

anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

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FIFTY PENCE

"Crime is a logical extension of the sort of behaviour that is often considered perfectly respectable in legitimate business."

Robert Rice
in *The Business of Crime*, 1956

Israel agrees to release 5,000 Palestinian security prisoners BUT NOT VANUNU IN SOLITARY FOR NINTH YEAR

At about the same time as the Israeli foreign secretary was agreeing to the "phased release of [Israel's] 5,000 Palestinian security prisoners" (*Independent*, 12th August) Mordechai Vanunu was having his appeal turned down by the Israeli courts of so-called justice. Mordechai is an Israeli former nuclear technician who, like a few more eminent operators in that deadly business, at a certain stage had a bad conscience and he came to this country and spilled the beans about Israel's nuclear arsenal to *The Sunday Times* which gave it the full treatment in its issue of 5th October 1986 over several pages. Vanunu was not a spy, he was not concerned with payment for his revelation. He had a conscience (obviously a bad one since he had contributed to yet another danger spot in the Middle East). It is interesting that the Western powers are applying sanctions to Iraq so long as they are not 'satisfied' that Saddam is not secretly developing a nuclear weapon, but not a word of protest from the West about the Vanunu revelations - which have not been denied. This is not surprising since it is obvious even to a simpleton that Israel's paymasters - the USA - have not only financed but supplied all the know-how to have an Israeli bomb to keep the Arab world (on which the Americans rely for most of their oil) 'cooperative'!

But to return to the recent news, with first a reference to Vanunu's London visit in 1986. Once the news-bomb had exploded in *The Sunday Times* Israel's secret police (yes, like all states they have theirs, the Mossad) got to work with a lovely lady luring him to Rome where he was kidnapped by the Mossad and bundled into an Israeli navy ship "disguised as a merchant ship flying a Panamanian flag".

Back in Israel he was tried and sentenced to eighteen years imprisonment. It could be argued that in some other countries he would have been shot. But the incredible cruelty of the Israeli government - which is always reminding the world

of the barbarity of the Nazis - is that Mordechai has been held in solitary confinement for 3,000 days, that is over eight years, and his recent appeal which was turned down was not to be released but simply to be allowed to talk to other prisoners. The official argument is that he knows too much about the nuclear 'secrets' and if allowed contact with others might pass on 'vital secrets'. What a lot of nonsense. One has only to refer to the pages of details published in *The Sunday Times* to realise that Mordechai has nothing more to reveal.

Surely with world opinion protesting over the French nuclear tests is it not time for world opinion also to protest on a massive scale at the continued imprisonment and psychological torture of Mordechai Vanunu? After all, his action in 1986 was a valuable protest against Israel's nuclear weapons potential and equal to the efforts of the Greenpeace activists. And what about protesting to the USA and Clinton - Israel's paymasters - to dock a few million dollars if the Israeli bosses don't release him?

GETTING THE YOUNG TO VOTE

Twenty per cent of British adults aged 18 to 25 are not on the electoral register. Forty-five per cent did not vote at the last election.

The government, or to be precise the British Youth Council, a quango using government funds, is to pay for a massive advertising and publicity campaign exhorting young people to vote. Cinema commercials have already been produced. One of them features a rapper who declaims "If you are a citizen and wish to be of note, register your name and register to vote".

"Whoever you vote for the government always wins", a saying originated by anarchists which has become commonplace where young people meet, is mentioned in a 'news item' produced by the British Youth Council and may feature in another of their cinema ads.

The campaign could be called 'a waste of taxpayers money', but no politician has objected so far. Of course each would like more votes than his or her rivals, but all of them think it more important that people should support the system. The game itself matters more than who wins.

A few decades ago, not voting was equated with apathy, and an anarchist anti-election campaign was described, paradoxically, as a campaign in favour of apathy. But

today's young non-voters are not described as apathetic, because it is recognised that many of them are politically active.

Amnesty International has doubled its membership during the last five years. Membership of Greenpeace has seen a comparable increase. 'Reclaim the Streets' demonstrations, obstructions of road building, hunt saboteurs and protests against live animal exports meet with widespread approval.

There is no decline in political activity among the young, only disenchantment with professional politicians and their shenanigans.

We must not over-simplify. To say 45% of young people don't take part in elections is to say that more than half do take part. But it could be that, while young people want to change society as much as ever young people did, there is a dawning recognition that society cannot be changed by the electoral process.

Societies, by and large, conform to what most people want. The way to change society is to change what most people want. Whereas the way to get elected is to find out what most people already want, and offer them that.

The Labour Party confused its aims in the past, trying to educate people's
(continued on page 2)

August is the zealous month. In Britain Moslems, Christians and Scientologists have all been plying their trades in earnest. The streets surrounding Euston Station have been variously decorated with fluorescent posters and stickers announcing three Islamic events in August – an Albert Hall gathering, a rally for Islam in Trafalgar Square and an Islam roadshow at Clapham Common. “The Islamic state is coming to your area” read the scarlet stickers. “The Islamic message will strike at the very roots of Western civilisation” proclaim the rally posters. What effect these meetings may have on British Society in the long term remains to be seen – the effect in the short term, however, is all too obvious.

On the evening of each advertised event there was fighting between groups of white and Asian youths on the streets of Somers Town and Regent’s Park. Many of the boys carry knives and those who don’t use sticks, branches ripped from trees and broken park benches. Police presence on the streets has been stepped up, giving the problem a high profile and prompting erstwhile tolerant residents to express sentiments usually reserved for bigots. One neighbour said that with the best will in the world he would not

Rallies, Raves and Roadshows

want to see the green flag of Islam flying over the green and pleasant land.

Skirmishes on the streets are becoming the main focus of bored young men during the hot summer holidays. Soon many of these young men will leave school with few prospects and could concentrate more time on planning their war games.

The Church of England’s Reverend Chris Brain gave some Sheffield parishioners a new meaning in life by mixing raving and religion in his nine o’clock services. A trust was set up to fund his evangelical work. According to *Today* newspaper, the cult set up a headquarters to control plans to expand across Britain. “They leased part of a run-down building in Sheffield and installed computers which linked it to a worldwide audience via the Internet.” Like many other religious establishments (the Vatican, monasteries in France and Spain) the Reverend has produced a CD of his ‘Planetary Mass’ helped all the way to the bank by priests, priestesses and other techno shamans.

The Scientologists are also casting their net a bit wider. No longer content with the flow of people passing their Tottenham Court Road office, they are now putting their offer of a “free IQ and personality test” on the road. They have a huge yellow bus – the Dianetics Roadshow – which is touring high streets throughout the country. They told me I’d be a very miserable person if I didn’t embrace their ideology – a friend of mine was pursued along the road with threats of dire misfortune after declining further information after completing a test. They pick up on the negative aspects of people’s personalities and claim an ability to transform them.

This theme was echoed during ‘In the Psychiatrist’s Chair’ this week when George Austin, the Archdeacon of York, was skilfully manoeuvred into a corner by Anthony Claire. Austin admitted that he thinks that people are drawn to religious belief because they are frightened by their impulses.



This is how the Israeli authorities have treated Mordechai Vanunu for the past 3,000 days:

“Mordechai is kept in total isolation, imprisoned in a cell measuring nine by six feet. The authorities ‘redecorated’ the cell with white ceramic tiles running up the length of the walls. The only window is an aperture in the steel door. He is permitted absolutely no physical, visual or verbal contact outside of the visits by his direct family. These have been extended to half an hour a week, and are held through a screen and under strict surveillance. His outdoor time has been extended to two hours a day, now in two sessions. This takes place in a yard separated from view of other prisoners.”

From the bulletin issued by the Campaign to Free Vanunu and for a Nuclear-Free Middle East, 89 Borough High Street, London SE1 1NL.

He declined to expand on his own particular impulses. He conceded also that righteousness goes hand in hand with fundamentalism. Any of us who hold strong beliefs and attitudes and wonder why others cannot see life in a similar way should beware.

On Brighton beach the Army of Jesus are holding weekend meeting to celebrate the spirit of the Lord and offer believers old and new a full ceremonial baptism by dunking them under the waves. Whilst watching the display no pious thoughts arrested me – quite the contrary, I wondered whether the ‘Army’ had deliberately chosen Brighton for redemption because of its reputation for the ‘dirty weekend’.

It would be foolish to enjoy the more ludicrous aspects of religious recruitment whilst ignoring the more sinister ones. The Russian Orthodox Church wants to outlaw abortion as an enemy of the state. There are 37 million women of childbearing age across Russia and they have enjoyed forty years of abortion on demand under communism. The Russian Church has now invited evangelical Christians from the US to visit abortion clinics in Russia to show their pro-life videos to patients preparing for terminations.

In Turkey what was recently a secular state is being overtaken by militant Islamists and more and more women are obliged to re-adopt the wearing of the veil to secure marriage and subsistence. For every amusing incident of religiosity – like weeping statues or crackpots with delusions of grandeur – there are other more alarming trends and malpractices being encouraged in the name of an almighty being.

GETTING THE YOUNG TO VOTE

(continued from page 1)

desires and get their votes at the same time. This lost them elections. New Labour has seen the light, and concentrates on getting the votes.

The evidence of the last four general elections is that the electorate want rich people to be able to keep their money; so New Labour has dropped old Labour’s proposals to tax the rich. On the other hand, the evidence of public outcries is that certain particular ways of getting rich, such as awarding oneself a fortune from a privatised monopoly, are seen by the electorate as improper, so New Labour promises to do something about such ‘abuses’.

The evidence of opinion polls is that people want improvements in the health and education services, so New Labour promises to improve them. On the other hand, people disagree about exactly what should be done, so New Labour keeps the promises vague.

The evidence of the 1992 election is that many people vote as recommended by Rupert Murdoch’s newspapers, so Mr Blair goes to Australia to kiss Mr Murdoch’s arse.

