party and politics was low on their list of interests. In the light of this information, 10% of women MPs is quite good going. Are we to deduce that women are far too intelligent to rely on politicians to change their lives? This could be good news for anarchists if only some of these anti-party politics women would turn their gaze in our direction.

On *Desert Island Discs* this week popular novelist Joanna Trollope stated that women similar to the character in her books really do still exist and she says that when she reads the zippy metropolitan women's feature writers (Suzanne Moore?) she wonders if these columnists realise how little the Middle England Aga Saga readers identify with the sentiments expressed therein. She may be right, for only today I spoke to two well-educated 50 year old women living in Buckinghamshire, one of whom had never heard of anarchists and the other who needed explanation of a pretty ordinary sexual activity. Like the people we never meet who continue to vote Tory, there are apparently many women out there whose husbands won't allow them to go out to work or be very adventurous in any other way. Could this explain the bewildering amount of interest in 'the Hugh Grant affair'?

She monthly boasts that it is the magazine "by women, for women who juggle their lives"! The problem with juggling is that if

you get your timing slightly wrong you risk throwing your handbag down the rubbish chute, your baby out with the bathwater and your *joie de vivre* down the drain. It is difficult for some women to stop trying to be all things to all people in the footsteps of Snow White or Cinderella.

The recently much maligned Germaine Greer wrote the following in *The Change*, a study of the menopause:

"What has been set up in the adult female is a pattern of response – she responds to the needs of her man, her children, her employer, her customers. The happier she feels in responding the more successful she is likely to be in her roles as lover, wife, mother, secretary, waitress, saleswoman. What happens during the menopause is that people she has served all her life stop making demands on her. What she wants is to be wanted and nobody wants her."

The trouble with books like *The Change* is that women who read them don't read them until it is too late. But that's the trouble with getting older.

Cross Simone de Beauvoir's *Old Age* off your reading list and replace it with Greer's *The Change* and perhaps Marcel Proust, for he wrote:

"Of all realities old age is perhaps that of which we retain a purely abstract notion longest in our lives."

Silvia Edwards

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— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

On the Community Train

I have already explained in these pages (5th February 1994) my problems over the break-up of British Rail. I am exactly like the narrator of a well-known poem by Bertolt Brecht: "I do not like it where I've come from. / I do not like it where I'm going. / Why am I so impatient while the driver is changing the wheel?"

In the current Balkanisation of British Rail, each of the prospective railway services is flexing its muscles through idiotic gestures like not issuing through tickets and leaving off the timetable other services which might get you to your destination more conveniently. Nobody actually involved in railway management can remember the days before nationalisation when the 'big four' railway companies, formed by amalgamations of existing companies as a result of the Railways Act of 1921 (before anyone had heard of a Labour government or nationalisation) would automatically issue through tickets to anywhere and advise travellers of the best route.

Jimmy Knapp was right to discern his introduction to Paul Salveson's *British Rail: the radical alternative to privatisation* (1989) that the ideologists of the big sell-off live in an imaginary world with "a pervasive nostalgia for a mythical pre-war heyday of the railways" which never really existed. And I cited in my Freedom Press book *Freedom to Go* Salveson's findings that in 1844, 1851, 1872 (when a Parliamentary inquiry found that "there is now no active competition between different railways in the matter of rates and fares"), 1898 and thereafter, the railway companies harmonised their fares and pooled receipts.

I'm waiting for the wheel to change because I didn't like British Rail and at the same time I'm tired of the expensive joke of privatisation. Let's get the charade over, so that we can begin to explore the real task of winning goods and passengers out of cars and

trucks and onto an expanded, not a contracting, rail network covering the whole country, and not abandoning its unprofitable branch lines.

British Rail has spent nearly fifty years reducing its services. The sell-off is simply extending this anti-social policy. Meanwhile the correspondence columns of the posh papers have a flow of letters from outraged train users who don't seem to have an alternative strategy other than hoping that a change of government will reverse privatisation, which isn't the most important alternative considering BR's record.

Others, like the same Dr Salveson, are looking for chinks in the armour of the government's Railway Act, particularly where it affects those threatened rural services. In his report for the body called Transnet on *New Futures for Rural Rail*, he pointed out that the local authorities are already involved in paying for services since "both trains and buses in rural areas make heavy financial losses. Most bus services are provided on a tendered basis by the county councils ... Some rural rail services do not even cover their direct operating costs, for fuel, wages and other services - let alone contribute towards the high infrastructure costs which railways carry."

In these circumstances it is almost academic to consider who 'owns' rural railway lines, since the taxpayer and council taxpayer have to meet the deficit, or see public services disappear. But chances arise for citizens to have an impact on rural railway services. For

example, decades ago I wrote in this paper about the paradox of uneconomic branch lines saved by volunteer railway enthusiasts. ("When we have in Britain more than one railway line running scheduled services on time, co-ordinating with British Rail, and operated by a bunch of amateurs, who dare say that the railwaymen could not operate their services without the aid of the bureaucratic hierarchy?") I was happy to see Salveson's comment that those privately preserved lines "have come a long way from their early beginnings as lines run on a shoe-string by teams of enthusiastic amateurs".

He had two strategies in the current gloom. The first was "to bring together a range of agencies to establish *railway development partnerships* for specific rural lines". The second was to find ways in which the proposed franchising system can allow for the possibility of "a strong local community input into the actual running of rural trains, and buses". And in support of this approach he cited the network of organisations which saved the Settle and Carlisle Line from closure, the Esk Valley Line, the rebirth of the Ribbles Valley Line, the Cotswold Line and the North Warwick Line.

The message of his report was that "there is no single blueprint - either in the form of ownership or control - that is the route to success", but that the experience of local campaigns and those in other countries was that when local communities feel that they actually have a stake in their railway then not

only increased use but wider social, economic and environmental benefits can follow.

He himself has been working hard on promoting the Penistone Line on the Huddersfield-Penistone-Barnsley-Sheffield route, with a series of excursions including live folk and jazz and real ale on certain trains, as well as campaigning for the re-opening of other lines like the link from Delph to Uppermill, connecting with the Manchester to Wakefield service.

