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FIFTY PENCE

"What is clear in the programmes of both parties is that the people will still have no voice in their affairs."

Freedom editorial, 10th October 1964

TONY BLAIR: JESUS CHRIST OR PONTIUS PILATE?

The main headline of the *Sunday Times* (7th April) blazoned across the front page declares 'Official: Labour is Middle Class' and to ensure that there can be no misunderstanding the sub-heading explains 'New data shows Labour Party members are better off than Conservatives'.

Not to be, as it were, 'out-voted' by the Murdoch media mafia, the *Sunday Telegraph* of the same week not only splashed the front page with the headline 'Tony Blair: Can Conservatives be Christians' but the front page of the *Review* section was taken up with their hero's revelation

'Why I am a Christian' and a reproduction in colour of William Blake's airy-fairy painting of 'The Resurrection'. However, lest it should be felt that the *Sunday Telegraph* was going 'soft', we are glad to report that there was room to include an advertisement (paid, of course) in colour for the Charles Wells Family Brewery's (est. 1876) 'Bombardier Premium Bitter'. So all the spirits (mild) were united on that page!

We could not resist the temptation to poke fun, but the political implications are even more serious. The problem is not so much that the Labour Party is now 'middle class', the real problem is that it has been seeking the reins of *office and relative power* (as we keep on repeating, the *real power* is with the multinationals and transnationals) for the past seventeen years and, in almost a generation, the 'middle class' (that is people with the *wants*, not the *needs*, that a billionaire advertising budget bombards them with daily) has emerged, as Tony Blair and his politically ambitious mates are only too aware, *and they know that without these votes 10 Downing Street will not be theirs*. Hence his more than clear statements that the Labour Party is not the dog wagged by the trade union tail (so much for the Party that was created by what is apparently the 'tail').

To return to the *Sunday Times* 'revelation' about the Labour Party's 'middle class' voters being 'better off' than Conservatives. With a few maverick exceptions – like the ex-QC John Mortimer who probably votes Labour but who, in a half-page interview in the *Financial Mail on Sunday* (7th April) says a number of good things but *hasn't a clue* about how the poor have to live and have no hope of their situation changing for the better by a change of government. Mortimer knows only too well that a Labour government will do nothing to threaten his privileged status, and as intellectuals they have little time for the likes of John Major. Mortimer has the usual reflections of the well-off when asked: "What advice would you give children about money?"

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THE UNABOMBER: IS HE AN ANARCHIST?

A reclusive eccentric called Theodore Kaczynski is in custody in Montana. As we go to press, he is charged only with possession of 'an unauthorised weapon', a collection of junk alleged to be the makings of a bomb. His arrest, however, was reported throughout the international news media, because he is suspected of being the 'Unabomber', the terrorist who mailed and planted sixteen bombs in seventeen years, killing three and injuring more than twenty persons in the United States.

Wealthier news media will report and comment on the case as it develops. We do not propose to speculate on whether Mr Kaczynski is the Unabomber, but to discuss whether the Unabomber, whoever that may be, is an anarchist.

Anarchists are, by definition, opposed to people dominating other people by means of threats, especially if the coercive relationship is institutionalised. That is to say, they are opposed to government in all its forms. They may sometimes use one coercive institution against another, for instance the law courts against over-active police, but this is always a matter of expediency, never of principle. The only kinds of society with which anarchists can be content are those where nobody is the boss, and all relationships are on the basis of voluntary cooperation.

But the term 'anarchist' is often misapplied to mean anyone who uses illegal, secretive, violent means in pursuit of any social objective, however authoritarian.

A BBC radio commentator, one 5th November, described Guy Fawkes as 'an anarchist'. But the objective of Guy Fawkes and his associates was to restore Roman Catholicism, and the old custom of suppressing heresy by burning people.

Even a supposedly serious work, the *Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, describes Auguste Blanqui as a precursor of anarchism, and says Bakunin "continued the Blanqui line", although Blanqui advocated the seizure and use of coercive power, not its abolition.

The Unabomber was described in some newspapers as an anarchist before anything was known about his, her or their motives and opinions.

These opinions are now manifest. In April 1995, after seventeen years of unclaimed bombings, "the terrorist group FC" wrote to the press giving sufficient evidence for himself, herself or themselves to be confirmed as the Unabomber. As the price of discontinuing the bombs, the letter demanded that a manifesto of 232 numbered, long-winded paragraphs should be published in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. This was done, and the full text has since been published as a pamphlet by our contemporary *Green Anarchist*.

The manifesto denounces technology:

"130. Technology advances with great rapidity and threatens freedom at many different points at the same time (crowding, rules and regulations, increasing dependence of individuals on large organisations, propaganda and other psychological

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TONY BLAIR: CHRIST OR PILATE?

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"Forget it! The greatest luck I had, which I'd like my children to have is to know what you want to do and enjoy doing it. If, by chance, money comes with it, that's great."

This is the kind of crap you can expect from these privileged people who save their consciences (if they have any) voting Labour and living like lords. About money, he says:

"The only way of dealing with money is to have enough not to have to think about it. If you start thinking about it, your life is lost."

Mr Mortimer means by having 'enough' of the lolly when he points out that, as far as his money is concerned, "I don't deal with it at all, I have a wonderful accountant".

So, workers of the world, get yourselves Mr Mortimer's 'wonderful accountant' to perform more miracles with your dole payments, and the oldies with their £59 a week old age pension!

No wonder that Mr Blair is so popular where money matters. We spare readers the statistics used to justify the *Sunday Times* headline for space reasons only, but apart from the percentages of ABCs (whatever that means) now and 1992, which are said to confirm the *Sunday Times* headline, they quote Tony Blair as being "the catalyst for their conversion to the New Labour Party". Indeed, as confirmation to the extent that Blairism has moved to the right is that of a named stockbroker from Guildford "whose household earns more than £53,000 a year" - for 'working class' imbeciles, that's a little bit more than £1,000 a week - and who had been a "Conservative voter all his life until six months ago" when he decided to join Labour. It is important to quote, for our friends in the new 'underclass', this new Labour convert to realise what Blair's image is all about:

"I saw a speech on television by Blair and for the first time I realised that the new party was no longer hung up on class politics and holding back achievers. Blair's vision is to encourage us all and the party under his leadership will not hold it against me if I earn a little money." (*Sunday Times*, 7th April)

But not only does the *Sunday Times* quote this stockbroker to confirm that the Labour Party is, by no stretch of the imagination, *l'ami du peuple*, it is the *ami du capitale!* To quote the *Sunday Times*:

"Sun Life, the City insurance company chaired by Lord Douro, son of the Duke of Wellington, is donating money to the Labour Party for the first time. The sum is believed to be about £10,000." (our italics)

To be fair to Sun Life, their spokesman said that the company would still make donations to the Tories. Our conclusion: they are a bunch of bastards.

And indeed the former Tory MEP Mr Douro confirmed:

"... it was Labour that now offered the most attractive political package for the City: 'We have a Labour Party with some very good people in it who seem to have a very considerable understanding of the affairs of the City. The Labour Party seem to recognise the need to look again at City regulations, rather more so even than the government'."

Surely no better CV for the 'New' Labour Party and the prosperity of capitalism.

We must briefly turn to Mr Blair's Christian professions. The opening paragraphs of his *Sunday Telegraph* article will explain our headline. He writes:

"First, a politician's health warning: I can't stand politicians who wear God on their sleeves. I do not pretend to be any better or less selfish than anyone else. I do not believe that Christians should only vote Labour, and I do not discuss my religious beliefs unless asked and, when I do, discuss them personally. Of course they influence my politics, but I do not wish to force them on anyone else."

So the simple reply is why talk about your religious beliefs? (Why Catholic into the bargain?) And in a sense surely Blair, the politician, exposes himself when he virtually justifies the role of Pontius Pilate in sentencing Christ to execution:

"Pilate is fascinating because he is so obviously human and imperfect, torn between principle and political reality. Were the Gospels simply a didactic tale, his choice would be remembered as an easy one. But it is not described in this way.

The intriguing thing about Pilate is the degree to which he tried to do the good thing rather than the bad. He commands our moral attention not because he was a bad man, but because he was so nearly a good man. One can imagine him agonising, seeing that Jesus had done nothing wrong, and wishing to release him. Just as easily, however, one can envisage Pilate's advisers telling him of the risks, warning him not to cause a riot or inflame Jewish opinion. It is a timeless parable of political life.

It is possible to view Pilate as the archetypal political, caught on the horns of an age-old political dilemma. We know he did wrong, yet his is the struggle between right and what is expedient that has occurred throughout history. The Munich agreement of 1938 was a classic example of this, as were the debates surrounding the Great Reform Act of 1832 and the Corn Laws. And it is not always clear, even in retrospect, what is, in truth, right. Should we do what appears principled or what is politically expedient? Do you apply a utilitarian test or what is morally absolute?"

Surely this is a political *chez d'oeuvre*. Tony Blair, aka Pontius Pilate, is really a good man but political life demands that he may have to make decisions which may be 'expedient' - you have to make sacrifices somewhere. Isn't that a summary of Tony Blair and the Labour Party's programme? If we are right, 'God' certainly won't intervene - the Blairs and other worshippers (and he has the Pope as consultant) presumably go on praying for the right answer. Anarchists have no hesitation in declaring that the exploited - now referred to as the 'underclass' - can rely only on themselves to free them from the capitalist stranglehold. The Labour Party and the trade unions are part of *and* victims of the capitalist system. Most of the productive workers - in factories, on the land and in public services - are exploited labour-wise and underpaid. The unions are part of the capitalist system, but thanks also to the indifference of the exploited workers. Of course you are exploited, but until you, the exploited workers, rebel don't blame others! Don't expect the bosses to be concerned about your interests if you do nothing.

THE UNABOMBER: AN ANARCHIST?

(continued from page 1)

techniques, genetic engineering, invasion of privacy through surveillance devices and computers, etc.). To hold back any ONE of the threats to freedom would require a long different [*sic; misprint for difficult?*] social struggle. Those who want to protect freedom are overwhelmed by the sheer number of new attacks and the rapidity with which they develop, hence they become pathetic and no longer resist. To fight each of the threats separately would be futile. Success can be hoped for only by fighting the technological system as a whole; but that is revolution not reform."

Mr Kazcinsky eschews technology, dwelling in a shack without electricity or water, and riding a bicycle (a triumph of industrial technology which some cyclists like to imagine is primitive). The Unabomber denounces technology but uses it - sophisticated electrical equipment in the preparation of bombs, and something more sophisticated than a bicycle for moving bombs around the United States. A problem for those preparing the case against Mr Kazcinsky will be to show that, while living low-tech, he had access to high-tech when it suited him.

Dislike of technology is compatible with anarchism. A valued contributor to *Freedom* enjoys the occasional rant against technology, 'the scientists' and 'progress'. But delight in technology is also compatible with anarchism (if less fashionable), and the keenest opponents of technology are authoritarian 'eco-fascists'. An anti-technology stance is not essential to anarchism, and does not imply anarchism. Nor does the use of home-made bombs, for which

the Unabomber presents an interesting rationale:

"96. ... Take us (FC) for example. If we had never done anything violent and had submitted the present writings to a publisher, they probably would not have been accepted. If they had been accepted and published, they probably would not have attracted many readers, because it's more fun to watch the entertainment put out by the media than to read a sober essay. Even if these writings had many readers, most of these readers would soon have forgotten what they read as their minds were flooded by the mass of material to which the media exposes them. In order to get our message before the public with some chance of making a lasting impression, we had to kill people."

Some anarchists have used bombs, but most would rather remain unheard than kill people to attract attention. The majority of murderous fanatics are authoritarians.