Of course New Labour has a programme to be implemented after it is elected, but as a serious political party its first aim is to get elected and its second aim to stay in office at subsequent elections. The allegation that its first and second aims are its only aims is not strictly true, but to borrow a term from engineering, it is ‘close enough for practical purposes’.

Message to socialists in the Labour Party

Are you disappointed that New Labour, in its keenness to get elected, is abandoning its traditional socialist aims? If so,

meaning no disrespect, you are being politically naive.

You cannot educate people to want something different, and at the same time promise them what they already want. Which is to say, you cannot strive for radical social change and at the same time get elected.

It is certainly possible to change attitudes and institutions. In this country fifty years ago, only those sexual unions were ‘respectable’ which had a licence from God and the Queen. Now, unmarried couples are as well respected as married ones. The beating of children by teachers, which fifty years ago was respectable and even described as ‘kind’, is now disgusting and cruel. People have become less deferential to authority and more concerned about the natural environment.

All these social changes were brought about by ‘single issue’ campaigners, who concentrated their energies on convincing people of the rightness of their cause, not on getting people elected. Governments, of different political labels, have changed the law to match changing attitudes, partly to placate the electorate and partly because, of course, they too are people whose attitudes are subject to change.

The electorate has less influence in matters of weaponry and finance, because in such matters the elected government is not the effective government. But non-elected governments, too, rely on the consent of the governed in the long term.

The road to power is not the road to socialism. If you really want a better society, campaign to convert people to your views, not to get some politician into power.

And if you cannot imagine being satisfied with any society other than one where there is social equality and individual freedom for all, then recognise that you are an anarchist.



HAITIAN UPDATE

Jeremy Allaire is a member of the Haitian Justice Committee (HJC) and has closely monitored Central and South American politics for many years. We publish here an extract from an article he wrote shortly after the US invasion last year and his replies to a couple of questions *Freedom* put to him regarding the recent election results in Haiti and the prospects for the future. His views are his own and should not be attributed to the HJC. *

In an effort to restore order, control the flow of refugees, and pave the way for a new political-economic order in Latin America and the Caribbean, the United States began a unilateral occupation of Haiti in October. Since that time, President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has been returned to power, extreme repression has subsided, and the country is beginning to function once again. While Aristide's original mandate has largely been usurped by the presence and dominance of the US in Haiti, opportunities for progress remain. However, the future is highly uncertain.

The picture in Haiti is certainly not rosy since the 'restoration' of democracy. This tiny nation remains highly impoverished, class-stratified, malnourished, and ecologically devastated. The nation's merchant and military elite have reluctantly accepted the so-called 'reformed' or as the Wall Street Journal said, 'tamed' Aristide. In exchange for his return, the US has offered the elite an economic package highly beneficial for the manual-labour-intensive export-assembly sector, including cuts in virtually all public social services and a commitment to keep labour rights to a minimum.

The military isn't without its benefits either. In a violation of UN and Geneva conventions the US pushed Aristide to pursue a path of 'reconciliation' – a code word for refraining from pursuing justice by arresting, trying, and jailing members of the military responsible for killing over four thousand during the previous

three years of repression. A blanket amnesty, combined with a programme to train and integrate the military into the police and other sectors of society, has kept the guns silent for now.

With the elite and military pacified for the time being, the situation is stable and calm. As London-based reporter Charles Arthur says: "Now the streets of Port-au-Prince are bustling with people and traffic. There is electricity 24 hours a day. Groups of men sit outside their houses playing cards and dominos, and street vendors ply their trade late into the evening. One man in the poor district of Bel-Air said, 'for the first time in three years we can actually sleep at night without fear of being beaten or shot'."

While this may characterise the situation in

* Currently Jeremy is working on an Internet project of interest to anarchists and libertarians. *Freedom* will be bringing you more news of this later this year but, if you can't wait and you have access try: <http://www.worldmedia.com>

Port-au-Prince, things are less than calm in other sections of Haiti, particularly the countryside where human rights groups and Lavalas members (the movement which brought Aristide to power) continue to report murder, extortion and other abuses by Section Chiefs and paramilitary associates. Merrill Smith, an attorney with Church World Service, issued a report on 6th January documenting more than seventy politically motivated killings during the first two months of the US occupation. Smith argues that: "This level of political violence is comparable to all but the very worst periods of the pre-occupation regime."

A national disarmament programme was stopped short almost immediately following the US intervention. And many former paramilitary members involved in political killings are known to be hiding weapons. In several incidents, known murderers have been brought to US authorities, only to be turned away by officials who claim that the US role is to protect Haitians from ongoing, 'Haitian-on-Haitian violence'.

Of the some five thousand troops discharged by the Army, approximately two thousand have been asked to be part of a civilian police force. But the other three thousand have retained their rights to their pension and their guns. As a result, crime has surged in urban areas, as former soldiers use their weapons to rob businesses, the government and the military. Unemployment among the military is also a major concern, and one reason the US has acted quickly to recruit members into a police training program.

Another major human rights issue concerns the forcible repatriation of Haitian refugees in violation of international and US law. Five thousand refugees remain at the Guantanamo naval base, where US officials have begun to return them against their will without asylum hearings. In many instances, refugees are handcuffed and harassed, then repatriated to a US military base at Port-au-Prince where they are given \$16 and a note asking that they be employed for a government service. Human rights groups say the returning refugees face a dangerous future, particularly with so many uncontrolled paramilitary groups on the loose. And in a blatant double standard, US officials say they anticipate accepting the vast majority of 30,000 Cuban refugees currently waiting for US asylum.

The 'economic reform' package being imposed on Haiti is a traditional IMF/World Bank Structural Adjustment programme. The reforms, aimed at stimulating foreign investors and domestic profits, will cripple any efforts to adopt domestically oriented programs. The package calls for the 'vibrant Civil Society' to replace social services provided by the government, though these are already skimpy. Official aid will be directed through USAID and NED to organisations compatible with US political interests.

Aristide's capitulation on this and other

matters has troubled many of his original supporters. His speeches have tended to be more moderate, compared to his impassioned and critical words in the pre-coup years. Others believe Aristide is doing the best he can given the overwhelming dominance of the US in Haiti.

As US troops leave Haiti and as elections near, tensions are likely to rise. Given the current situation, the future is unlikely to change dramatically. But there are some opportunities, with Lavalas building momentum around the coming parliamentary and presidential elections. Father Jean-Yves Urife, editor of the pro-Lavalas weekly, *Libete*, says: "The people have recovered their freedom of speech, association, and so on. Haitian democracy is grassroots democracy. So if we take the chance that has been given to us by the same nation that made the coup, we can organise ourselves for the future."

We followed up Jeremy's comments by asking him the following questions ...

***Freedom*: What, if any, significance do you think can be attached to the recent election performance of Aristide's supporters?**

JA: First of all, I think it is important that we make a distinction between three types of Aristide supporters. The first two are basically those core groups that supported his original rise to power in the 1990 elections. The 'Lavalas' was basically a coalition of hundreds of various grassroots organisations and parties that managed, somehow, to back one major candidate in that election. However, at that time, and even today, there remain significant divisions between the original Aristide supporters.

A large segment of the original Aristide supporters were deeply involved in various forms of radical organising – peasant groups, neighbourhood watch groups, radical unions and students, and so on. These groups naturally took advantage of Aristide's enormous popularity with the poor – he spoke common sense, dignity, and democratic revolution, though he really wasn't tied to a particular political program. Remember, the Haitians are deeply religious people, and this certainly helped play a role in their support for him, even among people that had never really entertained the idea of popular revolution, etc.

But you also saw that an enormous base of Aristide's support came directly from the poor – urban and rural – people that hadn't been really tied to any political commitment, but simply put, saw Aristide as the only true authority in the country. This base of people, and a large portion of groups that followed his rise to power, remain strongly in support of him, though there is growing suspicion over his political programme, which appears to be largely shaped by dominant foreign and local elite interests.

And that is where the major split in support occurs. The traditional radical segments of the popular movement – not the Lavalas – are outrightly lambasting Aristide and his programme, mostly due to his basic acceptance of virtually all of the demands of the occupying force, namely the ongoing subservience of the political economy to transnational interests. And this is largely true, though the degree to which Aristide actually takes it seriously one never knows.

Remember, Aristide is a deeply radical priest – his sermons and his mission has been one of tremendous dedication to the poor. I think he believes, and I think his followers believe, that if they live it out long enough, that if they wait for the Americans to go home, that they can finally live out the revolution they began.

The radical segments of the movement really feel that it's too late, that all has been yielded to imperial interests and that Aristide is now the servant of the rich. Again, there is some merit to this, but I don't think it is so clear cut.

As for the elections, the divisions appear between the Lavalas folks and the radical groupings. The election victory was also

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NEWS IN BRIEF

ARDIGUA HUNGER STRIKE

On Monday 14th August 1995, twenty-five members of the Association of Dispersed Guatemalan Refugees began a hunger strike in front of the National Palace in Guatemala City. The demonstrators are demanding the Guatemalan government's response to their appeal for credit in order to purchase land on the Southern Coast for their return from Mexico to Guatemala. The hunger strike continues.

On 16th August 1995 President De Leon Carpio reportedly personally refused the ARDIGUA demands. On 29th June 1995 the government turned down the ARDIGUA credit request charging that the El Paraiso property they sought to purchase had been over-priced. In their defence, ARDIGUA had shown that similar sized properties on the South Coast had been estimated to have the same or greater value. On 12th July 1995, Sergio Antonio Becerra Castillo, age 38, was shot to death by unidentified men in the restaurant he owned in Pajapita, San Marcos. Mr Becerra had been the intermediary and negotiator for the purchase of the El Paraiso plantation. The owner of the plantation and his attorney have also received multiple threatening phone calls insisting that they desist from selling the plantation.