Transnet Research is holding a series of conferences to explore the potential of Community Railways and are at Huddersfield on 28th September to explore "Community Participation in Public Transport" and at Derby on 14th November to discuss "Local Authority Involvement in Rail Projects" (details from Transport Research and Information Network, 6 School Lane, Huddersfield HD4 7LT). A sister organisation, Community Railways, is an association of twelve bodies sharing "the common aim of providing commercial rail passenger services with a high level of community and employee participation".

This is not the style of language we ever heard in the years since nationalisation. Indeed, I pointed out in *Freedom to Go* that those passenger associations who had to organise, demonstrate and petition in the struggle to keep their particular service going, always complained bitterly that "British Rail denies them access to some statistics, falsifies others and manipulates the timetable and fares structure so that the service is so unattractive for passengers that closure becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy".

People like Paul Salveson are having to work on the fringes of the railway system to assert the values that should have permeated it from the day that nationalisation rescued it from bankruptcy.

Colin Ward

Anarchy, Economics and Revolution

In this article I intend to examine some of the problems involved in creating a more libertarian society and also discuss and look at some possible economic arrangements in such a society.

There can be no anarchist society without anarchists. Anarchist activity should be aimed at convincing people about the desirability of anarchism as a philosophy and way of life.

What prevents people getting interested in anarchism? How does a belief in hierarchy and domination come about? I feel a possible explanation could be found in an examination of the human capacity for language and communication. Because of their brain development human beings have the ability to develop abstract thought. Every healthy adult knows that their physical existence is situated in a time and place. There was a time before their physical existence and there will be a time after it. This knowledge, combined with speculative thought, helps people to develop religion and philosophy to explain the 'meaning of life'. There is a very strong need in many people for certainty. When this is combined with aggression this can create a powerful force that can act counter to a purely co-operative mode of behaviour.

In his book *Escape From Freedom* the psychologist Erich Fromm¹ shows how social situations can encourage particular character traits in certain groups of individuals. It does seem that people are often at the same time both fascinated and repelled by power.

This seems to indicate that there is present in individuals both an authoritarian and a libertarian side of the personality. This dualism is part of the human situation.

With this in mind we can examine the limitations of the belief in a revolution which is seen as the answer by many 'class struggle' anarchists. Left wing libertarians have often seen revolution as the connecting link between the undesirable present and the much-desired future. Often inherent in this belief was the idea that revolution was a quickening of a long-term historical process. Destruction of the old order and the construction of a new utopia was felt to

be needed. Sadly this would, of course, need the use of violence against the class enemy. Descriptions of programmes of this sort can still be found in the more enthusiastic 'class struggle' anarchist journals.

After at least a century, how does this all seem to look? Since that time there have been many revolutions, or at least potentially revolutionary situations. A common feature to all of them is that they did not lead to an anarchist society. It takes more than violent opposition to unlock the complex chains of hierarchy. Indeed the prolonged violence and militarism of the revolutionaries often does as much to destroy gains in freedom as does invasions from outside forces. After a while people will, on the whole, wish for some sort of return to normal life and this will make it easier for a new state to form. Expecting a revolution to destroy the state is mistaken, indeed often stronger states can be created by revolutions. Revolutions often have both a libertarian and authoritarian side and it is for this reason that anarchism will never be completely realised in a revolution.

What is needed is a shift in view for the anarchist approach. Anarchy is then not a new type of order but a process. As Gustav Landauer said: "We are seized by the spirit, not of revolution, but of regeneration". As Landauer realised, the starting point had to be change within the individual and, as he puts it in his most famous quote, "the state is a condition, a certain relationship between human beings, a mode of human behaviour; we destroy it by contracting other relationships, by behaving differently".² A later writer, Paul Goodman, said: "A free society cannot be the substitution of a 'new order' for the old order it is the extension of spheres of free action until they make up the most of social life".³ This complements the view that society contains both libertarian and authoritarian forms. This conflict can never be completely resolved. The logic of this implies that implementing anarchism will always be incomplete.

From all this it seems that we cannot ignore political activity

for struggling to achieve a millenarian revolution. We need to orientate our everyday lives, as far as it is possible, to delivering anarchist goals. Obviously this shows the need to accept social reforms that give less than the abolition of the state and capitalism.

The role of the law in a society needs to be considered if a society contains both libertarian and authoritarian social forms, both these forms influence the law with regards to justice and rights. Laws are not static and can be altered if enough of the ruled population is vigorous in defence of its rights.

When we consider the subject of economics, libertarian communist is the most well-known anarchist approach.⁴ Peter Kropotkin, in his various books such as *The Conquest of Bread*, advocates a communistic economy. In a society working on the economic principles of libertarian communism, money does not exist. How does it work? It works on the principle "from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs". The produce from labour is stored and all have free access to it as of a right. It can work, and such a system has worked in many communities in pre-feudal and pre-capitalist societies. Unfortunately problems appear at various levels when we start to consider its applications to high technological/industrial societies. Clearly in an agrarian society, for example, with a low level of technology libertarian communism will work. But such a society has no way of relating the level of work done directly to the level of individual consumption. A high level of individual responsibility is needed as poor work does not carry the penalty of a low level of consumption. There is no money and such a society is likely to be self-sufficient and inward-looking.

In Western Europe late twentieth century anarchist (continued on page 6)

1. *Escape From Freedom* by Erich Fromm, Avon Books, 1969.

2. *Anarchist Portraits* by Paul Avrich, Princeton University Press, 1988.

3. *Paul Goodman Drawing the Line*, Freeliffe Editions, 1977.

4. *The Context of Freedom: pragmatism, anarchist and the crisis on the left* by Andrew Lainton, David Dane and John Griffin, unpublished. Much of the discussion on libertarian communism comes from the text, but I take responsibility for the conclusions I draw in my article.

Sallywag No. 29
published by ?, £1.50*

Oxford Dictionary: **Sallywag**, n. undersized or ill-fed animal, good-for-nothing person, scamp, scapegrace (nineteenth century, US slang, of unknown origin).