The obvious way to find out whether the Unabomber is an anarchist is to search the Manifesto for references to government. And in fact we need read only paragraph 4 of 232 to find the information we require:

"4. We therefore advocate a revolution against the industrial system ... This is not to be a POLITICAL revolution. Its object will be to overthrow not governments but the economic and technological basis of the present society."

Admirably clear. The Unabomber is *not* an anarchist. Since we have no intention of killing anyone to emphasise our point, it will probably not be widely noticed. But for what it is worth, we call upon the media to stop referring to the Unabomber as an 'anti-tech anarchist'. 'Anti-tech' is true, 'anarchist' is false.

UNDERCOVER BRITAIN

Fay MacNiece's documentary 'Shabby Treatment' shown on Channel 4 this week helped to keep mental health care in the public domain and illustrated her belief that care in the community for the mentally ill is "a noble idea which has become a national scandal".

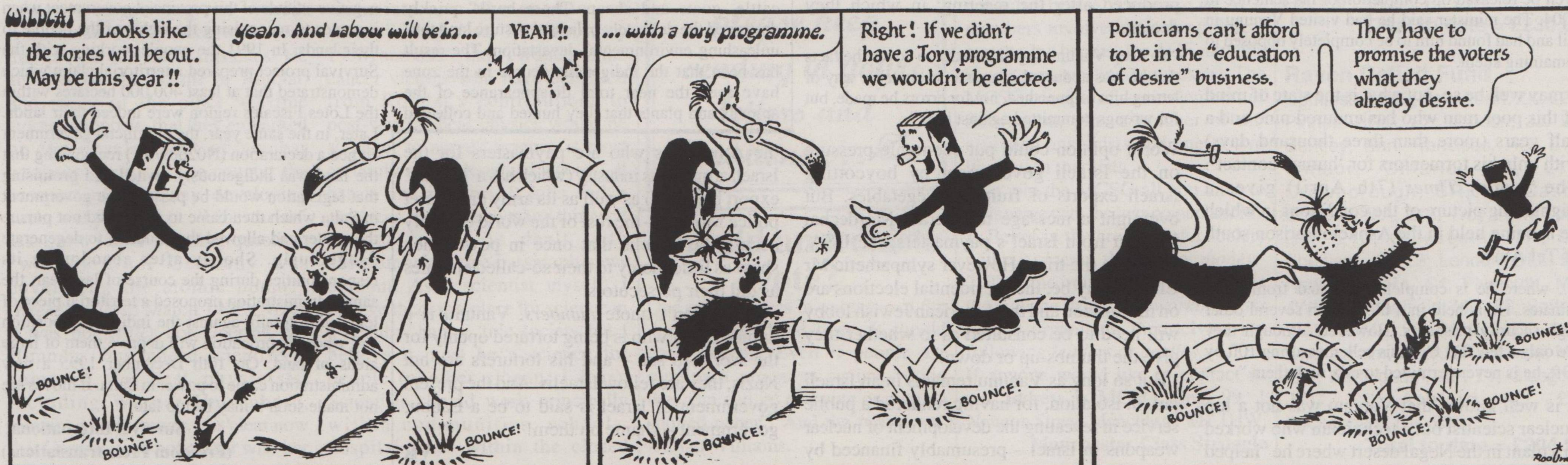
A former psychiatric patient herself, she travelled around the country covertly filming conditions in privately-run homes which claim to provide homes and services for patients discharged from psychiatric hospitals. The homes were at worst squalid and at best neglectful. In all cases, no trained staff were in post and often there were no support staff at all. In some cases private landlords were charging £200 per resident per week and houses were homes to ten residents. The charges in most cases were funded by Housing Benefit. Some proprietors had lists of imaginative daily activities to impress new tenants, their families and presumably their social workers. None of these activities were ever available. The film-maker, posing as a tenant, was instantly evicted when she challenged this and demanded her rights.

There are easy pickings to be had by unscrupulous landlords who learn very quickly that mentally ill people lack motivation and that the less you do for them the less they demand. The caring professions have always attracted the very best and the very worst types of care workers. It all depends on attitude and

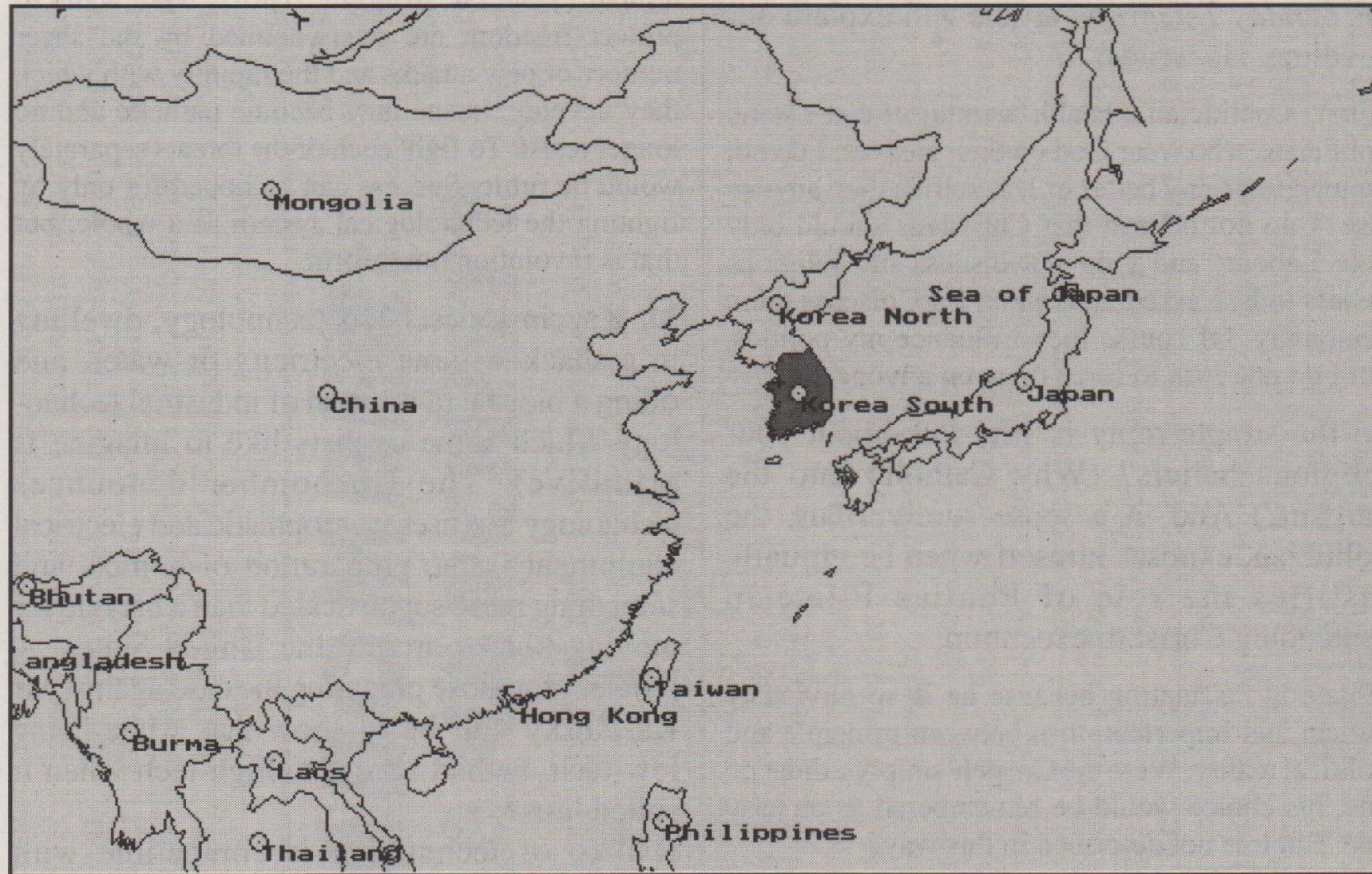
vision, and whether you really believe that all people are entitled to as much help as they need.

Angry films like 'Shabby Treatment' make depressing viewing and underline the many gross failings in a society which should demand better. What these films often lack, however, is much suggestion of how conditions for the mentally ill, the elderly and those with severe learning difficulties could, and in some places are, being improved. The danger in showing mentally ill people leading non-eventful lives, interspersed with outbursts of violent frustration, is that these people begin to be seen as no-hopers and we learn to avert our eyes, just as we do from the homeless on our streets. The documentary could have been balanced with evidence of how a large proportion of people with mental health problems are leading placid if not fruitful lives in the community in their own flats or in group homes which are well resourced, staffed by imaginative support workers and inspected regularly by local authority and lay inspectors.

Much has been said and written about mental health issues, especially since the closure of the large Victorian built mental hospitals. Just as the philanthropic ideals of the founders of these asylums were gradually eroded by under-resourcing, the vision of people involved in care in the community is being clouded by under-resourcing, greed and neglect.



Focus on ... SOUTH KOREA



The South Korean miracle continues unabated: 7% economic growth expected this year, government unemployment figures at around 2% and annual per capita income having recently passed the \$10,000 milestone. So why did nearly 200 owners of small businesses commit suicide last year?

Geared from the beginning, when under military dictatorship, to the international economy of (Japanese) value added goods South Korea did the sensible thing and remembered to build corporations in her own back yard. Unlike Hong Kong and Taiwan who have turned instead to legions of small firms and notorious sweatshops South Korea has seen the rise of the Chaebol – huge sprawling conglomerates whose tentacles reach out to dominate the commanding heights of the economy. These are the guys who command the heavy industry whilst the lighter technology is handled by the Japanese. The two – when times are fair – represent the wealth and capital of the country whose only resource available for exploitation is its labour.

In the '60s and '70s the Chaebol got all the breaks. Exporters got bank loans at heavily subsidised rates, tariffs on imported raw materials were suspended as was income tax. These policies taken together in some cases cut corporate costs by some 40% and by the beginning of the '80s the top thirty companies accounted for 60% of GNP and the top ten controlled a third of all exports. Such deliberate nurturing of big industry – going hand in hand with brutal labour suppression, again under the military dictatorship – also benefited in the 1980s from the strong Japanese Yen. The Korean Won – pegged to the US dollar – was able to soak up much of the Japanese South East Asian export gap.

The Chaebol, who were benefiting from all this, were essentially dynasties whose combined numbers formed a social class unto themselves benefiting from their symbiotic relationship with the state. The same of course could not be said for all Koreans. The 1985

census gave South Korea a population of 40.5 million which placed it as the world's fourth most densely populated country, with 408 persons per square kilometre. Nearly a quarter of the population was resident in the greater Seoul area. This is the home of wealth centred almost exclusively in the largest cities and their metropolitan regions where living standards are highest and public and private investment is most noticeable. The result is that the cities of Seoul, Incheon, and Anyang and the surrounding province of Gyeonggi, in the north-western corner of the country, constitute a clear core of prosperity with a fragmented periphery that corresponds to the highland regions of the south and north-east.

Today it is reported that around 20% of

Koreans control some 42% of the country's wealth. Recent budgetary policy threatens to deepen the divide with a growing group of destitute people at the bottom of the pile. At the lower end of society, it is estimated that over three million people live in poverty, reflected in a figure from the South Korean Economic Planning Board reporting that 7.7% of the entire population receive significant public assistance.

Indeed perhaps the situation would be even worse were it not for the traditional militancy of Korean labour who have always demanded their share. The Economic Planning Board calculated that industrial production and exports lost US \$3 billion in the first quarter of 1989 due to industrial action. Wages in '87

had been forced up by 12% and the following two years (88 and 89) both saw increases of 20%. The response of capital to such limited advances for labour was predictable: relocation. And indeed during 1989 no fewer than 250 medium sized firms relocated to south-east Asia.