AOTEAROA

Manu Caddie is in his seventh day of a hunger strike protesting against the continued threat of the New Zealand air force flying out and participating with Indonesia in military exercises at the end of August. At this stage it looks likely that the Skyhawks will fly out around the 28th of August. The air force is keeping the date pretty quiet (maybe in an effort to keep public protest and public awareness low).

Manu started his individual protest last Thursday 17th August, Indonesian Independence Day. He is keeping vigil every weekday, 11am to 12 noon outside the Ministry of External Relations and Trade and outside the Defence HQ 12 noon to 1pm. Although media releases have been sent to all national papers *none* have picked up on his efforts. Manu is looking to continue the hunger strike for another four days.

GERMANY

Oldenburg, Germany, 19th August (Reuter): Fears of fresh violence between anarchists and German police receded on Saturday as about 1,000 officers kept close watch on generally peaceful punks gathered for a weekend party, officials said. Eager to head off a repeat of fierce clashes that

rocked the city of Hanover two weeks ago, police in the northern town of Oldenburg briefly detained 42 people for rowdiness. Most had been released again by Saturday afternoon, police said.

Few leather-clad anarchists, known as punks, could be seen on the streets on Saturday after 100 of them and about 200 other people attended a youth-centre rock concert on Friday night.

Ten punks were taken into custody overnight for trying to break into a vacant house. Another was held for throwing rocks at police and one more for carrying a blank pistol.

Police had detained thirty punks on Friday, saying the drunken youths threw bottles at officers and planned to loot a supermarket. But witnesses said the youths had done nothing more dangerous than play soccer with beer cans.

Galvanised by forecasts that up to 1,000 punks could descend on Oldenburg for the weekend, the Lower Saxony state government beefed up police ranks and warned punks to stay away.

The government had faced intense criticism of its handling of the punk gathering known as "the days of chaos" in Hanover, when 179 police officers were injured in violent clashes that left some parts of the city looking like a war zone.

Around 1,200 punks were detained.

Reuter N: Copyright 1995, Reuters News Service

HONG KONG

In the aftermath of the 4th June commemoration, the April Fifth Action, Hong Kong, would like to make an appeal to the international community to denounce the assaults made by the Chinese Government against political activists, especially the workers, in China.

The activists in China have put up a heroic fight in the last couple of months. There have been workers protests, petitions and press conferences. These are signs that the Chinese Democracy Movement has made important progress since the 4th June crackdown six years ago.

Because of this, the Chinese Government has stepped up its repressions, for fear that the Movement might present a serious threat when social discontent and unrest have been building up for the last two to three years. Dozens of organisers have already been arrested in the past few months, among whom are Wei Jin-sang, Wong Dan, Lau Nin-chun and Chan Chi-ming, just to name a few prominent ones.

The Chinese Government has been especially brutal to workers who organise union activities. Three workers in Shencheng, just across the border of Hong Kong, were arrested last year for organising unions and distributing handbills. Unconfirmed reports said that they were sentenced to long prison terms.

Raven 28

includes

**Noam Chomsky
on the Restoration
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in Haiti**

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Through the Anarchist Press

Summer in England has rarely been so hot. In the metropolis the inhabitants have gone native. The local chemist is full of irate people looking for medicine to cope with the hot weather. A visit to the countryside brings little relief. The fields are parched and the sheep compete with the rabbits for grass. The moles are forced above the ground, the earth is too hard for them to tunnel through. But the citizens of London make no concessions and do not co-operate. Their million cars pour out their monoxide poison. They show no solidarity with the underground workers and ignore the industrial action.

This is a ruthless, violent society, dehumanised by government, by capitalism, by pressure groups. Atrocities have become commonplace. A local and well-liked man, young and civilised, courteous, was shot in the head by one of Mrs Thatcher's cast-outs. Outside his home tributes of flowers. And a traffic jam. In the country town the same. The houses shake as the juggernauts rattle through the high street past the building where Thomas Paine wrote *Common Sense*. We walk up the hill and look down the valley where the king's army was once defeated.

Radical tradition still flowers here. This was the town that defeated the poll tax. We can still see the local craftswomen at work, this is still an anarchist community. Watching the glassblower fills me with hope. The old skills are still preserved. We need that hot furnace and that gentle skill of blowing through the long pipe shaping a new world. The baby in his mother's arms watches and will remember.

It is not easy to suppress a tear for the young man shot in the head. What a waste of life, what a brutal ending to the life of a marvellous human being. Whom do I must curse? The teachers are at fault. Our rulers, our gun and armament manufacturers, our mentally ill military. At this very moment NATO warplanes are devastating my beloved grandmother's country. And the inheritors of the Revolution of Liberty, Equality and Radioactivity are farting their nuclear bombs into the South Pacific. How can you measure a young man's life against that?

Kropotkin said it (in *Act for Yourself* a hundred years ago: "The words Liberty, Equality and Fraternity are surely grand and glorious words. But what besides the words? Another word? Words painted on prison walls?" On the ground, on the exact spot where the king's army was defeated, there now stands an ugly vast prison. Authority's revenge, its feeble attempt to erase the truth, to break the spirit of the people. But the king was defeated and the walls of that prison will one day come down. We walk to the little island only a dozen miles from the sea. On the hilltop an ancient heap of a church or fortress who can now tell. Red brick pill-boxes left over from the last war. A cow's rump wedged in the entrance. Somewhere in southern England, as the war correspondents used to say so as not to give the exact location away. Loose talk costs life. Hush, Herr Major is listening. This is the last bit of the green belt. Encroached from all sides and parched. Ten years from now it could be a London suburb.

Earth felt the wound, / and Nature from her seat / Sighing through all her works gave signs of woe / That all was lost, said Milton. It's down to us, comrades, there is nobody else left except a nine month old child and a brave mother on the barricades. Are we going to stand up for humanity, comrades, or just continue with our forums and talking shops?

John Rety



Gentlemen's Walk, Norwich, 5th August 1995

Photo: Alan Cottey

Victims of the Bomb

To commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the atomic bombings, Norwich citizens were invited to help dismantle models of Little Boy and Fat Man, the cosily named bombs which destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Norwich CND's aim was to help the public overcome some of the psychological barriers to thinking about the problems of nuclear arms.

The project had a second aspect – we invited people, in reviewing the last fifty years, to think forward fifty years as well. They could cut out a small piece of the bomb's cover bearing a message, to be kept for posterity. The message ended "We invite you to keep this memento, so that you or others may reflect on the nuclear age in 2045".

The bombs bore about six hundred copies of the message and the project team managed to distribute nearly all of them, most to the public on the street. The others were mailed to a

selection of people including local government and religious leaders; educationists; friends and relatives.

The response from the public was encouraging, in that many people were friendly and many latched quickly onto the 2045 idea. There is still however little scope for optimism. Society's progress toward finding a way of living with the knowledge of the Bomb has, in fifty years, been slight.

One particular but intense evidence of this relates to the veterans of the War in the Pacific. I would like to share a personal assessment of this. The mass media have given high profile to these veterans' continuing bitterness. Journalists stereotype and exploit this, but it is a real phenomenon. Even so, I found it a shock to hear phrases like "I wish we'd had five A-bombs to drop on them" from a large number of older British people.

These people's venom calls for an explanation and the usual one – Jap atrocities – does not satisfy. All wars are atrocious. The idea of civilised war is no more than that, an idea. I suggest that the Pacific veterans may be unusual because of a conjunction of several factors:

- culture difference (between Japanese and Allies' norms of war);
- racism (we're British; they can't do this to us);
- guilt over own behaviour (to Asian residents as much as to Japanese);
- lack of psychological rehabilitation after demob (Blighty was by then more interested in European reconstruction);
- the Cold War (as if by magic, the Japanese became allies, leaving ordinary veterans feeling betrayed);
- the A-bomb (the assertion that the Bomb saved lives in the Pacific theatre is the principal element in the 'story', i.e. interpretation of history, constructed to justify the A-bombings. The more credible interpretation, that the war was extended to permit use of the Bomb, is deeply disturbing to the veterans);

To these special factors must be added a general feature, which all war veterans have to face. The state whips up patriotism at the beginning of a war but treats the victims stingily afterwards.

Small wonder, then, that the Pacific veterans seem to be suffering a kind of hysteria, even fifty years later. It is a terrible legacy, to which the A-bomb made an ironic contribution. Those directly involved will not be alive in 2045, but will the legacy be handed on? States and leaders seem to have an interest in preserving war as an acceptable institution. The abolition of war is possible, just as was the abolition of slavery. It starts at the bottom and takes a long time. Perhaps a sufficient ambition is that we use the next fifty years a lot more wisely than the last fifty.

Alan Cottey

McLibel defendants not to have transcripts

Believe it or not, the morning after a day in court the price of two copies of a transcript of that day's proceedings is more than £350. After 21 days the price comes down to £10 per copy.

When the McDonalds libel case finally reached court in June 1994, counsel for the plaintiffs told the judge that the object was not to get damages but to get an injunction prohibiting the defendants from repeating the libel (this would mean that if they subsequently repeated it they could be jailed for

contempt of court). The plaintiff agreed to pay court costs, win or lose.

Among the costs the plaintiff agreed to pay was the cost of supplying transcripts to the defence and the judge. But after the trial had been in session for 156 full days, spread over more than a year, plaintiff's counsel Richard Rampton QC said they would stop supplying transcripts to the defence unless the defendants undertook not to disseminate extracts. Such an undertaking would not prevent

the defendants from preparing their case. "What it would prevent, and this is what this is all about, is their disseminating it to journalists and the McLibel Support Campaign, and similar like-minded".

The defendants refused the undertaking, since they agree with the plaintiff that the case is all about dissemination.