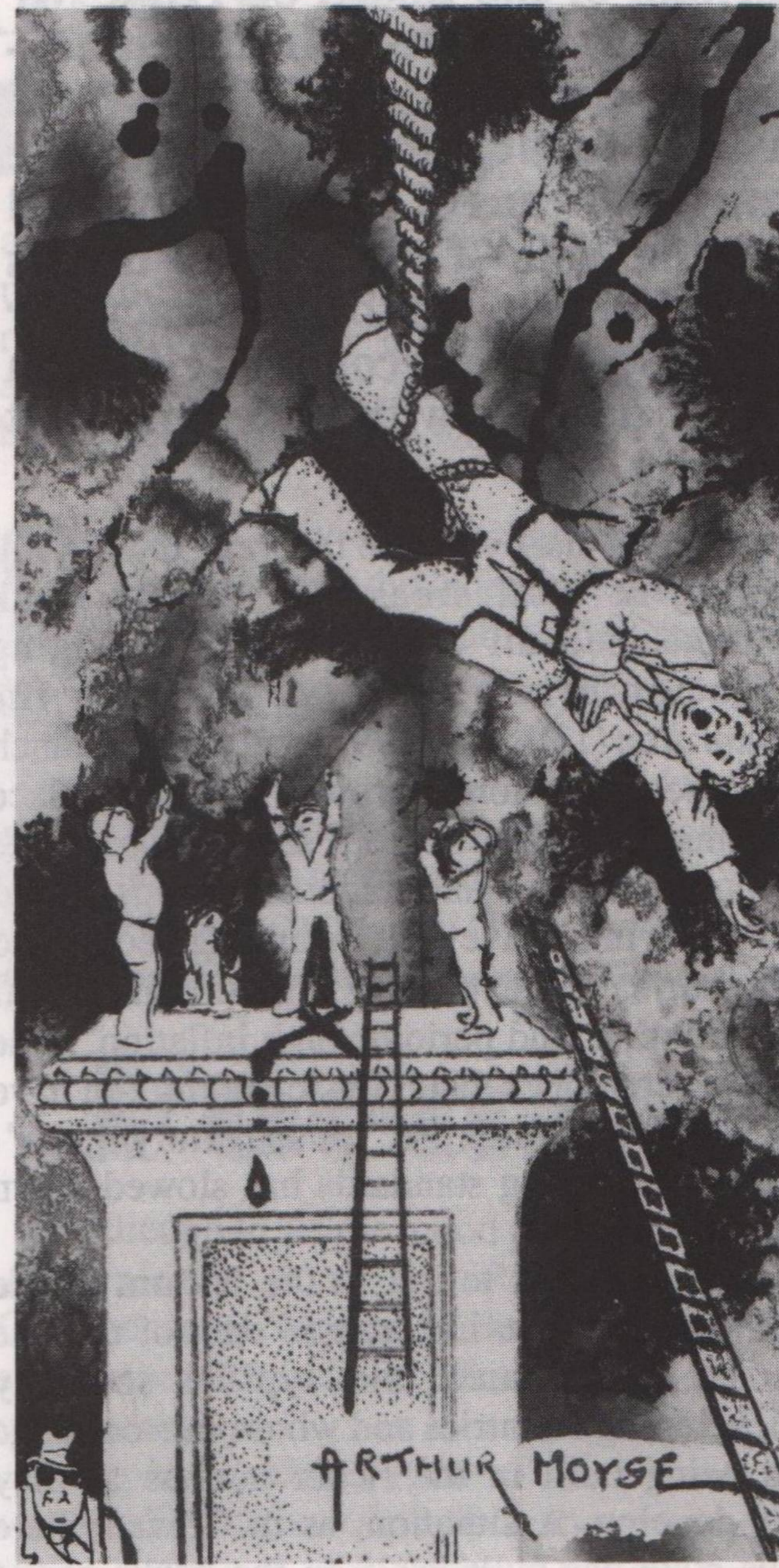
There has always been, nay always will be, a need for we the disoriented many to find a dominant personality to explain to us why we are disoriented. A messiah, a masochistic Christ, a barn-storming agent provocateur, the artist without art, the neurotic adorable revolutionary raging destruction or the gentle worldly wordy intellectual mouthing the 'message' to a silent audience that he absorbed by peering up his own arsehole. For each generation they occupied the platform, the stage, the page, the dock or the head of the demonstration among the flowering flags and banners as we marched to the beating of the drum or the strumming of the protesting guitar and in those pre-war years the Communist Party included among its many lynch-pins uniting its numerous party lines the denouncing of the Cult of the Personality. But then what would the world be without me. The world as ever has its surfeit of pseudo-heroes and intellectuals and if there are no great causes then they will create them to assuage the guilt of those who want to play kamikaze throwaways to the roar of the crowd and the applause of the sitting Standing Committee. High on the dream list of the uncommitted is the desire to receive an 'underground newspaper' that exposes the 'truth' that the capitalist press refuse to print, but to their credit Britain's gutter-press will print anything and all that that ol' romantic dream of an 'underground newspaper' would print would be the libellous sexual deviationist behaviours of those in high office and, little comrade, why should anyone risk their liberty to pander to your desire 'to be kept fully informed'. I am but aware of only one secret handout, before you were born, comrade, and that was the 'Spies for Peace' that exposed the RSG and that was a cause most worthy but naughty naughty in the gold lamé loos, no, no, no.

* *Sallywag* is not stocked by the Freedom Press Bookshop, and we don't know where you can buy it, so please don't ask.

Cultch the Vultch

Sallywag has once more re-surfaced out of a sea of police visits of the manner of 'no tea for us thank you, we're on duty' to Whiplash Willie's in the Inns of Court sending off threats of libel as fast as their clerks could operate the postage stamping machines.