Thus the economy is becoming more polarised. On the one hand we have non-Chaebol businesses which employ some 90% of the workforce. They have difficulty securing credit and suffer delayed payments from the big boys for subcontracted work. In addition they have to survive in the rarefied atmosphere of the world market. 14,000 went bankrupt last year and, as we say, the response of 250 of their owners was the ultimate one. "The governments economics policies are heaven for big business but hell for small companies", says Mr Lee Chong-chou in the *Financial Times* (2nd April 1996).

The situation was not helped by the disclosure last year that the Chaebol had given more than one billion dollars in payments to former presidents Roh Tae-woo and Chun Doo-hwan who are now on trial in a cynical move by the ruling party to win votes. We say cynical because the other culprits, those who gave the money, go unpunished as President Kim hesitates to attack the interests of those who hold the key to the country's economic future. Indeed the opposition is accusing Mr Kim – till now felt to be above reproach – of accepting illegal payments for his 1992 presidential campaign. In response the ruling party has accused the opposition of selling nominations in the recent general election in return for contributions. Of course the possibility that both accusations are true cannot be discounted: "The recent political scandals", said one electoral candidate, "have only convinced the public that all politicians are corrupt". Perhaps there is some hope.

The Transformation of South Korea by Robert E. Bedeski, published by Routledge.

MORDECHAI VANUNU 3,000 DAYS SOLITARY CONFINEMENT IN ISRAELI JAIL

Mordechai Vanunu, the Israeli nuclear technician who was sentenced to eighteen years imprisonment for having told the world (through the *Sunday Times*) of Israel's nuclear weapons build-up, has already spent nine and a half years of his sentence in solitary confinement.

The Israeli government has turned down yet another international delegation (including nuclear scientists and Susannah York, the actress) pleading if not for his release then at least for an end to the solitary confinement on the grounds that he could suffer permanent psychological damage if he remains isolated for much longer. David Libai, the Israeli justice minister (so-called) ruled out any change in the completely inhuman treatment of Vanunu. Indeed, in a public statement later he said there was:

"... no question of an early release and if Vanunu continued threatening to reveal secrets he might not even be released on completion of his sentence in 2004. The minister said he had visited Vanunu in jail and had found him to be completely opposed to remaining silent."

It may well be so, but what is the state of mind of this poor man who has endured nine and a half years (more than three thousand days) with only his tormentors for 'human contact'. The *Sunday Times* (7th April) gives a frightening picture of the conditions in which he is being held in the Ashkelon prison south of Tel Aviv:

"... where he is completely isolated from other inmates. He is held in a block with several other high security prisoners. However, although they are only a few feet from his cell, measuring 10ft by 13ft, he is never permitted to mix with them."

It is well known that Vanunu was not a top nuclear scientist but a technician who worked in a plant in the Negal desert where he "helped

to operate an underground plutonium separation plant". One member of the recent delegation, a Norwegian, pointed out to the minister that "Vanunu told the *Sunday Times* everything he knew about the nuclear plan". And because it is generally realised that this is so, there is, according to the *Sunday Times*:

"... a growing acceptance among security circles in Israel that Vanunu's isolation is not because he has any new nuclear secrets to divulge, but because he might reveal more details of his abduction. According to leaks, a hit-team from Mossad, Israel's feared secret intelligence unit, masterminded the operation and grabbed Vanunu as he entered an apartment in Rome's suburbs. The action broke both Italian and international law and Vanunu therefore has a legal case for redress if he were free to testify in a court, potentially damaging diplomatic relations between Italy and Israel."

And the international delegation has addressed this problem in their draft statement produced after the meeting, in which they declare:

"To keep Vanunu in jail in order to cover the facts that he was abducted is an unconscionable way of letting him be punished, not for errors he made, but for wrongs committed against him."

World opinion could put economic pressure on the Israeli government by boycotting Israeli exports of fruit and vegetables. But overnight a message to liberate Mordechai Vanunu from Israel's paymasters, the USA, would do the trick. However sympathetic Mr Clinton may be, the presidential elections are on the horizon and the American Jewish lobby will need to be consulted as to whether they give the thumbs-up or down!

But so long as Vanunu remains in an Israeli jail, in isolation, for having rendered a public service in revealing the development of nuclear weapons in Israel – presumably financed by

INVASION OF WICHI TERRITORIES IN NORTHERN ARGENTINA

Despite the government's promises to recognise their land rights, indigenous peoples' demands in Northern Argentina have been repeatedly ignored and the government now has given the go-ahead for developmental plans in the area without any consultation with local indigenous peoples.

There are some 50,000 Wichi who live in Bolivia and Argentina. In the disputed zone known as Lotes Fiscales 55 and 14 (some 600,000 hectares) some 5,000 Wichi live in small communities of indigenous peoples – Chorote, Toba and Chulupi. Their small huts made of mud, branches and leaves adapt themselves well to the high temperatures which reach 50 degrees in the shade during the summer months. During the dry months in the winter they rely on the fish in the Pilcomayo river. During the rainy summers they cultivate maize, melons, kidney beans and squashes and throughout the whole year they hunt deer, armadillos, peccaries and iguanas whilst gathering honey.

The problems of the indigenous peoples go back as far as the early part of this century, when creole conquistadors moved into the area with herds of cattle, goats and sheep. These herds quickly destroyed the delicately balanced pasture land thus unleashing environmental devastation. The result has been that the indigenous people in the zone have seen the near total disappearance of the animals and plants that they hunted and collected

the Americans who are paymasters for the Israeli armaments industry (which has a 'healthy' export business) as well as its army and secret police Mossad – the rest of the world can only accuse the Israelis that once in power they show as little mercy to their so-called enemies as did their persecutors.

Please don't quote numbers. Vanunu is a human being who is being tortured openly for the world to see – and his torturers are not Nazis, they are fellow Israelis. And the present government of Israel is said to be a Labour government – shame on them!

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and, as a result of this, malnutrition and even death from hunger is well known. As the Wichi say: 'Our land has died and we are dying of hunger'.

The situation has deteriorated with the 'developmental' plans of the government for the zone passed without discussion. A bridge is being built over the River Pilcomayo (which forms the frontier between Argentina and Paraguay) next to a small village called Nopok Wet (Peace). The Wichi have been told that their village will be replaced by a new border town. Moreover, the government plans to build a motorway which will cross the Wichi territory to link this town with Tartagal. All this is part of a development plan to link Paraguay to the North East of Argentina and, ultimately Chile to Brazil and the Pacific to the Atlantic.

The indigenous people maintain that the bridge and the 'development' programmes are a terrible threat to their land rights and the local environment. The government of Salta province has made no study of the impact this project will have on the indigenous peoples' villages.

At the bottom of all these problems is the continuing negative attitude of this provincial government when it comes to recognising the rights of the people to their lands. In 1991 the people working with the Survival project prepared a territorial claim which demonstrated that at least 400,000 hectares within the Lotes Fiscales region were indeed their lands. Later, in the same year, the provincial government signed a declaration (N02609/91) recognising that the land was indigenously owned and promising that legislation would be passed. The government in Salta which then came to power did not pursue the matter and allowed the situation to degenerate dangerously. Shortly after abandoning its responsibilities during the course of last year, the same administration proposed a territorial piece of legislation totally against the indigenous position and whose approbation will deprive them of large areas of land. On 10th December 1995 a new administration came to power in Salta. If moves are not made soon it may be too late.

Survival International
(Freedom Press translations)

JOB SEEKERS ALLOWANCE PANSIES FOR MS BAINBRIDGE

In the novel by James Hadley Chase there may have been *No Orchids for Miss Blandish*, but if the Manchester Campaign Against the Job Seekers Allowance has its way there will be plenty of pansies for Ms Bainbridge this week. Joan Bainbridge is the local manager of the Cheetham Hill Job Centre. The Cheetham Hill office is part of the government pilot scheme in Manchester to test the water before the Job Seekers Allowance hits the dole queues next October.

Pansy is not just the name of a flower – the winter flowering variety which is now in bloom – but is also the nickname given to a certain type of political activist by the functionaries who administer the Job Centres. Recently a packed meeting in a pub on Shude Hill, to launch the Manchester Campaign Against the JSA, was told that they were PANSIES – Political Activists Not Seeking Employment Satisfactorily.

This week the PANSIES of Manchester will be out in force! Many of them will be both inside and outside the office of Ms Bainbridge, for Joan Bainbridge is making a name for herself in the area by bragging that she single-handedly has “stopped more people’s benefit than any other manager in the north west of England”.

Following this announcement the Manchester campaigners decided to target the Cheetham Hill Unemployment Bureau Office in Crescent Road, as a kind of cultural black spot deserving of their attention. Last week a meeting determined upon a picket of the Job Centre on 18th April, starting at 10.30am.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE JSA

The meetings of the Anti-JSA Campaign in Manchester have been initiated by the Manchester Class Struggle Group. About a thousand leaflets were distributed, and a vast number of posters were put up before the first meeting. That meeting was addressed by an activist – a PANSY, if you like – from Sheffield.

Before that meeting there had been a picket on 22nd March at Cheetham Hill, and a demonstration march in Manchester. At a later meeting, held at The Vine, more activists were drawn from Salford and Eccles. Thus a wider circle of support was being drawn upon from Ashton, Cheetham Hill, Rochdale, South Manchester and even Todmorden.

The next meeting of the Campaign Against the JSA is to be held at The Vine Inn in Manchester on 24th April at 7.30pm. Next month I understand the Solidarity Federation is to hold a meeting in Manchester to decide its attitude to the Campaign Against the JSA. It is anticipated that the Federation will throw its weight behind the struggle.

THE WORLD IS MEAN

What of Ms Bainbridge and her record of taking money away from the poor and unemployed? Well, the accepted procedure is to issue a formal warning to officials guilty of harassment of clients.

Joan Bainbridge, Cheetham Hill UBO manager, has now been registered as an offender who is harassing claimants. When we fall foul in our jobs we may get a written warning. Ms

Bainbridge must understand that in her own interests we are drawing her attention to what might be certain human failings in the way she is said to be treating the claimants and the unemployed.

No doubt the Manchester Campaign Against the JSA will decide what warning it will issue, govern all the circumstances of the case. An appeal from Ms Bainbridge would be considered if she feels that she is not getting a fair crack of the whip: it is for her to approach the Campaign.

For my part, I intend to send the good lady a winter flowering pansy as a reminder of the tragedy of the human condition. She can use it as a bookmark to keep her place in her office diary. I urge more diplomacy upon her – because hostility to her may not just come from benefit claimants, but from the staff unions who are also on record as opposing the JSA.

As we contemplate the pansy we should remember it as the common name for a form of viola, a fairly fast-growing bushy perennial. If we treat the weak, the poor and the unemployed badly, let it be a reminder to us all of the misery we inflict to reach government-imposed targets and get inhuman incentive payments.

*“To be aglow, instead of low – but you know circumstance won’t have it so.
And when we ask for bread to eat, get not a stone!”*

The ballad of *The World is Mean*, and there will be plenty of stones before Christmas.

Mack the Knife

Yorkshire Miners Gala 15th June in Barnsley

Despite the most viciously anti-union management team at the newly privatised colliery, despite blacklisting of all NUM activists, and a wave of industrial terrorism aimed at wiping out the union, Hatfield Main NUM Branch, once the most militant in Yorkshire, still remains.

Although the majority of men at the pit are now running scared and have left the union, others are holding on. The communities in which this pit stands retain their history of class struggle and resistance.

For all of these reasons, the presence of Hatfield Main NUM at the annual gala, and marching round the village with our band and banner prior to setting off, is more than just an enjoyable day out, but is a demonstration that we are still here with our ‘traditional values’ intact.

We invite all sections of the trade union, socialist and revolutionary movements to accompany us on the day, round the village, at Barnsley and then in the evening at our celebration social of mining music and song. We can arrange accommodation in the community hall for those prepared to bring sleeping bags who wish to stay over. Some B&B accommodation is available nearby at Hatfield and Thorne.