They argued that the plaintiff had undertaken to supply transcripts and could not break the undertaking, that they should be allowed to borrow the Plaintiff's transcript and photocopy it, and finally that if they did not have transcripts the already gross inequalities of the parties would become so glaring as to amount to an abuse of process, so the trial should be stopped with costs awarded to the defendants.

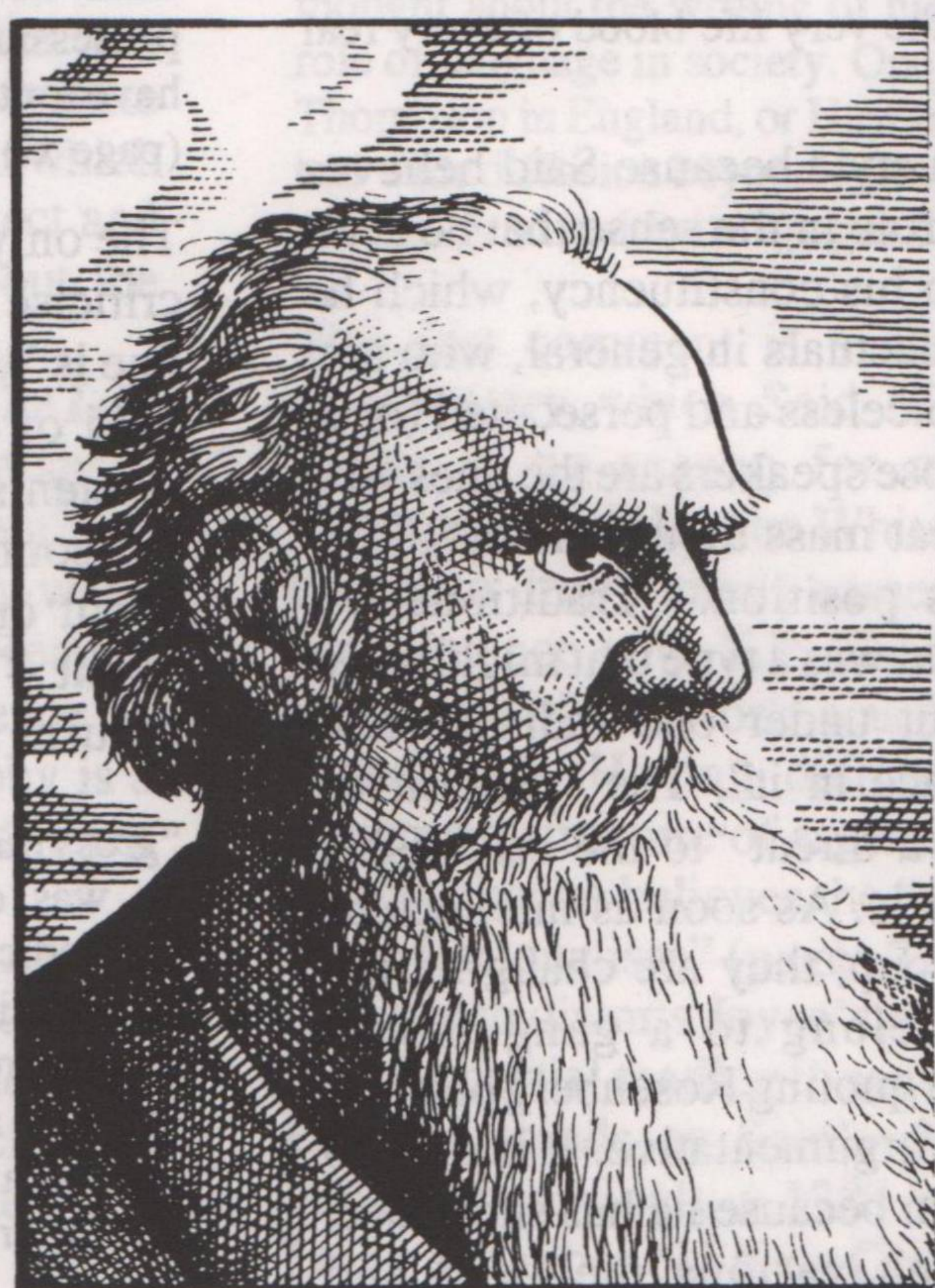
The judge took a few days to consider the arguments and ruled against them on 20th July. He refused leave to appeal on the grounds that the defendants had no case. The defendants applied to the Court of Appeal, who agreed with the judge.

Mr Justice Bell does not now have transcripts himself, since he feels "uncomfortable" about a judge having information not available to the defence. The case will resume after the summer break on 25th September (Court 35, Royal Courts of Justice, the Strand, London WC2 – demo outside the courthouse at 9.30-10.30am). The defendants intend to call forty witnesses about McDonalds employment practices. We presume that this is the evidence which McDonalds least wants disseminated. We will endeavour to keep readers informed.

(For the information of new readers, the 'McLibel' trial is an action for libel brought by the McDonalds fast food corporation against a couple of anarchists called Helen Steel and Dave Morris. Writs were originally issued against seven members of the London Greenpeace anarchist group – publishers of anti-McDonalds leaflets – all but two of whom withdrew under threat of bankruptcy, whether they won or lost. Helen and Dave can afford to stand firm because they have nothing to lose. Their penury is their strength.)

McLibel Support Campaign, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX (tel: 0171-713 1269)

LEO TOLSTOY Born 9th September 1828, died 20th November 1910. One of the greatest writers of modern times, Tolstoy was also a political radical and an anarchist, though for a long time he refused to accept that term for himself due to his categorical refutation of violence. After years in the army and the experience of the Crimean War



LEO TOLSTOY

(1852-57), he travelled to Western Europe, where he visited Proudhon in 1861, who deeply influenced him. He took the title of Proudhon's book *War and Peace* for his most famous novel. Government to him – and "not in despotic countries only, but in the countries nominally most free" – is always "an association of men who do violence to the rest".

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

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

The Conquest of Bread and other Writings
by Peter Kropotkin
edited by Marshall S. Shatz, Cambridge
University Press, £35 & £13.95

The Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, which now contains nearly sixty items, continues its progress through the main anarchist thinkers. Bakunin, Proudhon and Stirner are now followed by best known of all, Kropotkin. But, instead of a single work, this addition to the series contains several. The editor is Marshall Shatz, a professor of history at the University of Massachusetts, who produced the useful but unsatisfactory edition of Bakunin's *Statism and Anarchy* in the same series in 1991. This edition is less useful and more unsatisfactory.

Two-thirds of the book is taken by *The Conquest of Bread*, which was published in French in 1892 and in English in 1906, and which Shatz calls "Kropotkin's most detailed description of the anarchist society he envisioned". It was based on articles published in the main French anarchist paper, *Le Revolte* and *La Revolte*, from 1886 to 1891; Shatz puts them "in the 1880s". It was a sequel to *Words of a Rebel*, which appeared in French in 1885 and was based on an earlier series of articles; Shatz doesn't mention this important connection. He reproduces the text and preface of the revised English edition of 1913, without mentioning the translator or saying much about the circumstances of publication. He provides a sixteen-page introduction, of which only a couple of pages relate to this book.

This introduction includes several highly dubious statements. Shatz begins by suggesting that anarchism, unlike most "political, social and philosophical systems", came to the West from the East, through "the efforts of two Russians, Michael Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin"; but little of the anarchist ideology was derived from Russian theory or practice, and both Bakunin and Kropotkin became anarchists in and obtained most of their mature political ideas from Western

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD

Europe. Shatz says that when Kropotkin settled permanently in Britain in 1886 "he was cut off from the main centres of the anarchist movement, particularly the French-speaking areas of Europe"; but he was in close and constant touch with the French movement, and (as Shatz notes) contributed regularly to its press for the next thirty years. Shatz says that "he now became primarily a theorist and expounder of anarchist principles"; but this is what he had been from the start. Shatz says that Kropotkin had the "ability to write fluently in both French and English"; but his English was always clumsy and had to be edited to be acceptable. Shatz says that "he possessed the most well-developed and wide-ranging intellect ever to place itself in the service of anarchism"; but what about Elisee Reclus or Gustav Landauer or Max Nettlau? Shatz says that he acquired "what was probably the largest international audience of any Russian radical of his day"; but what about Tolstoy? Shatz says that *Fields, Factories and Workshops* "forms a kind of sequel to *The Conquest of Bread*"; but

it was written at the same time, and is actually not so much a sequel as a parallel, expounding non-revolutionary economics rather than revolutionary politics. Shatz discusses Kropotkin's attitude to violence, but misses the important distinction made by him and most anarchists between individual terrorism and mass insurrection. Shatz says that when Kropotkin supported the Allies in the First World War "a bitter split now took place in the international anarchist movement"; but hardly any anarchists sided with Kropotkin, and virtually the whole movement remained united against the war. Shatz says that "the anarchist movement in Russia ... came to an end" when the groups were suppressed in spring 1921; but it lasted a bit longer, as is shown by the editions of Kropotkin's books produced by anarchist publishers for another couple of years. And so on.

Apart from being such a poor edition of *The Conquest of Bread*, this isn't the only one. The Black Rose edition of 1990, which reproduces the text of the American edition of 1907, contains George Woodcock's introduction

and translation of Reclus's preface to the original French edition. The Elephant Editions edition of 1985, which reproduces the text of the British edition of 1972, contains Alfredo Bonanno's introduction. Above all, the Allen Lane edition of 1972, which consists of a corrected version of the text of the British edition of 1913, contains Paul Avrich's introduction and translation of Reclus's preface and also adds annotations using material from the Russian edition of 1922. The 1972 edition is by far the best; the two drawbacks are that it appeared only in hardback, and not as a paperback in the Pelican Classics for which it was intended, and that it is not easy to obtain.