Sallywag states that they have about twenty writs via Tory Central Office and an ex-member of 'a fine upstanding body of men' in relation to 'suffer little children', but what *Sallywag* has a right to go ape over is their claim that after three months exclusion from their office there have been break-ins and 'papers' taken. *Sallywag* reached its high point when a lad born of low estate attained high office under the Queen and was accused of breaching the Industrial Relations Act with a lady cook, but it was all settled amicably out of court. *Sallywag* is now in circulation though, through fear, most shops refuse to sell it, but it is claimed that all MPs and a hundred media and important people will be sent a copy. In issue No. 29 *Sallywag* reports that a high-flying VIP politician spent a fun time at the £600-a-night luxurious Gazelle D'Or hotel on the edge of the Sahara Desert. The offence is deemed to be that it appears to be exclusively men only with a guest list that ranges from visiting VIPs to swanning holidaying 'queens' and all to be serviced, massage parlour-wise, by 'trained swarthy Berbers'. Should that pall then for £16 a small boy to prattle away the desert night. Except in the blanket condemnation of any ill treatment of children and animals, I hold that it is not really important how our god elected rulers spend their Happy Hour or what form of sexual divertissement it takes - tighten the rope, dearest, I can still breathe - but much of what *Sallywag* prints is 'guilt by association' that smells too much of the American witch-hunts in that raddled old 'queens' face down for the massaging 'trained swarthy Berbers' there and and you were drinking 'gin and tonic at £8' at the bar and so therefore it must follow that you are an oil-and-hand-rubbing pervert. If it was wrong for Stalinist and American witch-hunters to destroy peoples' lives by the guilt-by-association syndrome then it must be equally harmful to employ it in a sexual context, no matter what the risk the publisher takes. While I read *Sallywag* I consider why should not some



right-wing lunatic organisation take the same chance with the same type of material and would the reading be as amusing and give one that same feeling of moral superiority, and the answer, *Sallywag* my old mate, is no. There are those who claim that they are defending the privacy of the individual when they bay for press censorship, but they fail to show that same tender regard in relation to Arthur Scargill and his privacy during the coal strike but, despite the good doctor, public memory is short and yesterday's scum, no matter how many times exposed, becomes today's cream for personalities are forgettable and all we are left with are causes, big or small, good or evil.

In the world of the visual arts there are no breathing crowd-pullers, no Picasso, no Anon, no Hockney and no Disney to have the

paying culture-mob sweating into their catalogues, only that that was once meat for the freak shows, the human dross of the surgical waste bins to be viewed for a few coins. And even that has become camp culture, as Damien Hirst plays around with rotting animal carcasses and at £150,000 a time, maggots included in a take-away doggy bag?

Damien's latest piece are the rotting carcasses of a bull and a cow fucking, and they are mechanically arranged so that these two rotting carcasses go through the action of fucking as they rot away within their huge glass coffin. I do not condemn, I just lower my head for the abuse of dead animals. But always to the Whitechapel, behind the Town and his skateboarding frau, for John Virtue's 'New Work'. Huge unframed canvases are as large as the room you sit in as they lazily flap against the high gallery walls. Oh happy days, in the beginning these huge sheets were laid on the floor to have black and white paint thrown or smeared on them and then, Christmas pudding-wise, the exciting stirring of the paints. Oh happy days when you were but a child, everybody but everybody was throwing household paint onto hardboard to create 'abstract expressionism' - another fine mess you've got me into, Stanley - and John Virtue has rediscovered it, but shame, as a revisionist, for his is not pure abstractionism for if you play peek-a-boo long enough you can see 'the outline of a church, a string of roofs, or a pattern of fields and moorlands'. In 1922 Herman Rorschach left the couch for the coffin and the Swiss psychiatrist's extremely minor claim to fame is that he found a nice little earner with his creation of the Rorschach Blot. He would smear a large sheet of paper with black pigment and then fold the paper and then open it again. The 'mark' was then asked to gaze at the smeared blot and read off what they believed they saw in the black pigment mess while Herman sat behind them filling in his cheque book prior to telling the 'mark' that they were as crazy as a loon and come back next week. Herman never realised that he had pre-dated 'abstract expressionism', yea, and dare one mention it, 'New Works' by John Virtue, but, unlike Herman's, John Virtue's work gives a small and worthy pleasure so *King & Barnes Old Porter, K&B Bottle Conditioned, Strong Dark Beer, 550ml E. ALC 5.5% Vol.*

Arthur Moysé

(continued from page 5)

communists are now faced with largely industrial and city-based societies. The weakness of much of their economic theory, if you can get any explanation from them at all, is very painful to observe. Apart from statements that the peasants will exchange their produce for the produce of industrial workers, some other responses are noticed. Some anarchist communists will say that communism will mean a return to a rural low technology. It gets confusing now, because others will deny this and use as an example goods that require a low technology to produce, such as sandals, but they will ignore 'complex goods' such as computers.

I would like to consider in more detail the production of 'complex goods', such as computers, in a society based on communist economics. When I use the words 'complex goods' I mean that these products are made from many components often originating from many different parts of the world. Clearly computers contain many different components which are highly specialised, often coming from many different parts of the world. Despite the fact that anarchists argue for a localisation of production, certain raw materials, such as silicon, will only be found in certain areas. It is just not practical to produce all the parts for a modern computer in one factory. Money gives a measure of the cost of resources involved in production, and also the efficiency of the productive process. Without money it becomes very difficult to choose between two rival products. For example, one could be much more advanced as far as technology was concerned but would be more expensive in terms of resources.

Suppression of market mechanisms can lead to very inefficient economic planning, as the countries in Eastern Europe found out. With a society with no money, complex goods could only probably be produced by a command economy. But of course this is moving away from a libertarian society.

Interestingly enough, there is a strand in libertarian

communist thought which argues that advanced technology supports communism. In some ways this parallels some aspects of Marxist theory. The argument goes that with an increase in productive capacity scarcity is no longer a problem. Money, prices and wages, which ration goods, become unnecessary. Unfortunately this does not avoid economic problems. Resources to run and be put through the machinery are finite. How would the choice of which goods to produce be taken? How is it possible to be able to judge the efficient use of resources?

When economic activity is not of a face-to-face nature this causes problems if there is no monetary exchange. Obviously in some situations face-to-face contact is impossible, such as when mineral resources need to be obtained from thousands of miles away. An argument in favour of market systems is they do facilitate production and global distribution of even the most complex equipment.

My feeling is that libertarian communism is an ideal with great ethical strength, but I think the above examples show that large-scale application of it is unlikely in the near future.

Next I want to move on to a discussion on economic systems which do have some type of market mechanism. Here I must admit my own bias in favour of this sort of idea. These ideas include collectivism/mutualism ('from each according to their ability, to each according to their work'), various types of banks (for providing very cheap or free credit) and various individualist anarchist projects. In these cases consumption is linked to production and this requires some measure of value. The measure of value may be money or it may be a money substitute. The LETS scheme falls into this group of market activities because it uses among its participants an internal currency. In the nineteenth century the American individualist anarchist Josiah Warren

5. This also applies to Marxism.

experimented with labour notes. These were exchanged for goods in a 'time store' where everything was valued in terms of the hours of work done.