Please let me know if you wish to stay over and if you intend to participate on the day.

Dave Douglass
16 Abbeyfield Road
Dunscroft
Doncaster

— OBITUARY —

BEN CHANDLER: FAREWELL MATE!

In the letter columns Jim Huggon affectionately remembers Ben the printer in the mid-sixties onwards. I first met Ben in 1942 when as a result of a number of problems, financial and political, with one of our printers (I have written more about these problems in ‘Printers We Have Known, 1936-1986’*) we had the opportunity of taking over the Express Printers whose previous owner had been killed in action in the war. For £500 (that’s about £10,000 at today’s prices) we took over the press and tenants of 84a (which has since been taken over by the Whitechapel Art Gallery and rebuilt). Dick Pugh (senior), a World War One pacifist and a printer, agreed to get us moving. All this is relevant because the man who was to operate the eighty year old machine was Ben! Ben was a Thames waterman, and I can only imagine that he had not been called up (it was wartime and he was only 32 and very fit) because so long as his identity was that of a waterman he would be in a ‘reserved occupation’. But perhaps Ben and Dick had produced the ideal Identity Card (which we were all supposed to have – which some of the present government are trying to re-introduce and, in my opinion, with less success than in Ben’s time).

Ben was an example of somebody who had no intellectual pretensions, had skills and common sense which made him never feel inferior to his fellow beings. Dear Ben was underpaid but accepted the fact, knowing that nobody at Freedom Press was paid. He was a master with that eighty year old machine. For the centenary issue I praised the way he would hand-feed that geriatric machine “with sheets of paper 35 inches by 22½ inches with the kind of skill completely unknown today”. I enjoyed his friendship and Freedom Press publications were printed by our ‘exploited’

(but loved) printer Ben for thirty years.

After he had retired I kept in touch with him by telephone (thanks to the local council who had installed a telephone at their expense and which he could use without payment). In spite of the fact that he was, in his last years, virtually blind, whenever we spoke to each other he was Ben: forceful and cheerful as ever.

Not for any other reason than to say that this dear friend was so often in my thoughts, I would add that we sent him a regular cheque at Christmas to invite him to get a few bottles of the ‘hard stuff’ to keep up his spirits. And he would respond right up to last Christmas. He died last month at the age of 85. Ben was, for me, a dear friend and comrade.

Vernon Richards

* In *Freedom: A Hundred Years*, October 1886 to October 1986, Freedom Press, A4, 88 pages, hardback, £10 (post free inland, add 15% overseas).

London Land Occupation

At a meeting at the Battlebridge Centre, King’s Cross, organised by The Land is Ours, which was attended by over seventy people, it was revealed that at least three large sites have been earmarked for the proposed occupation on 5th May. The occupation is to last for at least a week, during which time the vacant land will be converted by hundreds of activists from all over the country in to a sustainable village, with gardens, farms and community projects. The excellently-run and organised preliminary meeting set up several sub-groups which held detailed discussions and then reported back to the mass meeting. Nobody should underestimate the importance of this project, the dedication of those taking part and its implications for the anarchist movement. Clearly this is an area where anarchist initiative passes into anarchist practice, and all readers living in London are urged to take part, or at least visit the site, which is kept secret for obvious reasons until noon on Sunday 5th May. Coaches, however, will leave for the site from 190 Shepherds Bush Road, London W6, at 10am on 5th May. Those who wish to join later should telephone 01865 722016 from noon of the same day onwards.

We must reclaim the land for ourselves. Not elections, but direct action! The time has come to put land back into the hands of the community. This occupation is for real and it is hoped that once the land is reclaimed homeless people will be able to make their homes on a permanent basis.

For those who wish to help fully in the preparation of this project, here is your chance to involve yourself in whatever capacity you think best fits the occasion.

Contacts:

Builders / designers / carpenters / craftspeople: Ernest on 0181 672 9698.

Perma / horticulturists: Lynn on 0181 671 2954.

Entertainers / alternative energy riggers: Shane on 0181-671 5936.

Press / radio / bureaux: George on 01865 724360.

Legal skills: Jim on 0171 837 7580.

Materials:

Scaffolding / bender poles / tarpaulins / wind generators / mural paint / tilley lamps / plywood / carpet / straw bales or any other building materials / hand tools / nuts and screws / vans / flat-bed truck / kango hammer / ladders / rope / firewood / wheelbarrows / seeds and seedlings / leaf-mould / sawdust / wood-ash / compost. If you can lay your hands on any of these things, telephone Jacklyn on 0171 249 9114 for a pick-up point or to tell you where to take them.

It is hoped that at least one tent will be put up for *Freedom* readers and contributors. There will be numerous events and projects from solar powered telephone exchanges to talks.

As we said before (see *Freedom*, 13th May 1995) in connection with the tremendous Wisley occupation: “LAND is the big issue!”
John Rety

out now from Freedom Press

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edited & introduced by Vernon Richards

Though complete in itself, this volume is intended as a ‘supplementary’ to *Errico Malatesta: His Life and Ideas*. The importance of this volume is that 23 articles published between 1924 and 1931 – the last years of his life – have been translated in full for the first time and deal with issues which were of much concern amongst anarchists and which this editor considers to be as relevant today as when they were written.

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A STRANGE CONSERVATISM

The popularity of conservatism in the United States presents many difficulties to the outside observer. Those of us raised on the image of conservatism as a love of hierarchy and the state are at a loss when presented with this so-called 'right-wing populism'. We should not swallow the media's shrill cries of racism and fascism, for American 'conservatism' is very complex and diverse. To understand it we must go back more than 125 years.

In the decade following the Civil War, farmers were gouged by the railroads and banks. They responded by forming the Grange Movement advocating currency reform and cooperation. Artisans frustrated with the growing power of the corporations formed trade unions and joined the Knights of Labor. These dissidents came together in 1876 to form the Greenback Party, the first true populist party. The basic populist principles, which one hears even today, were: rejection of centralisation and big government, hostility to the Eastern establishment, banks and big business and opposition to war and imperialism.

These angry farmers and labourers wanted a return to the decentralist principles of Thomas Jefferson and the Constitution. In this manner, the populists were conservative, but they did not reject industrialisation or modernity, favouring such reforms as the eight-hour day and nationalisation of the railroads. Greenback monetary theories were also influenced by individualist anarchism. Henry George's Single Tax had many party

supporters as well.

The Greenbackers joined with other groups in 1892 to form the People's Party. The populists became so influential that a majority of the Democratic Party under William Jennings Bryan allied with them. Bryan came close to winning the 1896 presidential election, the high point of the movement. By 1912 the People's Party had folded and many populists joined the progressives. A host of populist parties formed and faded away in the next 25 years. They included 'Fighting Bob', LaFollette's Progressive Party, the Non-Partisans, Single-Tax, the Union Party and Farmer-Labor. In 1924 the Greenback Party was revived and existed until the 1960s, no doubt influencing present-day criticisms of the Federal Reserve Banking system.

As one might expect, the populists opposed the First World War. Their reward was vilification as 'German agents'. After the war they succeeded in keeping the US out of the League of Nations and were branded 'isolationists'. A powerful bomb exploded on Wall Street and blame was placed on anarchists. (An early version of Oklahoma City?) This gave the pretext for the Palmer Raids – a round-up and deportation of hundreds of foreign-born Americans, an act fought by populists.

The 'isolationists' knew another world war was in the making and struggled to keep the United States out of it. Franklin Roosevelt needed their support for the New Deal, and tried to pacify them by claiming opposition to the war. Individualist anarchists such as

Albert J. Nock, a follower of Henry George and Thomas Jefferson, attacked the New Deal as virulent statism. By the late 1930s this critique began to make headway among the populists.

The America First Committee was formed in 1940 to keep America out of World War Two. Many, if not most, populists and libertarians supported the Committee which was soon vilified in the media as Nazi, Anti-Semitic loonies. (Sound familiar?) By now AFC populists like William E. Borah and Burton K. Wheeler had made their definitive break with Roosevelt and the New Deal, attacking him as a potential dictator. About this time the term 'conservative' or 'right-wing' began to be applied to people like them. There is some sense to this. After all, when statism, centralisation and imperialism are considered 'progressive', the opposite opinion must be 'reactionary'.

After World War Two the old populists and individualists maintained their 'isolationism', opposing both the draft and the Korean War. They were eventually given the name 'Old Right'. Frank Chodorov, a former Georgist, took over Nock's journal *Freeman* and kept individualist anarchism alive. By the mid-1950s the 'Old Right' was pushed aside by new tendencies claiming the mantle of conservatism. The most important of these was William E. Buckley's *National Review*, espousing a European-style Catholic conservatism. (Globalism, a love of hierarchy and a strong state.) This became the dominant form of conservatism. Populism went

underground for a generation, surviving in small groups and newsletters. The individualists joined forces with the free-market liberal followers of Von Mises, Hayek and Friedman.

The 'Old Right' came together with the new conservatives in the Goldwater campaign, but hived-off soon after. The most radical of the free-marketeers like Murray Rothbard endorsed anarchism and formed an alliance with the New Left. This agreement fell apart when the New Left was taken over by Marxist-Leninists. In 1972 free market anarchists and limited-state libertarians formed the Libertarian Party.

The 'silent majority' was not interested in the radicalism promoted by the Libertarians and the residual populists. They were enthralled by the corporate liberalism of Johnson and Nixon. However, by the 1980s the situation changed. The loss of good paying jobs, the cancer-like growth of the state, high taxes and social breakdown radicalised the 'middle Americans'. Many began to take libertarian ideas seriously and dusted off the old populist principles.

For outsiders it is a strange conservatism that is opposed to the state, imperialism and big business. One should also be careful with the term 'right-wing populism'. This is a misnomer – if populism was right-wing in the European sense it would not be populism at all. Not to say they don't have some opinions on social issues that would make a leftist cringe, or that neo-nazi and white supremacist groups don't try to colonise the movement. Of course they do, but that doesn't make populism fascist any more than Communist penetration of the Peace Movement made it Stalinist.

Larry Gambone

ANARCHIST COMMENTS IN BRIEF

BUSINESS IS GOOD FOR TAKEOVERS ... and bad for jobs, since the price for every takeover is redundancies, voluntary or imposed. According to the *Independent's* business news editor (5th April): "Records for takeovers and mergers on both sides of the Atlantic are set to be broken again this year. More than \$109 billion (£71 billion) of deals were struck in the US and almost £6 billion worth of takeovers were completed in the UK in the first quarter of 1996."

And all the indications are that "the pace" for the coming months "is unlikely to slow". If BT and Cable & Wireless bring off their deal estimated at £33 billion, a lot of 'fat cats' will be laughing as thousands of jobs are axed in the name of 'efficiency'. For this writer, it's in the name of 'profits'!

POLLUTION AND THE TRUTH WILL OUT A report in the *Sunday Times* (7th April) on the failure of an international delegation to Israel on behalf of Mordechai Vanunu (see this issue of *Freedom*, page 2) includes a frightening item about the pollution from the activities of Israel's nuclear centre at Dimona, described as "the country's most closely guarded secret. However, a television programme last month on Israel's Channel One station succeeded in airing doubts about radiation leaks into the ground around the site. According to a scientist who worked there, nuclear waste is not properly protected and may be contaminating one of the biggest untapped sources of fresh water beneath the Negev."

IN A CORRUPT WORLD, WHY NOT THE MEDIA TOO? I absolutely agree. Only the anarchists have no reason, since we are not selling panaceas or privileges. If we do then don't trust us. I am enjoying seeing the capitalist media exposing themselves to ridicule, contempt and disbelief – just as the politicians do daily in interviews and on

television.