The other third of this book contains several other items. There are four of Kropotkin's short writings on the Russian Revolution from 1920 - the *Message to the Workers of the Western World* and *What is to be done?* (both included in shortened versions in Roger Baldwin's anthology of 1927, though the former is given here in the complete original version), and two letters to Lenin (both included in Martin Miller's anthology of 1970). And there is the article on *Anarchism* from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* of 1910, given in the frequently reprinted inaccurate version (a corrected version is included in the Freedom Press Anarchist Classic booklet *Anarchism and Anarchist Communism* of 1987). All these are really a waste of space.

A more valuable item is the chapter on Western Europe from the Russian version of *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, translated by Shatz. This thirty-page text is well worth having in English for the first time, makes an interesting contrast with the version in the easily available English version, and is helpfully annotated, but seems rather out of place in such a book.

The final verdict must be that, while it is a good thing for new readers and especially students to read anything by Kropotkin, this particular collection is rather a mess.

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Representations of the Intellectual

I think Brian Morris's 'The Role of Intellectuals' (24th June and 8th July) is an excellent article, especially in his treatment of Russell Jacoby. However, I also think he is much too soft on Edward Said's Reith Lectures for 1993 (now a very expensive 121-page book*). In spite of the ringing call which Morris quotes, the most notable quality of these lectures is blandness, a collection of superficial platitudes which are often vague, sometimes contradictory and, worst of all, sometimes simply wrong. They are all designed to tweak us gently and make us feel good.

Said wants to include practically anyone who writes, thinks or speaks anywhere as an 'intellectual': talk show guests on television and radio, newspaper columnists, government and corporate employees, university professors and independents of all sorts. The names he drops would fill 15 of the 120 pages alone, and they are all well-known. Kissinger and Brzezinski get into the same chapter with Adorno and Thomas Mann. Antonio Gramsci gets paired off with Julien Benda as representative of Said's latitudinarian range over what he sees as 'left' and 'right'. During his struggles with newly loaded gender pronouns he gives us Virginia Woolf, I assume for the feminists, then James Baldwin and C.L.R. James for the blacks. Malcolm X, Foucault, C. Wright Mills, Walter Benjamin, Masao Miyoshi, V.S. Naipaul all get a mention among the many. There is not much attempt to say anything in depth about these 'intellectuals'; Said merely builds his list with thumb-nail sketches of their attempts to influence the nature and events of society in a large sense. But I think that he does have a position which he is trying to present: a straight middle-of-the-road liberal one, and it makes it impossible for him to be very precise in his judgements and his definitions.

Said might have done better to take some lessons from other commentators on intellectuals like Dwight Macdonald who, in 1953 (in *A Theory of Mass Culture*), repeated some distinctions commonly held at the time between 'brainworkers', "specialists whose thinking is pretty much

confined to their limited 'fields'", and 'intellectuals', those "who take all of culture for their province". Or, as a more recent example, he might have noted the distinctions made by Alec Nove in a book review in *Telos* 44, summer 1980, where Nove makes a distinction between the 'ruling group' or 'stratum' and the late nineteenth century East European definitions of the 'intelligentsia', "persons capable of critical and independent thought" or "critically-minded persons with education". But Said can't take that stand because he believes that in some way 'intellectuals' do have a place in the 'ruling group', himself included; therefore, he cannot be very specific about the position which an intellectual occupies. He is more concerned with style, 'image', 'signature' and 'performance' than he is with concrete, specific, intellectual activity:

"In the outpouring of studies about intellectuals there has been far too much defining of the intellectual, and not enough stock taken of the image, the signature, the actual intervention and performance, all of which taken together constitute the very life blood of every real intellectual." (page 13)

Substance is less important than style because Said believes that the intellectual has a public role in the sense that he is on a stage, 'testifying', speaking to his constituency, which he seems to believe is a class, intellectuals in general, who are, or should be, speaking for the voiceless and persecuted (or at least under-represented). And those speakers are the ones who influence both rulers and the great mass though them.

I prefer Harold Rosenberg's position. "Traditionally", Rosenberg writes, "the intellectual was a type that might show up in any layer of society, but under one indispensable condition: that he be out of place in it". The "passion for originality" makes intellectuals a threat "to the established order" no matter what that order is. As soon as intellectuals identify themselves with any group, they are changing into something different: "they belong to a gang, not to themselves". I would like to go on quoting Rosenberg because here is something definite, firm, argumentative. It is easy to argue against him or to praise him because he has substance, whereas Said muddles through various meliorist and essentially harmless platitudes. I would recommend to anyone interested in this subject Rosenberg's collection of

essays: in *Discovering the Present*, especially 'The Intellectual and his Future', 'Twilight of the Intellectuals', and 'The Herd of Independent Minds' and 'Couch Liberalism and the Guilty past' from *The Tradition of the New* for more feisty and interesting discussions of intellectuals than Said provides.

What gradually becomes clear in the book is that Said does have a model intellectual in mind, and it is himself. In his introduction to the book Said complains about his many critics on the grounds that they criticise his nationality rather than quoting what he has written:

"My unforgivable sin [in *Culture and Imperialism*] is my argument that Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* - a novel I praise as much as I do all her work - also has something to do with slavery and British-owned sugar plantations in Antigua, both of which of course she mentions quite specifically. My point was that just as Austen talks about the goings-on in Britain and in British overseas possessions so too must her twentieth century reader and critics, who have for too long focused on the former to the exclusion of the latter." (page xi)

The only critics I've read on his treatment of *Mansfield Park* criticise his treatment of the novel, not his nationality. This one is Wayne Burns in *The Vanishing Individual*: he accuses Said of outright 'misrepresentation'. Said writes that "Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* is about England and Antigua, and the connection is made explicitly by Austen: it is therefore about order at home and slavery abroad and can - indeed ought - to be read that way" (Burns quoting Said). Burns accuses Said, I think rightly, of:

"gross mis-statement ... no one [could read the novel that way] unless he was consumed with anti-imperialist zeal ... Said himself ... contradicts his own reading ... when he charges Jane Austen with sublimating 'the agonies of Caribbean existence to a mere half dozen passing references to Antigua'. To cover this contradiction ... Said invokes an amazing Postmodernist and Philistine principle: 'In reading a text one must open it out both to what went into it and what its author excluded'." (Burns, page 149)

This criticism, quoting line, chapter and verse, goes on for a (continued on page 6)

**Representations of the Intellectual: the 1993 Reith Lectures* by Edward W. Said, Pantheon Books, New York, 121 pages, \$27.95.

Rhythm in the Collective

Visions of Poesy

edited by Clifford Harper, Dennis Gould and Jeff Cloves
published by Freedom Press, £8.00

Animal Farm

by George Orwell, with illustrations by Ralph Steadman
published by Secker & Warburg, £14.99

Ever since Joe departed the toiling masses by way of the friendly undertaker, leaving the Russian people helpless and hopeless before the alien hordes of McDonald's hamburgers, there has been an inevitable down-market in the Stalinist exposé cottage industry for the Truth about the Purges and Sexual Orgies in the Kremlin has been overshadowed by charges of corruption against Britain's star football players. But it is good to know that the publishers Secker & Warburg, with a wistful smile, are publishing the fiftieth anniversary edition of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, illustrated by Steadman, with Orwell's agonising preface. Conceived in 1937 and written in 1943, it means that title-wise some small children will find an odd Christmas present in their stocking in 1995, for history has a very short shelf-life. Maybe hidden in the shadows of Ann's Tea Room sipping Earl Grey tea are elderly conservative liberals who did, and still do, accept *Animal Farm* as their ideological version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and work-scarred Trots eking out a pint on their meagre industrial pension, the last remnants of the Great Betrayal, the Trotskyist Old Comrades Association will finger the pages as their rosary or, given the taunt, flaunt it at the barman as their *j'accuse*, for Orwell's simplistic prose style and opinions are, like the parables of Christ, all things to all men. Like Priestley of *The Good Companions*, Orwell was a stereotype of the good simple honest Englishman who held that all his suppositions were eternal verities and to question them and to dispute them was to place oneself outside the pale. Four publishers refused, in war time, to publish *Animal Farm* and Orwell saw them

either as cowardly creatures of the state or the contaminated liberal intelligentsia creatures of the Kremlin.

Orwell, in his preface, seeks to give the illusion that he was one man standing alone in his exposé of the Stalinist state and his claim to bring before the British people, yea even in war time, was thwarted by cowardly vested interest, both ideological and plain self-serving. Yet he writes: "... throughout five years of war, during two or three of which we were fighting for national survival, countless books, pamphlets and articles advocating a compromise peace have been published without interference. More they have been published without exciting much disapproval." This reads like the hindsight of *The Raven's* 'World War Two'. Orwell's complaint appears to be that of so many an artist or poet who cannot find someone to provide a wall or a page for their *cri de coeur*. I never held Orwell to be a worthwhile writer for, be it *The Road to Wigan Pier* before or after, his books are the stuff of second-hand trays, always worthy, always dull. His essays always made interesting reading with their sense of moral outrage, and this is an act that has been taken over by Bernard Levin, Paul Johnson and Brian Sewell in that they appear to be the only ones who can see that the emperor is bollock-naked. Orwell conceived his exposé of the Stalinist state in 1937, a John Bunyan seeking to pen his *Pilgrim's Progress*, but George lad, in 1930, 1931, 1932, 1934, 1935 we sat at different times on the wooden steps of the Sulgrave Road Labour Exchange disputing centralised democracy, the rigging of the Soviet state trials and the faked evidence that we gleaned from the national media and the Trotskyist platforms and used in the Trotskyist trials ... Orwell was not the one solitary voice crying in the wilderness but one of many each in their small way seeking political truths from a corrupt or biased media. When Orwell reviewed Salvador Dali's (the supremo surrealist) autobiography he dismissed it, as I recall, as a book of filth. But, wrote Orwell, it is a work of art therefore should be published, and wrote Orwell the only things he would censor would be the pornographic postcards from Port Said for, like all good conservative liberals, Orwell believed in censorship always providing, comrade, that as always in that matter he/they

were the censor. If I wrong George then I can do no more than quote him (out of context as ever) when in his preface he wrote: "obviously it is not desirable that a government department should have any power of censorship (except security censorship, which no one objects to in wartime) over books



which are not officially sponsored", or "Now, when one demands liberty of speech and of the press, one is not demanding absolute liberty. There always must be, or at any rate there always will be, some degree of censorship, so long as organised societies endure."