Many of these schemes have the advantage of isolating the state from its modern role as the monopoly supplier of the means of exchange. There has to be faced, however, the fact that there may be a need for a general means of exchange. In the Spanish Revolution some collectives had a supply of national currency for use in dealing with regions outside still using money.

If we do accept the usefulness of money as an exchange mechanism but not as a means of getting unearned income, as in capitalism, we need to face up to other problems. Banks are needed to ensure credit. Also there must be means to ensure that those unable to work have access to the means to live. If mutual aid and local organisations are unable to provide enough help, there must be greater provision. Insurance or some scheme of taxation may be needed. Most anarchists will probably be hostile to this, but the problem does need a solution!

If markets were kept then the type of society would probably look like a more modern version of an artisans' republic as envisaged by Proudhon. It could well be a network of small-scale economic units co-ordinating to produce for the community.

In this article I have questioned the value of promoting revolutions to achieve an anarchist society. I see anarchism as a process and directional philosophy which is always incomplete. With regard to economics, I feel that there is a need for some sort of market mechanism, and this issue needs to be looked at more closely. I would conclude that a more libertarian society would probably be much more pluralistic in its economic arrangements. There could be a diversity of different economic systems. After all, a lack of choice is hardly conducive to developing greater freedom.

D. Dane

FOCUS ON ... CHINA

Just before he left his position as Chairman of the Board of Trade Mr Heseltine paid China a visit to help boost our interests. Mr Heseltine – unlike Mr Blair – has never been a fanatical supporter of Thatcherite entrepreneurial idealism, he believes instead that it is the role of the state to help promote 'national interests'. What this means of course, translated into understandable English, is that it is the role of the state to use its resources to promote corporate interest and to help win big contracts for the boys and thus boost their profits. It is all seen as an economic equation with little thought of the implications of dealing with a regime that outshines most for its repression and violence.

But China is a paradox that the west doesn't seem to understand. The yin and yan of the big/small, rich/poor, urban/rural are well out of harmony in the Chinese empire. The concentration of attention on the Eastern seaboard puts out of focus the wider picture which – moral questions aside – gives a bleaker message to those who are wetting themselves over the biggest consumer market in the world.

The vision is still much the same as it was in the nineteenth century when it was argued that if only the Chinese could be persuaded to lengthen their shirttails by a foot the mills of Lancashire would work around the clock. The dream turns sour somewhat when we take stock of a World Bank study that estimated that in the mid 1980s the average Chinese citizen had a budget for consumer spending of around £1 a week. Optimistic plans to increase this eightfold by the year 2000 would, if achieved, get them to the levels recorded in Nicaragua some 10 years ago. Inflation will of course take its toll on all of this which was

running at just over 24% last year and it's still rising in rural areas. The World Bank emphasised all this when its managing director Ernest Stern, reported in *The Guardian* (13th May 1995) that China's much trumpeted economic growth had taken place against a background of "severe imbalances among regions and income groups, rapid changes in relative welfare among people and regions, increasing environmental destruction, and periodic high inflation". The report continues that: "Up to 100million have missed out and are 'desperately poor'. Improved living standards has slowed down since mid-80s".

Here we start to get to the bottom of the dilemma, not an uncommon one, of the one sided development that typifies so many developing countries and whose mirror image is being built in the richer nations as they de-develop. A situation, as in China, where the state has built itself on the backs of the dispossessed – in this case the peasantry elsewhere the unemployed.

About 75% of the Chinese people live in small, scattered villages. Up until recently they have shown a stubborn loyalty to their ancestral homes which has allowed the government to maintain the traditional divisions between the rural and the urban and has ensured that any wealth remains firmly in the cities where an elite can enjoy their dish-washers whilst the rural majority lack the basics such as electricity and water.

This largely illiterate and poorly educated majority has been, up until now, successfully kept in the dark about the situation elsewhere in the empire but today some television pictures of the capitalist good life are seeping through and the traditions on which the peasants have built their strengths – small units usually based on the family – are coming under pressure as 50,000,000 descend on Shanghai and other cities looking for employment. This is seriously destabilising. Last year the country suffered a setback in food production when grain output dropped from 456 million tons to 444.5 million tons. With the population putting 15 million extra people at the dinner table each year, the Communist Party leadership began sounding the alarm last winter reported *The Guardian* (18th April 1995). Chinese agriculture is not capital but labour intensive and with arable land disappearing fast under 200 new cities the problem of keeping the peasants in their place so there is food for the elite is becoming acute. "You can't make money producing crops", said Kou Yongqing, aged 58. "The only way to make a lot of money is to go to the city". This is intolerable for the authorities who announced last month that there would be a crackdown and those without the necessary documentation would be sent home.

A special trade

Mr Heseltine's dream is turning into a nightmare – and in many ways. Realising that they are not going to sell to the Chinese the west has decided to sell the Chinese ... with of course the collusion of the communist party. Such surplus of labour cannot be overlooked as assembly factories go up in the Special Economic Zones (see *Freedom*, 14th May 1994). Chinese labour is cheap where a typical weekly wage in 1994 was £20. But the Chinese come even cheaper than this.

The UK press has earlier this year been running stories of Chinese prisoners being executed to order for an even more grisly trade. Reports claim that the Chinese authorities use the organs of executed prisoners to use in medical transplants – the recipients being leading limelights in the Communist Party or foreigners from Hong Kong, Japan, Britain and the US "Basically, they look at the prisoner's body as whatever they want it to be", said Gao Pei Qi, a former member of China's Public Security Bureau who now lives in exile in London. "They would take the prisoner's skin, if necessary" reported the *New York Times*. The whole system is apparently so well organised that executions are 'scheduled and sometimes ordered' depending on what's needed.

The US senate hearing where these revelations were made was only attended by two Senators one of who was conducting the hearing – the rest of the US political establishment being less concerned with human rights than with Mr Clinton's own version of 'national interest'.