The darling, handsome French television news presenter, 52-year-old star Patrick Poivre d'Arvor, is back after a 100-day suspension – his 'banishment' following his conviction for corruption. To quote the *Independent*: "His crime was to have accepted gifts, including holidays and designer suits, from the PR agent of the former mayor of Lyons, Michel Noir." What is more significant was Monsieur Patrick d'Arvor's defence: "Everyone else in the journalistic establishment was doing the same". As if we didn't know it here too. But it needed a self-declared saint, Roy Greenslade, who is described as having "scrupulously filled in

expense forms as assistant editor of the *Sun*, managing editor of the *Sunday Times* and editor of the *Daily Mirror*" to expose the expenses racket among journalists in a two-column article 'Cross the Ts and Dot the Is, Pocket the Exes' (*Guardian*). He uses the case of the Woolwich chief executive sacked for alleged undisclosed fiddled expenses to give a string of examples of journalists doing the same thing day in and day out. He is the only virgin among these sinners? You bet!

ONTO THE ORGANIC BANDWAGON? There is no escaping the fact that there are always people who are out to cash-in on crises. The obvious one is that of mad cow disease (BSE)

which has highlighted the whole question of industrial farming and horticulture. And needless to say our 'serious' press devotes serious articles to organic farming, and my friends of the Soil Association are spending a lot of money advertising alongside these articles in the *Independent* (10th April), 'Come On Supermarkets, Give Us Those Spotty Apples'. But the writer, Jeanette Longfield, points out that "organic food is too hard to find".

I can tell the lady, from experience, why it is so hard to find. As an organic grower for nearly thirty years, at my peak production I never earned more than £2 an hour and the two shops I supplied (and still do) could not sell my produce if it were more than a few pence over the price of the non-organic vegetables. People are prepared to spend £40 a week running a motor car, which is considerably less than they will spend on food, let alone organically-grown produce.

Libertarian

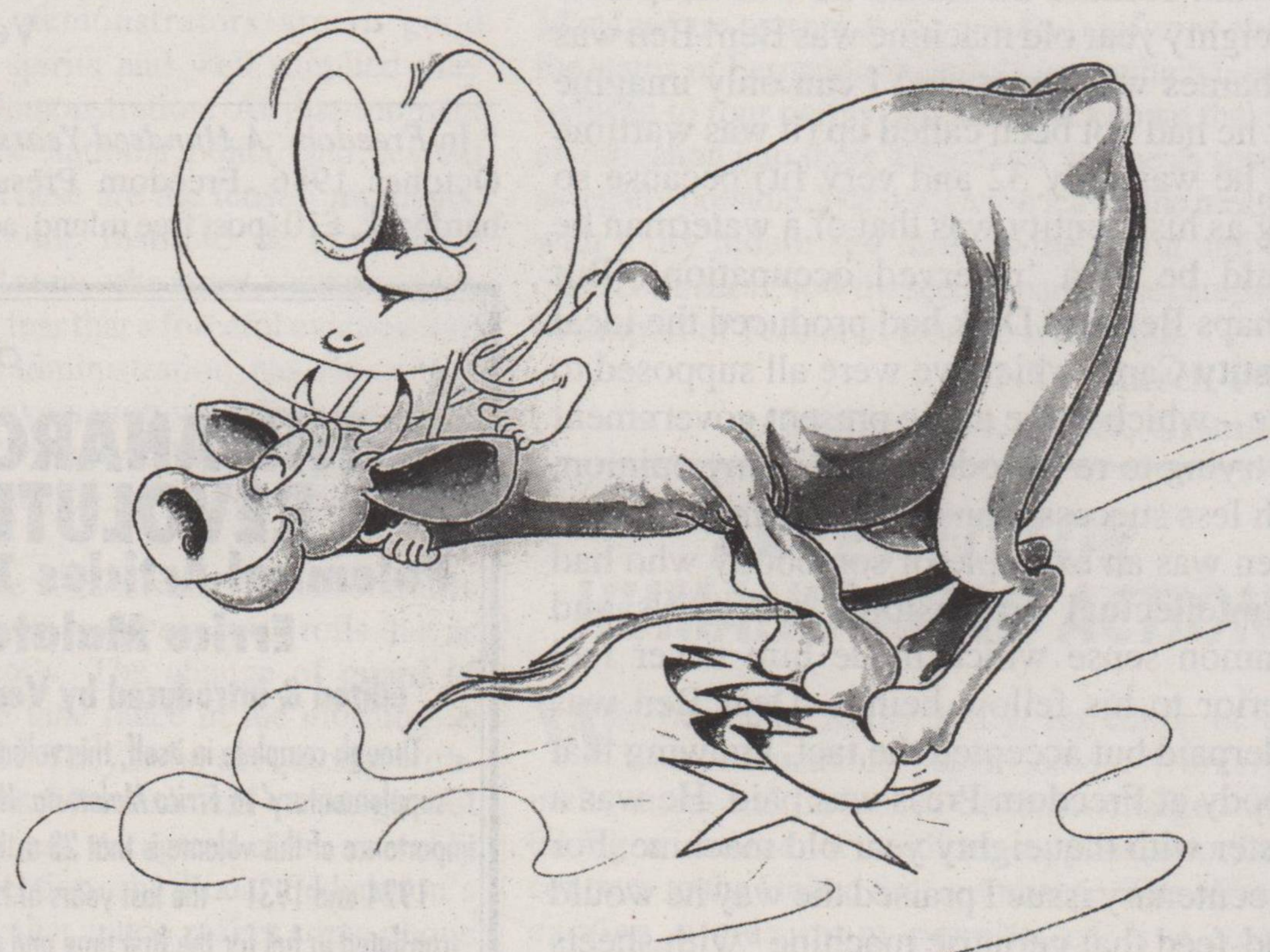
The Blue Cow and her fantastic exploits

by John Olday

This unusual Freedom Press title is a work of genius. Produced fifty years ago, it remained forgotten in a filing cabinet until recently found by mistake. Although intended for the young, it is, in fact, both by the brilliance of the drawings and the surrealism of the text, surely even more fascinating to adults than to their offspring!

ISBN 0 900384 86 7 66 pages £3.50

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1066

We are history and the second that we die history ceases. All the accumulated knowledge and the meaningless dross that has clogged the mind and formed so many worthless opinions that has justified the hatreds that man has used to physically destroy his fellow man is not even garbage to fertilise the everlasting soil.

But, while we comprehend, we will continue to absorb our daily ration of knowledge, information, lies, bullshit and true-but-useless information that we may regurgitate it as our own well-thought-out and informed opinion. As a chair-leg of the White Hart Pub intellectual mafia, I type as an authority. History is and always will be the dung-heap for the parasitical academics to feed upon, dull in itself and only interesting if it becomes the object of scorn and derision by equally ill-informed academics. What we, the ol' common man, want is scatological tabloid almost-unbelievable facts about the living for, give it a year or so, and last night's scandal is no more than yellowing print with 'Who was Hitler?'

The anarchist movement has been singularly unfortunate in that it has never been the centre-fold of any major scandal, which is why X's Memoirs were waited for with dribbling interest in that one hoped that X's long internal warfare would print pages of documented exposés of those with whom he exchanged sad raging *billets-doux*. True or false, it does not matter, for it is 'truth at last' and the finger of scorn in gaping company that counts.

I must declare my vested interest in that among the cluttered pages I am granted a too brief exposure, but then some are born to fame and others are teetotal. It could be claimed, nay will be claimed, that the daily tabloids, the

FINGS RECALLED

What is an advertisement? Does it have a place in an anarchist paper? Certainly *Freedom* carries essential notices. In the '60s Philip Sansom innovated 'Fings', which was always a pleasure to put together. Now, thirty-odd (very odd) years later here is an imaginary not terribly serious compilation of what might today be beneficial. Such as:

Mutual Aid column - donations towards typesetting will be appreciated.

Carpenter worker to learn of ruse of dividing angle by three.

Maria, still waiting to hear from you since 1964 when on Primrose Hill you had one look at London, abhorred what you saw and left the country never to return.

AFB can anybody inform the Registrar of its whereabouts.

Freedom benefit, Rochdale Civic Hall. Watch this column.

Exchange three-seater hover-glider for two-seater as the third person dropped out.

Author offers £5 to anybody willing to read latest offering.

Bed wanted for old LAG, and somewhere to put it.

Farm produce. At the moment we virtualise reality, but by next year we shall hope to produce an egg.

Heir Apparent, the play by the Hastings Think Tank, at your local cinema.

Radio-activity and the human light bulb. The latest *son et lumière*.

Anarchist wanted to put thumb in Dutch dyke.

End of the world. Latest predictions.

Elections on an hourly basis. Best rates offered.

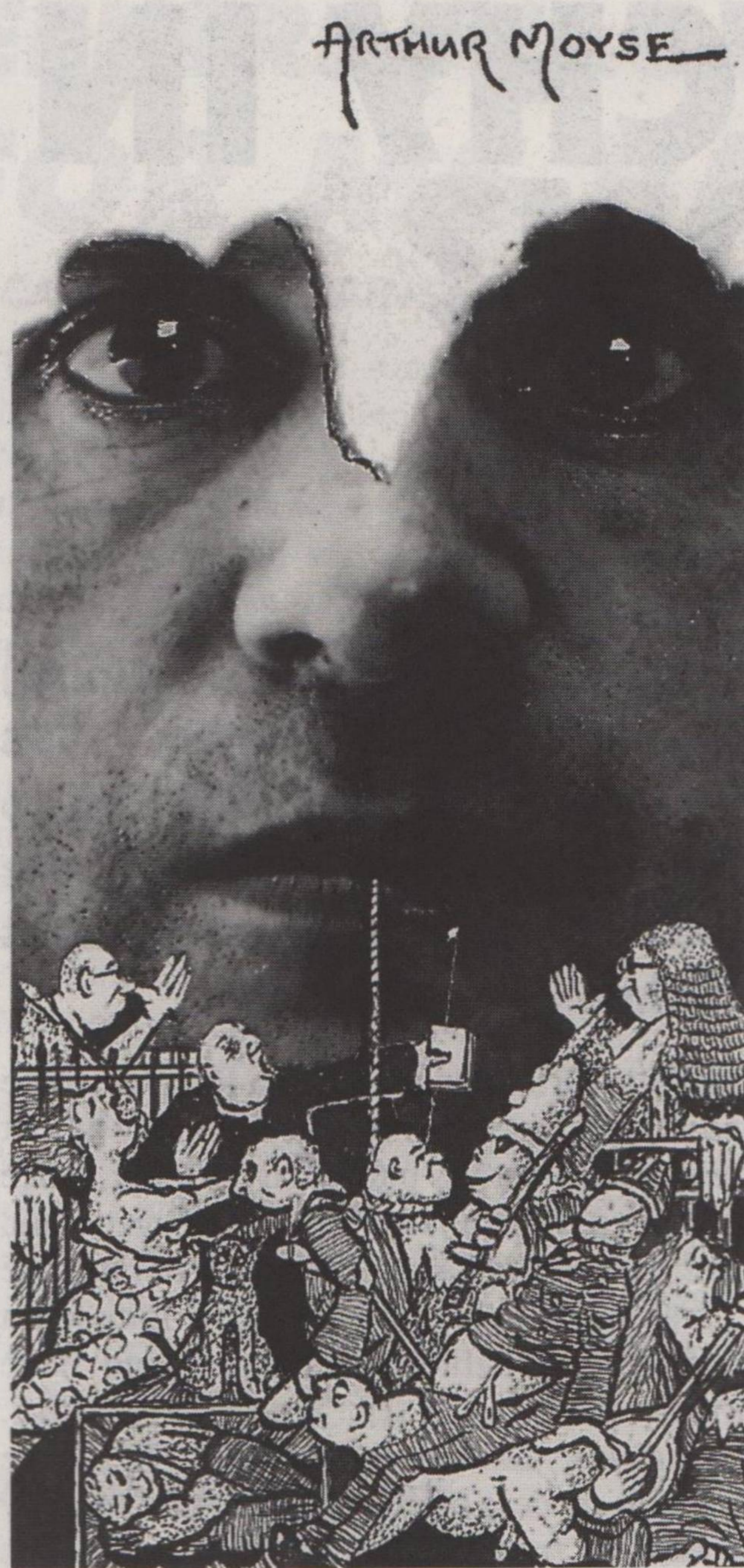
Song of the turtle was heard all over this land. Now on CD-ROM.