In the matter of the late Sir Oswald Mosley, Britain's comic would-be fascist leader who in the Second World War was imprisoned under Section 18b as a threat to the war effort, Orwell writes in his preface: "In 1940 it was perfectly right to intern [imprison ... my insertion] Mosley, whether or not he had committed any technical crime. We were

fighting for our lives and could not allow a possible quisling to go free." If there is great foolishness it is to turn those you disagree with into martyrs. I hold, both then and now, that the most sensible thing in the matter of the ersatz fuhrer was a passage to the Bahamas, there to join the suspect Duke of Windsor in full luxury accommodation, minor harmless help-the-war-effort post and all the writing material they wanted, postage delayed until after war hostilities. It worked with the dim Duke so why not with Oswald.

The final quotation should be left to Orwell when he writes: "The press has some justified grievances, but on the whole the government has behaved well and is surprisingly tolerant of minority opinions." And the social historian with a political literary bent must ask why the late George Orwell's book (now illustrated by the brilliant comic cartoonist Ralph Steadman) has, ever faithful to the law of diminishing returns, become the comic illustrated bible of the aged conservative right-wing.

But to a more serious matter. After some years of bitterness it was good to welcome the publication of *Visions of Poesy*, an anthology of anarchist poetry. It is gossiped in the White Hart (mark II) that there was much bitterness and even physical brawling among the Angel Alley literati, a dragging of feet by the top brass and ol' 'I-wonder-what-happened-to ...' injecting his poison to suppress the anthology, but it was published and all credit to those responsible. It is a brilliant compilation of contemporary poetry from an honourable company, a manifesto of our time. If there is dross somewhere among this gold then it is honoured by association, but one can only congratulate the editors on the cast that they have assembled with pages of John Cage, five poems from Ginsberg, four epic poems from Ferlinghetti, plus the pleasure of reading Tuli Kupferberg and Kops and, spin the coin, the Sex Pistols, and the sadness contained in the poetry of Stevie Smith. I miss a poem by Sylvia Plath, but within a surfeit of richness who dare ask. Of myself, bias proclaiming, I turn time and again to the two brilliant poems 'The Abandoned Church' and 'The City was Quiet Today'. Beautiful in themselves, their emotion catches the heart and, as I sit opposite the young poet in the vomit-green sleaze of the White Hart II pub gently fingering his glass of Guinness, I marvel at those fortunate to be gifted of poetry.

Arthur Moysé

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(continued from page 5)

few pages and it is not at all a criticism of Said beyond his own writing assertions.

Said either can't or won't read what is on the page. He over-simplifies and distorts other writers to suit his purposes, and the examples are many, but I intend to focus on only two: James Joyce and Russell Jacoby. Only twice that I remember does Said take an aggressive stance against anyone whom he mentions, and one of those is an off-hand, undeveloped back-handed slap at Jean-Francois Lyotard: "I've always thought that Lyotard and his followers are admitting their own lazy incapacities, perhaps even indifference, rather than giving a correct assessment of what remains for the intellectual a truly vast array of opportunities despite postmodernism" (page 18). This is the sort of comment which passes for argument, but at least it is refreshingly direct and aggressive even though it tells us nothing at all about the writer's position which he means to attack.

The other example is his attack on Russell Jacoby's *The Last Intellectuals*. This book gets an inordinate amount of space compared to the host of other writers whom Said mentions. Jacoby is characterised as "a disaffected left-wing intellectual" "During the waning years of the Reagan administration" (page 69). I've inverted the sentence to emphasise the absurdity of the characterisation. Jacoby is a social historian who has published several books and is not particularly impressed with any 'administration'.

Jacoby's subtitle is *American Culture in the Age of Academe*, which clearly touches Said on a soft spot as is indicated in his summary of Jacoby's argument, "The result is that today's intellectual is most likely to be a closeted literature professor, with a secure income, and no interest in dealing with the world outside the classroom" (pages 70-71). Jacoby specifically refrains from discussing 'literature' professors (but Said is one) in this book, but he does bruise

some of Said's tender spots in his attack on academics who find universities a safe spot from which to sound profoundly critical while supporting a branch of the establishment as well as being part of a closed and obfuscating group, though he does not mention Said anywhere in this book. After his two and a half page summary of Jacoby's argument (lengthy for this book), Said writes:

"In the first place I think it is wrong to be invidious about the university, or even about the United States ... being an intellectual is not at all inconsistent with being an academic ... academic intellectuals - historians, for example - have totally re-shaped thought about the writing of history, the stability of traditions, the role of language in society. One thinks of Eric Hobsbawm and E.P. Thompson in England, or Hayden White in America. Their work has had wide diffusion beyond the academy, although it mostly was born and nurtured inside it." (pages 72-73)

This last comment is a clear example of the superficial commentary which Said offers as intellectual discussion. There is no reason for mentioning Hobsbawm, E.P. Thompson and Hayden White in the context of Jacoby's book except to drop famous names. And had Said even a cursory acquaintance with E.P. Thompson's work, he would know that none of his work was "born and nurtured inside" the "academy". Having dismissed Jacoby by distorting the integrated structure of argument and creating fragments of it, he says that he believes the "threat to the intellectual today ... is professionalism" (pages 73-74): Jacoby's very argument.

Said also distorts Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* by partial reading to satisfy his own concept, i.e. Stephen Dedalus stands as Said's fictional intellectual hero. Said quotes approvingly a 1985 book which repeats what Harry Levin and other old New Critics wrote about the novel in the 1950s: it is "the first novel in the English language in which the passion for thinking is fully presented" (page 16). In his

summary of the novel which follows, Said ignores entirely (as Levin did not) the single, crucial conflict running through the novel, the biological growth of Stephen's sexual drive - manifested in masturbation, fantasy, prostitutes - in conflict with his equally powerful absorption of morality. This paralysing collision, so lyrically and powerfully presented by Joyce, is ignored completely by Said. Stephen's eventual withdrawal from human contact - his view of males as well as females as non-sexual "bat-like souls" - and his gradual retreat into an abstract concept of art which turns the human into a generalised idea is, in the novel, clearly a safe retreat into anti-sexual sublimation.

Said sees this retreat as the "intellectual vocation"; therefore, the deep insight of the novel into the human dilemma is lost on Said as he joins Stephen in the superficial abstract. Said's idea of the task of the intellectual "is explicitly to universalise the crisis ..." (page 44). Stephen Dedalus's flight into idealisation of the superficial abstract makes him feel important: "Welcome, O life! I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race". The last ambition is clearly impossible, a 'race' can have no 'conscience', but Stephen is only 17 years old and this romantic corn reveals the fear and pain in his retreat.

Edward Said's similar set of retreats from exploration of concrete human experience and argument is offered to us as "intellectual vocation" of great importance, but it lacks the significant insight of art and the new awareness of intellectual argument. For Said, individuals become nations, races, people; that is, parts of groups who have group experience, part of 'feel good' mania. But as Rosenberg so cogently argues, there is no "common experience". We may experience common situations, but our experience is clearly our own ('The Herd of Independent Minds').

John R. Doherty

— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

Messing about in the water

Water is a topic that I've written about many times here and elsewhere. And I always notice that people have a short attention span for the complex history of who provides water to households. But suddenly, because of the drought, hosepipe bans and the threat of standpipes in the street, everyone has opinions about water. As Nick Watts put it in his radio phone-in programme on 22nd August: "The water companies blame the weather. Government blames the consumer. Labour blames the government. The consumers blame the water companies."

This was the day after the Department of the Environment issued its report *Water Conservation: Government Action*. Labour's spokesman Frank Dobson remarked that "twenty-nine paragraphs of this 71 paragraph document are devoted to water metering. The Conservatives want to force everybody to have a water meter." And he added that industry figures show that 826 million gallons of water are lost every day from leaking water company pipes which would not be affected by metering. "The government themselves admit that it would cost up to £200 per household to install water meters. That would cost the customers between £4 billion and £5 billion. Meters would also cost up to £500 million a year to run."

It was the experience of epidemics of cholera in the nineteenth century that led to efforts to ensure that every household had a supply of pure water, supplied either by local authorities or private companies with a limited dividend, known as statutory suppliers, who had to supply rich and poor alike. Bill Luckin in his history of the Thames in the nineteenth century remarks that the obligation to provide water had become such a universal goal among all parties that "whatever may have been their doubts about the explicitly political implications of municipalism, interventionism and collectivism, 'the salvation of the city' was nothing less than a binding moral duty".

And in 1887 Kropotkin, in his essay on *Anarchist Communism*, saw "water supplied to private dwellings, with a growing tendency towards disregarding the exact amount of it used by the individual", as one of the signs, along with free roads, free libraries, free public schools, parks and paved and lighted streets for everyone's use, as part of a shift towards a society in which "everybody contributing for the common well-being to the full extent of his capacities, shall enjoy also from the common stock of society to the fullest possible extent of his needs".

Socialists as well as anarchists thought the same. Neither anticipated two huge shifts in

political attitudes a century later. The first was the rise of the revived religion of the market and the privatisation of public goods at any cost. The other was the growth of ecological consciousness and the realisation that all resources are finite. For example, Sandra Postel in her book *The Last Oasis: Facing Water Scarcity* (Worldwatch/Earthscan, 1992) remarks that: "Amazingly, water charges for most British households are linked to the value of their home, and have nothing to do with actual consumption ... Trials in the United Kingdom have shown that metering can cut household use there by 10-15 percent".