Rebalancing the yin and yan

If you want to know something of the Chinese State's capacity for terror and keeping its population in check you should perhaps ask a Tibetan (see *Freedom*, 28th May 1994) rather than a Focus... article writer. China has seemingly always been ruled in such a manner: with an autocratic, centralised power system built on the backs of a majority.

But there are other strains in Chinese social culture. Such despotism has always been powerfully countered by a tradition of provincial insubordination. This continues today (see *Freedom*, 24th June 1995). In his book *Tell the World* (1989), Liu Binyan tells of one incident

of how the peasants took over the council offices for seven months after the economic plan had told them to grow nothing but green onions which then resulted in a surplus and the authorities refusing to buy in a case which epitomises the yin yan disharmony

The other trend in Chinese culture which is also relevant to this issue is one that is indeed widely spread throughout Asia which is the importance of the family. The successes that have been the hall mark of Chinese agriculture over the ages have almost exclusively come about as a result of the endeavours of the people with this fundamental organising unit. The word in Chinese for China is made up of two characters representing the nation and the family also reflected in good-old Confucius' musings on organisation where among five main precepts one relates to government and four to the family.

The family as a unit is problematic for anarchists given the seemingly inherent hierarchical traits which it displays. Indeed it is also the main unit is the more sprawling economic interests emanating from Hong Kong and further afield. Whether patriarchy is such a problem in Asia is hard to surmise (consider the case of the Gandhi dynasty in India or the case of the Indian Governor who resigned because his mother disapproved of his political activities).

However as a productive unit in China the family has made its case and not only in the agricultural sphere. To push a Kropotkinian analogy further industry and business in general has always proved more successful on the smaller scale in China. Whilst the big foreign boys are running the risk of getting more than their fingers burnt in China the smaller the better might be the real message. Throughout China in thousands of small enterprises sweaters, shoes and simple electronic goods are produced. These 'township and village enterprises' or TVEs have an up and downside. Collectively the farmers and small businessmen are transforming China's economy more than the Japanese and German car industries. By 1990 it was calculated that these agents (with both foreign and domestic funding) were producing some 45% of China's industrial output (up from 12% in 1978) whilst Chinese State owned entities accounted for only 25%

Of course the downside is the labour exploitation which still accompanies so many of these projects – particularly perhaps the ones which are dependant on Hong Kong dollars. The home grown variety indicate a more fruitful future course of development for China other than Messrs Heseltine, Clinton and Xiaoping's nightmare.

NEWS FROM MEXICO

Last year young anarchists, members of a group called JAR (Anti-authoritarian Revolutionary Youth), demonstrated in front of a McDonalds, protesting against the anti-immigration campaign and in support of hispanic workers in the USA. The demo ended with the McDonalds graffitied and its windows and machines broken. Some days later, some members of JAR were arrested by police.

Last April an action by transport union Sindicato Unico de Autotransportes R-100 (SUTAUR) was declared illegal by the courts. The union, which has links with various popular organisations amongst which would be included the Movimiento Proletario Independiente and which is listed by the government as 'radical', gives legal support to its members and contested the action. Many workers have been threatened, beaten up and imprisoned. Of the 12,000 unionised workers, less than 1,000 have accepted an out of court settlements, the rest are holding out for more.

In support of the workers at SUTAUR members of the 'radical' group within the student union, Consejo Estudiantil Universitario, seized a number of lorries and kept them under guard on university campus. However, under pressure from the rector, police and other student groupings they were forced to return the vehicles a few days later.

This year's May Day independent unions march, fronted by members of SUTAUR, saw dozens of workers and students throwing rocks and sticks at the police, who came to defend some of their undercover agents. Nineteen people, some were minors, were imprisoned while trying to burn the Government Building front door. Many of them were beaten up and some are still in jail. Many anarchist organisations and collectives participated in the march.

Anarchists painted the walls and broke the windows of the organisation called Pro-vida (Pro-life), which openly speaks out against abortion and the use of condoms. Pro-vida in known for being formed by many right-wing and conservative groups.

During 17th June campesinos were assassinated in Guerrero – they were members of OCSS, an organisation which was organising a peaceful protest in a nearby area. According to the official version at first it was claimed that the victims had been armed and had attacked the police but this was refuted by eye witnesses. The state governor, Ruben Figueroa, held talks both before and after the massacre with a member of the opposition within the council. These conversations, according to the councillor, revealed that the governor was

fully aware of the plans of the police. The governor told her: "Some campesinos are going to demonstrate and will have to be stopped ... they want war and they are going to get it".

The government in Mexico City has implemented a social security plan in which it states openly that "people who appear suspicious" are to be detained and there will be stop checks on cars and random raids. Popular human rights organisations, political opposition parties and civil groups have demonstrated against the plans. On 1st July plain clothes policemen beat up and detained a number of young people and on 6th July people were searched in the red light area and arrested if in possession of a condom on a charge of 'soliciting'. Throughout the month of July there were numerous complaints against the police for violence, threats, robbery etc. Finally on the 28th the police got an 80% pay rise.

Friday 14th July saw the release of Gloria Benavides who had been accused of membership of the EZLN under the codename 'subcomandante Elisa'. Benavides was arrested on 8th February and threatened so that she might denounce various people and link them to the Zapatistas. On being released she called for the release of those other prisoners who were being held accused of membership of the EZLN.

On 28th July the fifth stage of the peace talks between the EZLN and the Mexican government ended. There was no agreement. The government rejected a zapatista proposal dealing with military withdrawal and threatened to withdraw their own proposal if the zapatistas didn't accept it. The EZLN complains about the strong-arm tactics and the threats of the government. Meanwhile, hundreds of people are gathering to organise the National Poll called for by the EZLN, it's supposed to happen on August 27. The International Poll is taking place right now and many organisations from all around the world have voted already.

Facts about the government of Zedillo:

In the first seven months of Zedillo's administration, 97 opposition members have been killed; 1,663 citizens have been imprisoned for their non-conformity; 75 people have been kidnapped; 254 social leaders have detention orders against them; there has been 932 people injured in many repressive actions; 36 journalists have suffered attacks and 138 members of democratic organisations have been threatened.

Taken from: *Proceso* magazine, *La Jornada* newspaper, or seen with my own eyes.