Gulf Stream. Is it true what they say that it is veering towards Spain?

Shit wanted by Nuclear Winter Urban Survival Unit.

And so on. Who knows, somebody might answer and then you'll know, but at all costs look after your thumb.

John Rety



visual television media and the speed of international communications have made us too cynical in relation to the acceptance of the faults of our God-given rulers moneywise or powerwise for major scandal after major scandal, from toe-sucking to lying and plain honest thieving finds the authors of our discontent still warming their arses on the plush seats of high office. But an odd year or so ago Enoch Powell proved, to his own satisfaction, that by juxtapositioning the Matthew and Mark Gospels he could prove that Christ was not crucified on a Roman DIY cross but stoned to death for blasphemy on the orders of a Jewish authority. If Enoch was right then the whole fabric of the Christian church, its culture, its architecture and symbolism would go for a burton, but nothing

happened. Holy Week has just sailed by with the claim that the bones of Christ and his relations have been exposed as no more than left luggage in a Jerusalem vaultage, and if the historical experts and the mad cow disease scientific experts can prove that the bones are of Christ and his dearly beloved, then that will make nonsense of the resurrection, but true or false, fact or fiction, it matters not for the 'facts' of history are like a fly in amber embedded in the skulls and the minds of each new generation, and let Enoch and the 'experts' sue the Pope. Everyone, with the exception of myself, who has ever sat down to pen an editorial, an article or a 'reply' does it with the sincere and honest intention of lying in print. It is known as an honest and true evaluation of the 'actual facts' and its final end is among the greatest forgettables.

On 4th October this year of 1996, the National Portrait Gallery, with the loving hand of the Macallan Single Highland Malt Scotch Whisky to guide one to the door, are to mount a major - and love the surname Johnny - exhibition of the contents of the scandal sheet *Private Eye* 1961 to 1996. I am the unfortunate possessor of a complete run of *Private Eye* and, if I am alive on 4th October 1996 and the Macallan Single Highland Malt Scotch Whisky is free on press day, I will drink and weep for the passing of an age when you would not let your servants read *Private Eye*. All the *Private Eye* Old Guard will be fly-posted upon the exhibition walls of the National Portrait Gallery but, love 'em or leave 'em as thou wilt, what was once a middle-class giggle sheet for tales out of class has now become a boring listing of national press bar room gossip of who's groping whom and unreadable economic stock exchange of little interest to those of us loyal readership who want nothing else but near that old knuckle-soft porn 'facts' about politicians in office. With *Scallywag* being given the silent treatment by its victims and its distributors, and the Royal Family no longer newsworthy as butts of middle class humour, one can peer through a hole in the market. *Private Eye*'s Old Guard will be there on Der Tag and the naughty students of yesteryear are now lovable middle-aged left-of-centre Tory buffs as likeable as Claire Short and as boring as Tony Benn ham-strung and hopeless,

demonstrating that as long as they can mount the 'and-a-big-hand-for-Claire-and-Tony' it is a free-speaking democracy. But only if one is ineffectual. What the NPG of *Private Eye* exhibition will not be displaying is that in October 1961, while Willy Rushton was squatting on the floor of his bedroom making his dream magazine reality, within the poverty French café of Soho's Old Compton Street, Billy Kay, Quentin Crisp in full street make-up, Irené the Fox, Iron Foot Jack and myself talked of setting up a salacious political satirical magazine based on the simple principle that if you had no money, but stencils and a typewriter, then it would be worthless dragging you through the Royal Courts of Justice charged with libel. Willy and the university boys got their arses first over the tape, and produced their *Private Eye* as a laugh a page and no hard feelings, and we sat in the poverty French café in Soho's Old Compton Street as history's failures complete with a typewriter, stencils and a primitive stencil copying machine. And that is history.

But all is not lost for the Town and his breathless frau as they race across town to the Whitechapel Art Gallery for the bright lights of Canadian Jeff Wall's wall-to-wall happy snaps writ large. The Egyptians did it in the tombs and the Romans in their brothels, Piranesi in 1778 did it in his prison drawings and Hollywood did it with the Cinemascope. Thirty years ago, within the Dover Street ICA, a New York artist did it with his photographs of holes in the road and tiny painted figures within the holes, and in London's Planetarium they did it with the universe. And it is fun for each fresh generation. I hold that in this century there have only been two major technological breakthroughs to alter the historical direction of we, the human race. One is the felt tip pen and the other the two men landing on the moon. Wall has taken his brightly-lit transparencies and blown them up to life-size and peopled them with his own figures. What is important is that the results are on a wall, hanging and a few inches thick, and here is the future of domestic television. Life-size and no thicker than the fully-framed photograph of one's late aunt Lil. 'I have seen the future and it works' so move the sideboard, history is on the march.

Arthur Moyses

Die gebratenen Tauben fliegen niemanden ins Maul

The Art and Science of Learning Languages

by A. Gethin and E.V. Gunnemark
Intellect Books (£21.00 plus postage)

Some years ago I remember being a delegate to the annual conference of the NUT in Eastbourne. One rather complicated composite motion we discussed, dealing with the new National Curriculum, basically proposed to conference that although the National Curriculum was well out of order a National Curriculum seemed like a pretty good idea. The motion was passed almost unanimously. Indeed, there was only one vote against - mine.

These liberal professionals certainly knew which side their bread was buttered. For sure grumbling about class sizes was justified but no pupils equals no jobs and so the force feed method of compulsory subjects for all was not to be sneered at.

In particular my own subject - modern languages - was going to need I can't remember how many thousand new teachers if the notion of a nation of polyglots was going to be achieved with 1992 looming on the horizon. I remember well my Head of Department informing us of the burning need to formulate business French and Spanish courses for 13 year olds. Meanwhile the publishing industry was spewing out overpriced text books and tapes to cater for the new demand. You may know the kind of thing. A page half filled by a picture of your new French pen-friend, a few sentences cut in half for a mix and match exercise and a 'What-I-can-do' chart for the budding linguist to fill in after the chapter had been semi-digested.

How refreshing therefore to find that one of *Freedom*'s readers has recently co-written a book drawing attention to all the hot air with an anarchic sub-text throughout. Not a few vested interest groups are going to want to dismiss this one fast.

There is no room for a National Curriculum of any kind in this approach to language learning: "...no-one should ever be forced to learn a foreign language. Learning a language should never be a duty, and it is morally wrong as well as ineffective for it to be imposed as a task. If it is, many will not experience it in the way they should be allowed to". This is the essential libertarian theme which serves as the basic framework for the authors but for those who think that learning is a casual hobby which requires little more than listening to a few tapes in the bath the authors have frank advice: "Accept the whole responsibility [for your learning] as your own. It is to you it really belongs, and the more you accept it the more you will succeed".

Thus education is to be put back firmly in the hands of the learner rather than the teacher: "The most important thing of all to understand when one is learning a language is that 'learning' is the key word. One is never taught a language. One can only learn it. A person who does not apply this principle - consciously or unconsciously - will find language learning very hard and very slow; and until the principle is publicly recognised and applied there will probably be little or no improvement in the command of foreign languages generally". Teachers are demoted to a background role: "The thing that more than anything else stops people learning a

foreign language effectively is the belief that the teacher is in some skilful way going to fill one with knowledge of the language. This is to believe in magic". And for those who see teachers as paid homework setters the same principle applies: "...in principle it is quite wrong to demand that the teacher should set regular tasks, for yet again it puts the onus on the teacher, instead of on the student, which is where it belongs."

All this is not to say there is no role for the teacher although the authors suggests that the teacher's main effort should be directed to making him or herself redundant. Indeed the idea of language guides not teachers is embraced. Teachers cannot study for the student but can instead show how to study systematically and, with their enthusiasm, motivate the would-be learner. There is no need for a priesthood here, "Every person who assists learners of a particular language can be regarded as a language teacher. The Hungarians in particular are well known for their helpful attitude. "In Hungary there are ten million language teachers for foreigners who want to learn Hungarian" we are told in words reminiscent of an Illichian de-schooling approach.

And 'professional' bodies like the NUT? The authors suggest, instead of the educational monoliths which we now have, more practical co-operatives requiring less in the way of resources and in which would-be guides could be given free apprenticeships. At the same time, guides should learn a language themselves thus breaking down the gulf between learner and teacher. It all sounds like hard work but then as they say in Germany, "Roasted doves fly into nobody's mouth".

The original group Spartakus having clashed with Nazi groups in Austria took refuge in Switzerland and joined up with a group called Hydra. Together they formed a pack of anti-establishment bohemians fierce in their condemnation of the bourgeoisie, racists and the military. They were a-typical in being as opposed to the communist party as they were to the RAF and as opposed to drugs as they were to nuclear power. As one commentator said of them at the time, "convinced that they held the truth these active pacifists were overflowing with self-satisfaction and fleas...".

But they also had ideas: to change life and to change the world. They set up a rural base away from the urban areas and began to build their utopia. Their manifesto was written by one Roland Perrot (died 1993) ex Paris '68 and a deserter during the war in Algeria and he, along with the local Pierre Pellegrin, took over some 300 hectares of scrub dotted with a few worthless ruins in Limans not far from Forcalquier. This is difficult country. Rich in stones, semi-arid, seriously depopulated – an area on which the agricultural community turns its back, "These neo-ruralists", says the writer Pierre Magnan, "set up on lands that no peasant would have taken on, in the vain belief that they would earn their crust where the locals had given up". Clearly, as Pierre Pellegrin recalls, capital played a role: "In the beginning they aroused jealousy and bitterness since, lacking experience and full of ideas, these intruders spent money in a carefree manner whilst the locals were very poor. And in the Bas-Alpes folk are wary..."

So what was their dream? Make the stones flower and bring the mountains back to life? And more. To struggle for pacifism and against consumerism, the salary system, the traditional family and drudgery. Change the world basically.

However, *anars* as they may have been they certainly seem to have realised that good finances would help the utopian project. With a will they set about acquiring donations. Bâle – their administrative centre – seems to have had a social conscience and all dug deep

A NARCHY IN ACTION?

— NUMBER 9 —

Longo Mai

For 23 years Longo Mai (Provençal French for 'Long may it continue') has been balanced between utopia and reality. In the beginning – 1973 – it was made up of a group of young urban leftists who went on to form a dozen self-managing co-ops. What have been their concrete achievements? Mid-mountain agriculture, rural catering and light industry. 200 adults and about 100 children living together ...

including religious gurus and local aristocrats.

In 1996 Longo Mai can look upon 4 agricultural co-ops in France and a radio station called Radio Zinzine. Limans specialises in polyculture. Elsewhere there are vines, olive groves, sheep farming and other variations on an organic theme. The project has stretched far afield beyond France and Switzerland to the Ukraine (Transcarpathia) and also former East Germany (Macklembourg) where a farm has also appeared.

As the web spreads around the world (we must add Spain, Italy, Austria and Scandinavian countries) the varied produce of the 'proprietary anarchists' grows: veal, lamb, poultry, pig-meat, cereal, fruit, vegetables, honey, wine, jams and other preserves, essential oils. The activities of this Kropotkinesque vision include restoring old buildings, carpentry, logging...