She was probably unaware, of course, of the losses through leakages which everyone is talking about today. Whose fault are they?

Water, unlike gas and electricity, was not nationalised by the 1945 Labour government,

but under the Water Act of 1973, bringing what was thought to be a coherent policy to water supply, river management and sewage disposal. As Fred Pearce put it in his sadly out-of-print book *Watershed: the water crisis in Britain* (Junction Books, 1982):

"In 1974 the new broom of local government re-organisation swept away 100 water boards, 50 local council water undertakings, seven water committees, 27 river authorities, two river conservancies, 1,366 council sewerage undertakings and 27 joint sewerage authorities, and replaced them with ten regional water authorities to cover the whole of England and Wales ... The only survivors from the old system were thirty water companies, which were saved by Conservative ministers. The new authorities are strange hybrid bodies, neither nationalised industry nor local government ... And behind them all is a National Water Council appointed by ministers ..."

The supply and disposal of water thus became under direct control of central government, and the Treasury under both Labour and Conservative Chancellors steadily reduced the spending of the water authorities between 1974 and 1986. By 1982 the government was permitting the water industry to spend only half the sum it put into capital investment in 1974.

When the Conservative government came to power in 1979 no-one anticipated that one of its achievements would be to change the nature of water from a common good to a commodity. But ten years later, water joined the other publicly-owned utilities offered for sale to a public which already owned it collectively. For the government the sale was a race against time, since the ministers responsible were threatened with prosecution by the European Community and by environmental groups on water quality standards, while in coastal areas the discharge of sewage into the sea was already a public scandal needing huge expenditure. The sell-off left the government £1.4 billion out of pocket on the deal.

The water-using public – which means every household in the country – was bored by the fact that a priceless asset it owned had been sold at a loss in pursuit of a transient government ideology, but it soon became aware of the consequences. Every householder noticed that water bills increased on average by 67% between 1989-90 and 1994-95, while the companies' profits rose on

average by 20% a year from 1989-90 to 1992-93, and profit margins rose from 28.7% to 35.6%. Disquiet over water prices has grown with continual reports of the vast sums and share options that the directors and executives of the water companies have paid to themselves, by revelations that their diversifications outside the water industry have been a financial disaster, and that far less has been spent on the upgrading of plant and installations than the public was led to believe. Finally came the obscenity of poor families having their water supply cut off (see 'The Parish Pump' in *Freedom*, 24th June 1995).

And now the drought has focused attention on the laborious and unexciting task of replacing the crumbling Victorian structure of leaking pipes. No one blames the engineers of years gone by for failing to anticipate that 40-tonne trucks would be allowed to pulverise vital services beneath the roads without recompense, but everyone knows that iron corrodes, but it is obvious that both the old water authorities and the new water companies have had the wrong priorities for years.

It is fascinating to compare the public response to water problems in the drought of 1976 with the current situation. My local paper the *East Anglian Daily Times*, in a leading article on 22nd August, sounded exactly like an editorial in *Freedom*:

"Compared with the millions of gallons lost this way, the few pints that can be saved by the measures suggested seem a mere drop in the ocean.

Defending the report, Environment Secretary John Gummer insisted that 'sustained use of water required action by everyone'. He is right, of course, but he should not be surprised that public attitudes have shifted since the last big drought in 1976. Then the public rallied round to save water, by putting a brick in the lavatory cistern and recycling their washing-up water on the garden, as Mr Gummer was advising us to do last week.

But then water was public property, and the public had an interest in conserving it. We have since been re-educated, by Mr Gummer and his Cabinet colleagues, to think of water not as a natural resource but as a capitalist product.

Newly-privatised water companies have sought to justify exorbitant profits by telling us what a vastly improved service they are providing. They have rewarded themselves with enormous 'performance-related' pay rises. Are we not entitled to expect that, as long as we pay our bills, we should be able to use just as much of the stuff as we like?

And should it matter to the profit-centred water companies whether we choose to use it for watering our gardens or flushing the loo? Isn't the buyer entitled to use it as he likes – just like any other commercial product?

Of course, such attitudes do not fit well with conservation, but if conservation had been properly considered at the time, perhaps privatisation would not have seemed such a good idea.

The government remains wedded to the idea that metering will somehow magically resolve the problems of supply and demand, but even the water companies are not convinced that it would significantly reduce demand in the long run.

It could just as easily reinforce the attitude of: 'I'm paying for it, I can use as much as I like'.

Leakage control looks a far better investment, with a far better return, for water companies and consumers alike."

Just as our local paper suggests, the British have been re-educated to think of water as a capitalist product and not as a resource we all share and should conserve. But when the drought is over, and when the government changes, has the opposition and the public any idea of the structure it wants to see for the complicated task of treating water as a community asset? A return to the water authorities of 1974, or to the mostly local authority management before them?

There's a huge gap here in organisational theory and practice. Yet, as Kropotkin observed as long ago as 1912 in his *Modern Science and Anarchism*, if we take our ideas seriously we will be compelled to find new forms of organisation for the social functions that the state fulfils through the bureaucracy, and that "as long as this is not done, nothing will be done".

Colin Ward

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29**
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HAITIAN UPDATE

(continued from page 3)

strongly attacked by the radical left on the grounds that it was unfair, that there were significant improprieties, and so on. A number of major groups, including one of the largest peasant groups, boycotted the elections. It does appear that there were some improprieties, though certainly nothing as widespread as elections of the past. Remember, the UN and US did supervise these elections, etc. The biggest problem was in the countryside, I am told, where booths were not even set up in some places, even when they were officially supposed to be there.

There is no doubt that the Aristide folks stacked the decks in their own favour, but it was a real election, and, to a certain degree, Aristide does have the support of the largest portion of the poor, at least right now.

That leads to the third type of Aristide supporter – which is the US and the International community – who support him in rhetoric and for reasons of stability. They're assuming that tacit support of the Aristide regime is appropriate and necessary in order to keep any significant social upheaval from taking place, and are largely certain that Aristide will continue to basically take orders from the US and various international lending

agencies. He's done a remarkable job in meeting their demands, though many will not be played out until the next couple of years. Again, it's hard to know what Aristide's strategy is.

Freedom: If Haiti is to achieve any meaningful degree of independent development it will surely have to rely on the strength of its popular organisations. What traditions are there in Haiti in this respect?

JA: This is a crucial and a complex question. At face value, yes, the popular organisations are at the core of social revolution in Haiti. Those remain active today, and have been giving significant breathing room over the past months.

Really, dating back into the '70s there were strong peasant-based organisations, with really serious popular organising taking place after 1987 when Duvalier was ousted. That all culminated in what was basically one of the regions first major democratic, non-violent revolution in the election of Aristide.

In terms of groupings, there are basically four major bases of popular organising and resistance. The strongest, and the major base of support for Aristide, came from the church – not the centralised church, but small base communities, mostly lead by youth and by a group of radical liberation theology oriented priests. This grouping, better known as Ti

Legliz, is the truly dynamic and powerful force in Haiti and one that really follows Aristide's cue.

There have been many and varied Peasant groupings, with the most popular, the Peasant Movement of Papay (MPP) being the oldest and strongest – and, incidentally, one who's leadership is deeply anti-Aristide and anti-Lavalas these days.

Labour unions have played an important, though marginal role – there are few significant labour forces, but in those areas where accelerated light manufacturing is taking over the lives of the poor, labour has offered a basic structure of resistance. There are also various labour groupings that take their funding and direction from US sources.

Another major and important grouping came out of the resistance committees or neighbourhood committees in the urban slums. These groups fought and organised to protect one another, to fight for potable water, electricity and other basic social and economic rights. They were also the target of the greatest amount of terror during the coup years, as they were easy and visible targets that could have a significant demonstration affect on the masses of poor that lived in the mega-slums of Port-au-Prince.

So, ultimately, that is where significant change is coming from, even from the Lavalas/Aristide camp, despite what others think.

ANARCHISTS AND WORLD WAR TWO: ANSWERS TO A CRITIC

Dear Freedom,
Surely Peter Cadogan's diatribe about *The Raven* 29 on World War Two (*Freedom*, 19th August) should have been addressed to *The Raven* since not all *Freedom* readers see our quarterly journal (more's the pity!) and they can hardly be expected to judge whether Cadogan's summing up of that issue as "something of a shocker" is valid or a reflection on his hang-ups. After all his other *bête noire* is about anarchist terrorism which he again refers to in spite of having been demolished in his debate with Nicolas Walter.

Peter Cadogan is another of these intellectuals who are more involved in bandying words than in the day-to-day problems which affect the individual – and this includes taking decisions about whether to participate in war. For the benefit of readers who have not seen his 'recollections' of World War Two in *The Raven* 29* his opening sentences are surely significant but also damning so far as the arguments not only in that article but also in his letter to *Freedom*: "What did World War Two feel like to people at the time? To me, as to any number of others, the war was a great relief. I was stuck in an office, bored stiff, itching to get away – and lo! Deliverance! I was eighteen years old in September 1939 when I heard Chamberlain utter the fateful words: 'We are now at war with Germany'."

And our 'bored' Peter "promptly volunteered" for the Navy, etc. He was only 18 in those far-off days and he give us now a mini-autobiography and a list of the authors who mattered to him – such as Wells and Shaw – and confirms that "Churchill was the man of the hour and was plainly right. We had to fight" (*Raven* 29, page 36). No second thoughts fifty years later!

Indeed he has the nerve to launch an attack on the editors at the time: "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 1938-39, before the war or during the

* 'On Being There in World War Two' in *The Raven*, No. 29, pages 35-41.

phony war, the assumption being that judgements about those times will pass muster for the real war that followed."

What a load of nonsense. But it's no longer from an 18 year old bored employee but from an mature senior citizen full of intellectual pretensions.