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New relationships for old people

Dear Editors,
I have before me cuttings from nine papers up and down the country, some of them making it plain to their readers that I am seemingly a monster of prejudice who condemns women in later life forming new love relationships as "randy old hags".

Some comrades may well wonder whether I have gone off my head and am now stating opinions the exact opposite to those I have expressed in days gone by. No - let me explain. I gave a lecture to a section of the British Psychological Society on the topic of the future sexual relations between older people now that in the later decades of life women outnumber men to an increasing degree as men die off six or seven years earlier. Among the various developments to be expected is an increase of the number of previously heterosexual women falling in love with other women, and sometimes forming very satisfactory sexual partnerships. A press release concerning my lecture was issued, but it also contained a biographical detail about me - that I am 80 years of age. This latter detail meant that some journalists could indulge their ageist fantasies and fit me out with a set of narrow-minded anti-sexual anti-lesbian prejudices that in their little journalistic world are appropriate to a man of my age. Never mind what I did say, the key words of 'sex' and 'lesbianism' set them off to write a juicy story. Here was an oldie clamouring for Victorian values to be re-

introduced! Joan Smith in her column in *The Independent* on Sunday apparently didn't bother to read the press release and based her silly column on what she had read in a totally inaccurate report in *The Daily Telegraph*. I spoke to the editors of both of these papers who agreed to publish my letters of correction, but I can't be bothered with all the tabloids.

Tony Gibson

Love, Sex and Power in Later Life by Tony Gibson, is published by Freedom Press at £3.50.

Mutual Aid

Dear Friends,
Have you observed that when organisations grow and become larger they eventually lose sight of their original purpose?

The example of the large building societies is in the financial news at present. With mergers and takeovers with other financial institutions taking place, some of them are trying to prevent people from cashing in on inflated shares and bonus payments. It is a situation which they have created in their quest for growth and has bugged all to do with the original purpose of building societies. This purpose was to raise money to build houses. The houses were built for occupation and not speculation. The money was raised by relatively small

PC in Canadian Universities

Dear Freedom,
I was surprised that your 'News from Canada' (*Freedom*, 22nd July) completely ignored one of the more distressing bits of news concerning freedom in this country. I refer to that increasing trend towards 'political correctness' which now pervades Canada and, I believe also, the United States as well.

At the University of Alberta a graduate student in the law school wrote a letter to the newspaper criticising equal opportunity regulations and other laws which give preferential treatment to minorities. He was ordered into the dean's office and told never to write such things again. Happily he was able to challenge this order and have it rescinded.

But things have not worked out well at the University of British Columbia where the graduate programme of the Political Science Department has been sharply curtailed as punishment for the department's being found guilty of not being 'friendly' or encouraging to female students. The president of the student political science club, who is a woman, had denied such charges. Another UBC professor taught at that institution for decades and suddenly was

confronted with accusations of sexual harassment by three older female staff members. He was summarily suspended "from one of his functions" and an investigation was commenced. The professor found that the mediators in the matter were in fact advocates for the complainants. Overall he was guilty until proven innocent. And before the situation was ultimately resolved he resigned his post in frustration. The most ironic part of this case is that the professor "suffers from a very obvious disability. It's immediately evident on meeting him". On seeing him "almost the entire public would have had huge doubts that he had deliberately done what he was accused of", according to a newspaper report.

Today, in one university or another there are formal committees which are established to enforce particular notions of what is proper to say or do. These committees adopt behaviour codes which are invariably vague; they investigate any complaint and turn in reports to higher authorities. The accused is treated as guilty until proven otherwise and there is often no appeal. Teaching staff are increasingly afraid to voice an opinion or to address any controversial issue for fear of being hauled up before the political correctness committee and told to shut up or to recant or be fired. Any instructor who has a student in his office is best advised to leave his door wide open and, even better, also have a third person present in the room at the time. Certainly no instructor would ever invite students to his home.

When well-meaning 'liberals' attempt to combat the discrimination suffered by various minorities over the years by discriminating against and suppressing others, the consequences are the draconian measures we find in many Canadian universities today.

Harold Barclay

Raven on World War Two

Dear Editors,
Reading *Raven 29* on World War Two has been something of a shocker. I think it is a pretty appalling document, but at the same time it helps to explain The Great Mystery, i.e. why does British anarchism go forever round in circles and get no place?

What I want to know is: where were the peace-makers of Freedom Press in 1940 when the *real* war began? We are given pages of opinions about the situation in 1938/9, before the war or during the phoney war, the assumption being that judgements about those times will pass muster for the real war that followed. There is no mention of the fact that Hitler and Goering launched an actual attack on this country in 1940 and would have invaded had they secured control of the air over the Channel. Fortunately at that point they made their first great mistake, they switched their attention from the military objective of the destruction of Fighter Command to the political objective of an attack on London as a revenge response to the bombing of Berlin. They lost the initiative.

The war meant different things to different people. Large numbers simply did what they were told, as in World War One. They left the thinking to others, it has always been so, and they were content at that. Many, like myself, were satisfied that Nazism had to be fought and destroyed at whatever cost. But, as my memory of the summer of 1940 affirms, all of us knew that we were under direct physical attack. This made all politics redundant, since it was a matter of self-defence and sheer survival. The alternative didn't bear thinking about. The voices and messages of Churchill and Priestley were authentic.

It was a slightly unreal atmosphere at the time. The fighter pilots were doing incredible things and their servicing crews were working round the clock, the

ack-ack gunners likewise, while the country as a whole shed the shabby coats of the phoney war and got down to the real thing. The unity was quite extraordinary. Yet at the same time when we gathered round our radios to hear the six o'clock or nine o'clock news and the 'score for today', it was almost like a test match. The score, however, was the number of the Luftwaffe shot down. We know now that those scores were greatly exaggerated but they were big enough to make the difference. German losses were such that Goering had to call off daytime attacks. We were over the hump.

Raven 29, except in the recollections of Arthur Moysie and myself (81 and 74 respectively), leaves out 1940! Extraordinary! How can people who supported the fight against fascism in Spain so vehemently have abandoned the same struggle against Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese militarists? And how much damage has the cover-up done to anarchism in Britain ever since? It parallels that other cover-up, that of the terrorist wing of international anarchism between 1870 and 1921. If we cannot face the truth how can we face anything?