POLITICAL ACTIVISTS

And all of this to support the political activity the group is so well known for and which has become a way of life. For example the Swiss

project in turn finances a Costa Rica welcome base for refugees from Nicaragua. Without identifying with any particular political stance they have welcomed Kurdish refugees and have spearheaded a campaign to free Otelio de Carvalho in Portugal. They have founded a co-op for Andalucian labourers and have intervened in Mali, New-Caledonia, Madagascar and Eastern Europe. They have met with success largely because of a strategy of working from personal contacts.

This kind of activity has given birth to CEDRI (the Committee for the Defence of Refugees and Immigrants). Every year in August East meets West in Limans where business is done under the almond trees. Because of involvement in the situation in the former Yugoslavia AIM – an alternative press agency – was set up recently with some 100 journalists in support and also acknowledgement of UNESCO.

This was how the Ukrainian project came about. Feeling that the centre of European gravity had shifted the move East was deemed necessary and so a group was set up to help the locals even supplying them with a school

where they could learn French.

ON AN EVEN KEEL

The whole Longo Mai project has the odour of the Body Shop if you get my drift. Today pig shit is still the basic feed but it nourishes the computer as well as the land. This may be because of the kind of person who is attracted to the project. One Parisian geek says, "I had a good salary ... but my life had no meaning", her computing skills serve the project well. Today computer data bases of potential benefactors contain tens of thousands of entries. The beginnings were other, "to begin with we were borrowing left, right and centre", says one member and how politically is unclear, "and we were having to take in new loans to service old ones". In 1979 it was 32 million Swiss francs in the red. Last year the 32 had become a 9. Income on an annual basis comes to a 5 and goes mainly on investment and campaigns – decided upon by the whole community. One member explains the process as a kind of 'alchemy' a sum total of "identities, hopes and ideas". Group pressure? A real danger. A basis of negotiation is required to avoid schisms, rebellions, divorces, emotional conflicts, routine, boredom... Success depends on an ability to maintain distance, ration goodwill, divest oneself of illusions and to be prepared to live a kind of permanent revolution.

Perhaps what has helped has been the outward look – a kind of relief valve for the pain of the *hic et nunc*. In Longo Mai there has always been a coming and going between the different areas of the community for local and international meetings with Radio Zinzine holding it all together 24 hours a day. Secondly it is perhaps the open mindedness. On the 1st January 1996 their weekly paper *Le Père Lapurge* claims that, "there are no maps which show the way", but that rather, "the imagination can head off and rebuild new riches".

Information from *Le Monde Diplomatique*, March 1996. Longo Mai can be contacted at BP 42, 04300 Forcalquier

CNT IN CONFLICT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GRANADA

The ongoing struggle by the University section of the CNT of Granada has begun to yield positive results. What started as a localised conflict has reached the whole of the confederal geography. Granada's CNT as a whole and the regional syndicates and confederations have shown with their unconditional support how the solidarity and muscle of direct action are efficient weapons for the working class.

After the events that unleashed the university management's refusal to recognise the rights of the CNT and the repression against office workers delegate Fernando Dorado (see previous CNTs) the comrades from the teacher's union organised a big campaign of information and vindication. Pamphlets, posters, press conferences and releases, collection of signatures etc. begin to circulate among the university's personnel which tops 4000 people among labourers, faculty and office workers. The struggle appears one sided between a giant of great economic power and social presence in our city as is the University and the comrades from the Confederation. The remaining unions represented at the academic institution (CCOO, UGT, JSO independents, CIPLU, CSIF and CGT) support Fernando Dorado in writing – later we'll see how far they keep their support – and the dailies *IDEAL* and *La Cronica* turn their letters to the Editor section into a tableau for the spreading of daily replies and counter-replies and accusations and show their adhesion by stamping their signatures on papers designed for such effect.

The Rectory returns the blows and warns the workers personally that "it has taken notice of such and such act of support". The atmosphere becomes rarer and the threats, the rumours intentionally spread and the lies take their toll among the most fearful. Meanwhile, Fernando has been suspended without pay since December 13. In the middle of the electoral campaign IU (Izquierda Unida, left political parties coalition TN) manifests its support of Fernando Dorado. But the situation doesn't change. The Administration holds fast: we must move on to action.

After a meeting held between the unions it's agreed to have a gathering of support in front of the

Rector's building (Hospital Real). CNT and CGT call for a meeting for that day and time in order to protect those assembled from possible labour reprisals. The [university's] manager answers the call for a gathering by unauthorising it. And here comes the lock-in:

The gathering takes place on wednesday. About 50 people from CNT, CIPLU and CGT talk to the press, display their banners and show their support. Next they go up to the red hall, ante-room to the Rector's office, and have their picture taken. Beforehand the collected signatures have been delivered. Once in the red hall, CNT members (the largest part of those gathered) show their intention of remaining there until they get an appointment to see the Rector. They display a large banner outside with the slogan 'Against Syndical repression and the Rector's terrorism: Direct Action'. Windows and rooms are decorated with red and black flags and twenty-some comrades take over the noble room intently watched by an Immaculate Conception, a Christ by Malleu, the attendees to the funeral of Felipe el Hermoso and several dozens of serious and grave faces belonging to previous Rectors of such a rank institution.

Nothing new until well into the afternoon. Those locked in come and go with freedom and receive many visits from union comrades. CGT will make its first and only act of presence in the lock-in to express their support which later will not congeal, although we note the interest on the part of Manolo and Leandro from that union. Mid-afternoon Vice-Rector Jose Luis Gonzalez appears, visibly upset. He offers an interview with the Rector for the following day and invites them to abandon the lock-in and move to another room where they can't be seen. The demonstrators announce their intention to remain there until the meeting takes place and so it happens. The Secretary of the CNT's National Committee gets in contact with the Vice-Rector on the phone, seconding and supporting the comrades' action. The night and the weather – they've shut off the heating and it's several degrees below zero outside – are fought off with good

humour, abundant food (thank you Pablo and Lolita for your pastries), local wine and dancing.

Morning arrives as well as the coffee with milk. The Rector refuses to see the comrades. They are told that the lock-in is a crime, that the banner is slanderous and that he gives in not an inch. Neither do the demonstrators. By now all of Granada knows about the lock-in through the press and the radio. The siege hardens and the demonstrators are told that from now on nobody will be able to enter or exit the red hall. They also threaten to have the police evict them. The surveillance by the rent-a-cops is fooled several times, a large amount of food and reading material is secured. The management of the security company, Alhambra, meets with the demonstrators and the siege is softened. In the afternoon several dozens of CNT militants gather outside the building with flags and banners. They come inside and reach the Rector's quarters to meet with the comrades locked in, now almost under siege. Attorney Javier Galech is there in case his services are needed. Once they are satisfied that the demonstrators are in good condition, in high spirits and well supplied they proceed with the demonstration. At that moment three vans from the national police and several patrol cars arrive. These are the tensest moments. The students from the Instituto de Formacion Profesional, located across the street, reprimand the pigs. The comrades fear that a forceful eviction will take place, as the administration has threatened several times. A conversation with the head of the anti-riots goes on. There will be no eviction. It is dark and the comrades spend their second night in the red hall.

The morning of the 23rd is sunny. The comrades take their habitual *café con leche* with rolls that as usual arrives promptly. The change of guard of those locked in will take place in the morning as was agreed last night. They must act quickly without raising suspicions. Morale is still very high, but there's a certain edginess. As agreed at the assembly of the University section, the Local Federation's Secretary for syndicalist action makes some phone calls to the Rector. At the same time the General Manager visits the demonstrators with an inflexible attitude. A spokesperson for those locked-in comes out to find out how the negotiations are going. Outside everything is in place to relieve the

occupants of the red hall. At that moment – around noon – the Rector agrees to an interview with CNT and discuss everything next tuesday at 18.00 hours. The agreement accepted by the section has been fulfilled and the comrades leave the lock-in. The local press, radio and TV continue airing the news. There is excitement at the CNT local in Avenue de la Constitucion. Everything is up in the air.

During the weekend the atmosphere continues to get hotter until tuesday the 27th when the meeting takes place. After a meeting an hour and a half long the Rector agrees to accept the accreditation of a union delegate with all the guarantees afforded by the law, plus as many others as CNT chooses for its internal management. The electronic account, internal mail, union headquarters, the right to information are accepted verbally until the CNT writes their demands down for an official answer.

Likewise the syndical section must document those instances of coercion that have happened so that they may be corrected. The Rector (Lorenzo Morillas, Rector, the Vice-Rector and the General Manager are present at the meeting) informs about the status of Fernando Dorado's case which is now reduced to four points. He makes it known that the investigation into these allegations will be as speedy as legally possible. The delegation leaves the meeting with a dry mouth and informs the union and the other comrades. Now the second part of the campaign in support of Fernando Dorado will begin.

CNT - March 1996
c/ Molinos, 64. 18009, Granada

ARRESTED FOR HUMANITARIAN ACTION

We hear that Kathy Kelly, an editor of the Catholic anarchist paper *Catholic Worker*, is under arrest and on bail in Chicago, charged with taking a carload of medical supplies into Iraq, contrary to the United States embargo. The offence carries a maximum penalty of five years imprisonment and a \$1,000,000 fine.

We understand she does not deny the fact but is pleading not guilty, presumably on the ground either than the embargo is unconstitutional, or that the action is justified.

Science, Responsibility and the Atom Bomb

Dear *Freedom*,

There seems to be something of an upsurge of interest in the issue of responsibility in science, and in the wider question of the place of science in society. The pages of *Freedom* have seen some discussion of these issues, prompted by the attack on scientists, and more specifically on Joseph Rotblat (the atomic physicist turned peace campaigner) made by 'Libertarian' (*Freedom*, 10th February 1996).

We have just experienced something called the third annual national week of science, engineering and technology (set96). This included, apparently, some five thousand events aimed at raising the profile of science. A new feature of this year's events has been a protest mounted by a group calling themselves the 'New Luddites', whose intentions were to demonstrate against those companies who produce military and environmentally-damaging products. The New Luddites were making the point that set 96 was an exercise in presenting science simply as a series of exciting stunts remote from any deeper questions about why scientists do what they do and who controls what use is made of their work.

This attitude of science being just some sort of exciting game which can be followed with no concern for the consequences is echoed at the very highest levels – a recent editorial in the members' journal of the Institute of Physics (*Physics World*, January 1996) included the suggestion that a suitable slogan for raising the popular profile of physics would be "Physics for Profit and Fun". Amazingly, this astonishingly stupid pronouncement followed opening paragraphs which conceded that the overwhelming physics event last year for many people was the resumption of French nuclear testing in the Pacific, and mentioned Rotblat's (and Pugwash's) Nobel Prize for work against the bomb. Thus, the editorial acknowledges the terrible legacy of Los Alamos that still pervades the pursuit of physics, but, in the next breath, suggests that physicists should be carrying on regardless in pursuit of their 'happiness and fun'. It is depressing but true that far too many scientists are unable to accept that central to being a good scientist must be a willingness to examine and shoulder the responsibilities for the foreseeable consequences of one's actions.

My feeling is that we should applaud Joseph Rotblat for his actions in withdrawing from the atomic bomb project, and redirecting his energies towards improving the world. 'Libertarian' does not seem to concede that people can make mistakes. He also doubts the claims of Rotblat, and many of the other wartime atomic scientists, that they embarked on the development of nuclear weapons specifically to counter the prospect of Germany developing such weapons first. 'Libertarian' asks, in a rather puzzling question, "who in Nazi Germany was developing the atomic bomb?" (*Freedom*, 23rd March 1996). Well, it was not Hitler nor Goering nor Himmler, but indeed scientists – some of the best physicists, including Werner Heisenberg, remained in Germany. It is clear now that Germany did not get far with her

wartime nuclear development, thanks largely to an early mistake that made their work reliant on a supply of heavy water that could only be produced at a single, vulnerable, plant in Norway. The German failures were undoubtedly known to the Allied leaders long before it became common knowledge amongst the atomic scientists. I therefore think that it is fair to say that many of the Allied atomic scientists were motivated initially by fears of the consequences of a world in which Germany had nuclear weapons.