In the first place those "pages of opinions" about the coming world war were not written by peace-makers but by anarchists who had been supporting the revolutionary struggle in Spain but, unlike the youthful Cadogan, could distinguish between the armed opposition by the people (not by the Spanish Republican government which was prepared to negotiate with the Francoist military uprising – surely Cadogan knows this) when he describes our support for the Spanish struggle and opposition in the late '30s to the coming world war as a contradiction?

Cadogan writes: "There is no mention of the fact that Hitler and Goering launched an actual attack on this country in 1940 and would have invaded ..."

But obviously it doesn't fit into his thesis that Hitler didn't declare war on this country. It was Chamberlain who declared war on Germany to defend, who? – little fascist Poland!

But if Cadogan cannot yet see that the main concern of the 'allies' was to halt Germany's expansion to the East, or that fundamentally for the Churchills and Chamberlains, just as for Hitler, Russia was the enemy, then the fact that Russia won the war (and paid with perhaps 25 million victims) hasn't yet sunk in.

One other thought for the 'just war' Cadogans. Is it not ironical that today the most prosperous capitalist nations (apart from the USA) are Germany and Japan who were defeated in Cadogan's crusade!

The other Cadogan *canard* is that anarchism has been permanently set back not only by the nineteenth century terrorists (in spite of the fact that tens of millions have been killed in wars since then and people still vote for politicians and governments!) but by our *opposition to war* – obviously just as you need two to make a war and good patriots like Cadogan 'know' that 'right' is always on our side! To quote him: "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."

He asks "and how much damage has the cover-up done to anarchism in Britain ever since?" and he compares it to his *bête noire* "that of the terrorist wing of international anarchism between 1870 and 1921".

First of all, as pointed out earlier, he hasn't understood what the struggle in Spain was in the first months. Nothing to do with fascism. It was a military uprising supported by the Right as a reaction to the Popular Front victory in the elections in February 1936. And before that Mussolini was able to invade Abyssinia without opposition from the so-called democracies. Just as Japan launched its war against China in 1937 without protests from the West. Only when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbour did the USA declare war. And Cadogan, though too innocent at the time, is now surely aware that US president Roosevelt declared in public that not one American life would be sacrificed in the European war. It was only when the Japanese declared war on the USA that the USA joined the European holocaust.

Far from the anarchists' opposition to the last war having harmed the anarchist cause, in this writer's opinion it is intellectual idiots like Peter Cadogan who have read too many books but who are not involved in what anarchism means, who do more harm to anarchism than the nineteenth century terrorists (who obviously keep him awake at night) whose objectives were at least politicians and dictators and not the main victims in the war Cadogan supported as alternative to the 'boredom' of his job, who were mainly civilians, conscripted or otherwise. He says "we need a new libertarian theory and practice of anarchism – either that or we get ourselves a new label". We believe anarchism doesn't need a new theory or a new label. We need more anarchists and a lot fewer Peter Cadogans distracting from the anarchist 'theory' with all their intellectual hang-ups!

Raven editor

Dear Comrades,
Peter Cadogan appears to belong to a new political species: the anarcho-jingoist. Though opposed to the British state, in 1940 he applauded the actions of a section of that state. Whenever the Royal Air Force shot down a German aircraft, a cheer from him would go up.

Peter Cadogan, it would seem, culled his 'facts' on the Second World War from the official propaganda machine. As a consequence, his remarks are a mixture of half-truths and lies.

To select some almost at random:

- It is not correct to say Hitler wanted to invade Britain; rather he wanted Britain as an ally, not as an enemy.
- Churchill was not popular. He was almost toppled by members of his own Cabinet in 1940, by public anger in 1942, before eventually being decisively seen off in 1945.
- Far from everybody pulling together, wartime Britain witnessed some of the biggest, most damaging industrial conflicts of modern times.
- Against the widespread discontent, the British state enacted a total of 868 regulations, giving the authorities almost unlimited powers. Yet, despite this, as the intelligence services secretly confided, they feared disorder getting completely out of hand.

I think Peter Cadogan, and any who think like him, should take time to read the radical press of the time. Journals like the *New Leader*, *Socialist Appeal*, *The Word* and *War Commentary* give an entirely different slant on events.

It was to these papers that I went for information when I wrote *The Struggle for Hearts and Minds*, a book of essays

on the Second World War recently published by Bewick Press. For it has always been clear to me – if not to Peter Cadogan – that the wartime media was the tame tabby of the British state. Left to the gentlemen of the press, truth would be as extinct as the dodo.

Raymond Challinor

The Bomb

Dear Editors,

A few days earlier than this time fifty years ago, a schoolfriend and I – both 21 year olds – were invited home to tea by a contemporary. When we arrived we found that Herbert Morrison, a friend of our contemporary's journalist father, had also been invited. My friend asked Morrison something that had been troubling us for several days. "Why didn't they just drop the bomb in a field first and tell the Japanese authorities to go and look at the hole?" "Well", answered Morrison, "I don't know, really".

An unusually candid illustration, by one of the two or three most senior ministers in a British Cabinet collaborating with the American administration, of the basic irresponsibility of governments of whatever kind and in every part of the world – an irresponsibility that patently continues undiminished today. How sad that more people do not recognise that it is governments, sustaining and sustained by the money-makers, that cause the greater part of human woes; but maybe there had never been a better time to persuade others of this truth.

Amorey Gethin

ANARCHIST NOTES

IN BRIEF

An obituary which has fascinated me, and perhaps *Freedom* readers can add more to that of the *Guardian* (5th August). It's about Tim Smale who died as a result of a fall on 24th July at the tender age of 17 and is described as a "student activist". His obituarist, Joseph McCarney, writes that: "Tim called himself 'a green anarchist' and was, as one might expect, deeply involved in the campaign against live animal exports from the local port of Shoreham."



Tim Smale . . . strength, resourcefulness and humour

He was also involved in organising a squat in Lewes on protest against the Criminal Justice Act. His obituarist observes "his keen political intelligence in the lessons he drew from that experience" – and he was apparently planning further squats.

He also writes that "Tim flashed like a meteor across the paths of very many people in his community and his death leaves a widespread sense of shock and sorrow".

If any *Freedom* readers in the Lewes or Shoreham areas knew Tim Smale and can contribute more about him, please do so. His obituarist concludes that: "his life was also a matter for celebration and gratitude. Tom Paine would have been proud of Tim, and we are too."

And without knowing him, we are too!

Paul Foss

When I read of various speed records I invariably ask: is it worth the effort and expense? There was a cyclist the other day who managed to reach a speed of 200 m.p.h. on a machine which cost something like one million pounds to develop. Not only did he have to be launched at 100 m.p.h. but then maintained his speed for thirty seconds and, to add insult to injury, travelled on the spot!

The other lunacy was the Concorde trip for eighty wealthy idiots who can tell their grandchildren not to read Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days* because they had done it from John F. Kennedy airport in "31 hours, 27 minutes and 49 seconds" including six refuelling stops (and time presumably to have a pee). So what?

I cannot help but think of the writer V.S. Pritchett who 'discovered' Spain in his youth on a two-year journey *on foot* – and had something to write about in memorable articles and books – remarking, in his old age, on the jet that "we are now all tourists"!

Having some time ago in *Freedom* described the mobile telephone as "the badge of slavery" I am sad to report that, according to the *Independent's* industrial correspondent (15th August): "the number of mobile telephone subscribers in the UK will more than treble to 13.2 million by the end of the decade from 4 million at present, according to Dataquest, the technology consultancy."

I don't know what vested interest Dataquest have in persuading the gullible public that they can't make the grade without a mobile phone hanging from one ear night and day, any more than I am convinced that I can't communicate if I don't include 'Windows 95' to my computer. After all Gates is spending £200 million in advertising to persuade us that we can't do without it. I can report that I still manage with my Bic pen to write all I want to write. The main problem in life is to have the time to think – and no machine will think for you – yes, other than what others have programmed it to 'think' for you!

Libertarian

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Welsh Anarchist Forum

Dear Comrades,

This letter is an appeal to all anarchists/libertarians living in Wales or with connections to Wales who recognise the limited influence and popularity of anarchist thought in Wales at present, partly due, I believe, to the fact that there is no anarchist propaganda in the Welsh language, so missing the opportunity of reaching that section of people whose first tongue is Welsh.

With this in mind, I am proposing we set up a Welsh Anarchist Forum to

debate issues as they affect Wales and what we can do about them, and with the aim of producing a bi-lingual anarchist periodical for Wales. If anyone is interested in getting involved or knows of any other moves in this direction, then please contact me at WAF, c/o Freedom Press.

Graham

What's your poison?

Dear Editors,

Whatever one's stance on the question of recreational drugs, there is just one word in your article (5th August 1995) with which I really must take issue. You write of "the human need to alter states of consciousness". There is never the need and, apart from pain relief in the terminally ill which is hardly recreational use, many people would never use mood-altering drugs because they would rather have their minds under their control rather than under the influence of drugs. In that way they see the world – warts and all – as it is: surely no bad thing.

Paul Foss

STOP PRESS

12th October will be the anniversary of the death of Mark Hopkins, a young worker electrocuted by a badly maintained unit at McDonalds in the Arndale Centre, Manchester. His parents are organising a picket of the store from 12 noon to 1pm on 12th October this year.

On the same day from 5pm to 6pm there will be a picket of McDonalds in the Strand, London (near Charing Cross station) organised by a trade union group, the Support Network for McDonalds Workers.

Support Network for McDonalds Workers, 56 Clarence Road, London E5 (tel: 0181-533 7111)

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- 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
- 22nd - 29th December no meetings

Anyone interested in giving a talk or leading a discussion, please contact either Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (telephone number 0181-847 0203, not too early in the day please) giving subject and prospective dates and we will do our best to accommodate.

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