I see that someone is currently making a film of Conrad's *The Secret Agent*, a shabby little novel that caricatures anarchism. It is time to sharpen our wits. The fact is that nineteenth century anarchism was deeply flawed over terrorism, wars (just and unjust) and by taking on board Marx's pathetic theory of the historic role of the working class. Classes don't have historic roles, alliances of classes do.

We need a new libertarian theory and practice of anarchism - either that or we get ourselves a new label. We shall be debating this in the London Anarchist Forum on Friday 13th October. I look forward to it. Can we actually make changes this time?

Peter Cadogan

LAF Picnic August Bank Holiday (Monday 28th August)

The London Anarchist Forum's picnic this year will be from 2pm onwards at Farthing Down, Coulsdon (in the London Borough of Croydon), Surrey. Meet in the area in front of the former 'Welcome' tea-rooms (now closed) at the far end of the Down.

How to get there

By train: Get to Coulsdon South BR station (if necessary take a fast train to East Croydon station and change there to one stopping at Coulsdon South). On leaving the station turn right then turn sharp right at the first turning on the right (Marlpit Lane), then the second turning on the right, then the left fork - the road that leads you over the Down to the meeting place.

By bus: Number 50 bus to the first stop in Marlpit Lane, cross the road and then proceed as for directions above. Number 405 bus to Coulsdon South BR station, then proceed as above. Number 166 bus, get off near the beginning of Chipstead Valley Road, walk to Marlpit Lane and proceed as above.

By car (if you must): Come along the A23 Brighton Road (either from the London direction or the Brighton direction) and turn up the B276 Marlpit Lane, then the second turning on the right, then left fork to one of the car parks on Farthing Down.

Note: people could come (by train or car) from Sussex or the coast as well as the Greater London area.

Farthing Down is scheduled as an ancient monument and a site of special scientific interest. Together with the adjoining Happy Valley, it is the largest area of unimproved chalk grassland in Greater London. The southernmost points of its boundary are the southernmost points of Greater London (it is owned by the Corporation of the City of London). There were Saxon royal burial barrows on the Down, and also Iron Age Celtic field systems - but there is little to be seen of these now, merely a few slight bumps and ridges.

The Down is notable for its wildlife. When I visited it on 24th June I found three different kinds of wild orchids in flower in a clearing in the woods on one side. I also saw and heard skylarks both on the ground and in the air, and saw quite a few different species of butterfly. On a clear day there are also marvellous views across London.

I suggest our visit could include a circular walk through Devilsden Wood and along Ditches Lane to Chaldon Church, then along Leazes Lane and via Happy Valley back to Farthing Down.

As for Chaldon Church (which I was assured will be open that day, as it is every say until at least 6.30pm), there has been a church there since at least the 700s, and the basis of the present building was built in the 1000s. It is chiefly notable for its unique mural painted about 1200, described as "without equal in any other part of Europe". This wall painting depicts the Ladder of Salvation of the Human Soul and is a sort of giant medieval religious strip-cartoon, intended as a visual aid to religious teaching, but not without humour.

On the Down near the meeting place there are good clean loos.

If it pours with rain all day we could take refuge in one of the nearest pubs which are, I think, the Red Lion and the Tudor Rose, neither of which I've sampled however.

Bernard Miles

please keep sending in your letters and donations ...

Anarcho-syndicalism

Dear Editors,
I have spent nearly thirty years in industry, much of this time as an active trade unionist holding most union positions. My own workplace saw a massive reduction in numbers from over 6,000 in the early '70s down to 600 today producing the same output, if not more. Technology has been used to eliminate people and not to free them from work.

I often found myself wondering just what was involved as I watched full-time union bosses daily argue that workers should 'do nothing - leave it to us' during disputes. At pay round time, as negotiators, we would have no strategy other than selling our members to the bosses for the highest possible price, which didn't affect the union's position with the employer. Then spend considerable time working out how we could 'sell' the deal that we had just done with the bosses to the members.

My time in the Labour Party was little different, as a local councillor we operated as working class bosses (on a small scale), quite an attraction to some people who have spent their lives being completely powerless. This was a common thread through both unions and Labour Party, choc full of frustrated people fed up with being powerless, seeing a degree of power and influence going for the taking, albeit very small. It's no wonder then that both organisations attract a certain amount of support.

I was lucky enough at the end of the '80s to take part in a series of broad left discussions in my area to which several local anarchists attended. There they demonstrated such a clear and obvious

vision of freedom that set me thinking and wondering just how things could be changed and, more importantly, to what. Anarcho-syndicalist ideas offer the best vision of a future free world that I have come across so far as it also recognises just where workers are now, both in our homes and at work.

Having made the step, which for me was quite traumatic, I find that anarchism can be a very easy position to hold, for you can call yourself an anarchist and sit around and do nothing waiting for the working classes to rise up. Actually doing something then becomes the problem, for just what are we to do that does not contradict a non-authoritarian role? Anarcho-syndicalists reject this 'concerned observers' approach and offer a practical and flexible means of offering intermediate improvements whilst establishing a working class agenda with the long-term aim of achieving a libertarian communist society.

To attract people to the ideas of a free future we have to deal with the here and now, although it may be anathema to many 'pure' anarchists who claim to be untainted by involvement with the capitalist world. Some of us cannot sit around waiting for our class to achieve a 'higher level' of political consciousness spontaneously, but endeavour to operate in all areas that our class occupies.

Syndicalism isn't a strategy worked out by some obscure academic but a practical alternative forged by the experiences of our class. With all its faults it still, for me, represents the best vision for our way forward.

Brian Maynard

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- 29th September Towards an Integrated Transport System (speaker Peter Neville)
- 6th October General Discussion
- 13th October Libertarian versus Sectarian Anarchism (speaker Peter Cadogan)
- 20th October General Discussion
- 27th October vacant slot
- 3rd November General Discussion
- 10th November Anarchism and Material Culture (speaker Kevin Littlewood)
- 17th November Discussion Group
- 24th November Arguments in Favour of Governments (discussion led by Michael Murray)
- 1st December topic to be announced (speaker Don Howard)
- 8th December General Discussion
- 15th December Christmas Party

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