As the Manhattan Project progressed it becomes harder to understand why the scientists continued with their work, but I think it is worthwhile to try and consider some possible explanations. These scientists were working on problems that posed tremendous technical and intellectual challenges, and many became totally immersed in the work. Under such conditions, ethical considerations moved into the background, in an atmosphere of a kind of collective myopia. Richard Feynmann, a young physicist on the Manhattan Project who was later to rise to the top in his field, has described just such an amnesia – where you forget why you are doing something, due to being so absorbed in the immediate the fascinating task. There would also have been the peer pressure to stick with the project, and the social and financial problems of leaving. In this concrete example of the need for scientists to act responsibly, why did so few follow Rotblat's example and leave when it became clear that the German atomic threat was a myth? The overwhelming truth is that it's very easy to follow your conscience when it involves no personal risk or loss to yourself, quite a different matter when your conscience tells you to disobey your political masters, those who feed and clothe you, to ostracise yourself from that community around which all of your adult life has revolved. This is why Rotblat's example is so important, even today. He had the courage to dissent, despite great cost to himself. His actions remind today's scientists that responsibility is an intimate part of doing science, and that it is possible to take a stand for your beliefs.

What worries me about the attitudes of 'Libertarian', and others of similar opinions, is their willingness to seize upon simplistic explanations and to stop the process of enquiry there. Thus for 'Libertarian', an atomic scientist like Rotblat is simply beyond the pale; scientists are "the enemies of society" (*Freedom*, 10th February 1996) and that's that. I wonder if the cancer victims who have benefited from Rotblat's contributions to post-war medical physics would be so eager to agree? Science is most certainly a double-edged sword – it harms and it cures, it kills and it produces life. Like so many things, it cannot really be dealt with adequately in a one-paragraph news column. As a scientist myself, I believe there is a place for science in a healthy, happy, free society but I believe it must be a science for people (another slogan, I fear). Scientists should work principally within communities, schools, hospitals, not within the closed

laboratories of the multinationals or the defence industries – such a change requires an extraordinary, not to say revolutionary, re-arrangement of the funding and support of science. And that's part of the reason why I'm an anarchist. Scientific education should include substantial ethical content. Saying no to unethical science should be seen as an acceptable and honourable action, a first step in denying those in power the ability to shape and misdirect science. Lastly, we should be examining the nature of the claims many people, often including non-scientists, make for science to be the ultimate of human knowledge – the highest form of understanding we can have of our world. I become very uneasy here – firstly, I agree with Paul Feyerabend that science is only one tradition amongst many, and that "science is neither a single tradition, nor the best tradition there is, except for people who have become accustomed to its presence, its benefits and its disadvantages" (in *Against Method*, 1993). Secondly it seems that many people's high opinions of science are borne from a mystique of ignorance – science and its products seeming quite inexplicable and on a higher level of understanding. I believe scientists themselves have a vital role to play in demystifying and humanising science, revealing it as it really is: a fallible, clumsy human pursuit just like any other. The fact is that science is, at its heart, a series of simplifications; it rests on the unproven assumption that the goings-on in the world can be reduced to rather simple underlying principles. Science is blind to many of the most basic assumptions that underlie it, which is why it is fundamentally good to treat it as only one possible way of producing knowledge about the world.

Patrick Nicholson

Freedom and the Irish Question

Dear *Freedom*,

Thanks for the magnificent series of issues beginning on 13th January last (Mondragon, the fish crisis, weapons, etc.) and for the stimulating treatment of the Irish question (my old friend Rai and others). One of the main problems now facing Ireland is the concerted efforts by 'great' powers to haul us into NATO by a back door.

John de Courcy Ireland

please keep
sending in your
letters and
donations ...

Should anarchists vote?

One of the letters in our issue of 6th April lost its final lines. It should have ended: "Even if people are running a campaign against voting they can still go and vote or put in a spoiled paper". And the writer was Adrian Williams.

Remembering Ben

Dear Editors,

I heard through the grapevine of the recent death of Ben Chandler and, although an obituary will doubtless appear in *Freedom*, I would like – as someone who knew Ben, and knew well his vital contribution to the work of Freedom Press from the time I appeared on the scene as a volunteer in 1965 to the time that Ben retired in, I believe, the late 1970s – to say something of that contribution.

If you read an issue of *Freedom* printed between 1945 and the late 1970s, or *War Commentary* before that, or any of the issues of the splendid first series of *Anarchy* published between 1961 and 1970 and edited by Colin Ward, or if you have on your bookshelves any of the books and pamphlets published by Freedom Press in the 1940s, '50s, '60s and '70s, they were all printed on a huge ancient letterpress printing machine by Ben Chandler. It is a huge contribution to the anarchist movement, it is a memorial and a testimony to, among others, Ben Chandler, a memorial and a testimony that some, perhaps thought more influential in the movement, might envy.

But more than this, Ben was a lovely man. An abiding memory of him will be of comrades folding *Freedom* of a Thursday evening – and indulging in perhaps a particularly high-flown piece of theoretical anarchist rhetoric to while away an evening sending out the paper – and Ben bringing up another armful of printed flat sheets. "A load of cobbles" he would remark as he went back to the press. Ever succinct, always the one to keep our feet firmly on the ground. A lovely man.

Jim Huggon

Northern Anarchist Conference

Dear *Freedom*,

Thanks (to you and the two authors) for the enthusiastic write-up (*Freedom*, 23rd March) of the NAN Conference we organised in Salford.

Our interpretation of some of the contributions differs from that of the authors, particularly the session on the Liverpool dockers dispute – we thought the write-up over-stated the extent to which the dispute is based in the institution of trade unionism.

However, we don't intend to go into that in this letter – we just want to correct an error about our group that was near the beginning of the article, where it says that the Manchester Class Struggle Group (MCSG) consists of Subversion and the local section of the ACF. This is not actually true. There are no ACF members involved (not for political reasons, but because the ACF currently has no presence in Manchester). The MCSG consists of some members of Subversion, plus a number of un-affiliated anarchists and one or two libertarian marxists.

To join the MCSG all you have to do is agree with the two-point platform: 1. Belief in the creation of a society without classes, the state or money. 2. That the only way to achieve it is through the struggle of working class people organising themselves, not following leaders or parties.

If anyone would like to contact us our address is MCSG, Dept 99, 1 Newton Street, Manchester M1 1HW.

Manchester Class Struggle

Licence to Shoot

Dear Editors,

I understand there is a proposal to insist on psychological testing for applicants for a firearms licence. I must admit, as one with a sociological background, that I am very suspicious of any form of psychological testing. But suppose some kind of valid test could be provided for gun applicants, why limit it to them?

Surely the recent murder trial in Cyprus might indicate all members of Britain's armed forces should also be given this test, to say nothing about those members of the police and security services who may in the not far distant future be likely to be also armed. In fact, how could they in all honour refuse?

Peter Neville

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January - March 1996

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Total to date = £333.00

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Raven Deficit Fund

Upminster, IMP, £11; Perth, ZK, £20; Pinner, ROM, £2; London, JJ, £3; Berkley, San Francisco, AG, £10; Winsor, Ontario, FA, £12; Crowborough, SR, £3; Castle Douglas, MA, £16; Troy, New York, DW, £10; Gloucester, TA, £3; Sheffield, JC, £3; London, DLL, £5; New York, PA, £4; Plymouth, Ma, JWB, £7; Sheffield, MH, £6; Saffron Walden, ME, £3; Bristol, AFC, £12; Cheltenham, TKW, £10; Hawaii, ML, £25; Nottingham, AP, £1; Glasgow, JTC, £5; Ashford, MJ, £3; Beckenham, DP, £30.

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Against the JOB SEEKERS' ALLOWANCE

24th April at 7.30pm

Meeting at Vine Inn, Kennedy Street (off Fountain Street), Manchester.

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London Anarchist Forum

Meets Fridays at about 8pm at Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Square, London WC1R 4RL. Admission is free but a collection is made to cover the cost of the room.

— 1996 PROGRAMME —

19th April The Still Small Voice (speaker Chris Draper)

26th April General discussion

3rd May Anarchism as Social Policy (symposium)

Monday 6th May May Day Picnic (perhaps in North East London for a change, say Hackney Downs, Epping Forest or the Lea Valley)

10th May Anarchism and Sport (speaker Peter Neville)

17th May General discussion

24th May Stirner was not an Anarchist (speaker Adrian Williams)

31st May General discussion

7th June The Difference Between Anarchism and Socialism (speaker Mark Osborne)

14th June General discussion

A collection is made to pay for the £15 cost of the room. Donations are accepted from those who cannot attend regularly but wish to see the continuation of these meetings.

Peter Neville / Dave Dane
London Anarchist Forum

Glasgow Anarchist Summer School

24th August 1996

All enquiries to:
R. Lynn, 151 Gallowgate,
Glasgow G1 5AX

more details nearer the event

Hackney Anarchy Week

A celebration of subversion in East London

25th May - 2nd June 1996

A week-long festival is being organised. If you are interested in getting involved, contact: Hackney Anarchy Week, BM Active, London WC1N 3XX

e mail: anarchy@phreak.intermedia.co.uk

Red Rambles

A programme of free guided walks in the Midlands for Greens, Socialists, Libertarians and Anarchists. All walks are on a Sunday unless otherwise stated. Bring walking boots, waterproofs, food and drink.

May 5th: Walk leader Mike. Meet 11am at Whatstandwell railway station car park, Whatstandwell, Derbyshire. Circular walk, length 5-6 miles.

June 9th: Walk leader Jon. Meet 11am at picnic site car park below Derwent Reservoir Dam (map reference SK173893), Derwent Valley, Derbyshire. Circular walk, length 8-9 miles over mountainous terrain.

Telephone for further details
01773-827513

Dales Red Rambles

A series of free guided walks in the Yorkshire Dales. All walks are on a Sunday unless otherwise stated. Bring walking boots, waterproofs, food and drink.

April 21st - Bishopdale: West Burton to Swinithwaite. Meet West Burton village school at 11am. Length approx 6 miles.

May 19th - Airedale: Farnhill and Sutton Pinnacles. Meet outside Bay Horse Pub at Sutton (near Keighley) at 10.45am. Length approx 8 miles.

Telephone for further details
01756-799002

Anarchist Communist Federation

The Anarchist Communist Federation is an organisation of class struggle anarchists. For contacts:

Across Britain, London and surrounding region: ACF, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

Scotland (for contacts in Aberdeen, Elgin and Glasgow): PO Box 5754 (no other mention), Elgin, Scotland IV30 2ZD

For Merseyside and region: Merseyside ACF, PO Box 110, Liverpool L69 8DP

For Brighton (and contacts in Bognor and Hastings): Brighton ACF, c/o Unemployed Centre, Tilbury Place, East Sussex

ACF

PUBLIC MEETING

Thursday 1st May at 7.30pm
FROM RESISTANCE TO REVOLUTION

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1
(nearest tube Holborn)
ENTRANCE FREE

To commemorate May Day and the 110th anniversary of the Haymarket incident which led to the state murder of Chicago anarchists. We celebrate working class resistance by taking a look at the Kronstadt uprising against the Bolsheviks (75th anniversary), the British General Strike (70th anniversary) and the Hungarian Revolution (40th anniversary). Not a nostalgic wallow in the past, as we intend to draw the lessons from the struggles. We intend to show that class struggle and revolution are not a thing of the past but very much on the agenda. We hope to get other revolutionary groups to sponsor this event and provide speakers. Watch out for further announcements.

Further information from ACF, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

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