

# INBORN DOM

anarchist fortnightly

Vol. 60 No. 1

9th January 1999

50p

## Gulf War: the persistent menace of depeleted uranium

Andrew Honer, a Gulf War veteran, was arrested in December suspected of being in possession of a document stolen from the Ministry of Defence Medical assessment programme. He was bailed to return to Ilford police station for further questioning by MoD police last Thursday 7th January.

Honer was working with another Gulf war veteran, Ray Bristow, who had written to the MoD requesting access to a number of documents. The list was evidently copied from the allegedly stolen document. Mr Bristow was not immediately available for arrest as he was in Iraq investigating the effect of depleted uranium on the civilian population.

The list was also circulated to the press, and actually printed in *The Express*. David Batty, a journalist who wrote up the story for *The Big Issue*, was taken to the MoD police headquarters in Whitehall and questioned about whether he had been supplied with documents by David Honer. He refused to answer.

Uranium, like other chemical elements, consists of different isotopes or atoms with different masses. All are radioactive but only one, uranium 235, is capable of sustaining the chain reaction needed in nuclear power stations and weapons. U235 makes up less than one per cent of native uranium, so it is extracted in the form of 'enriched uranium'. The remainder, 'depleted uranium' (DU), is a waste product of the process.

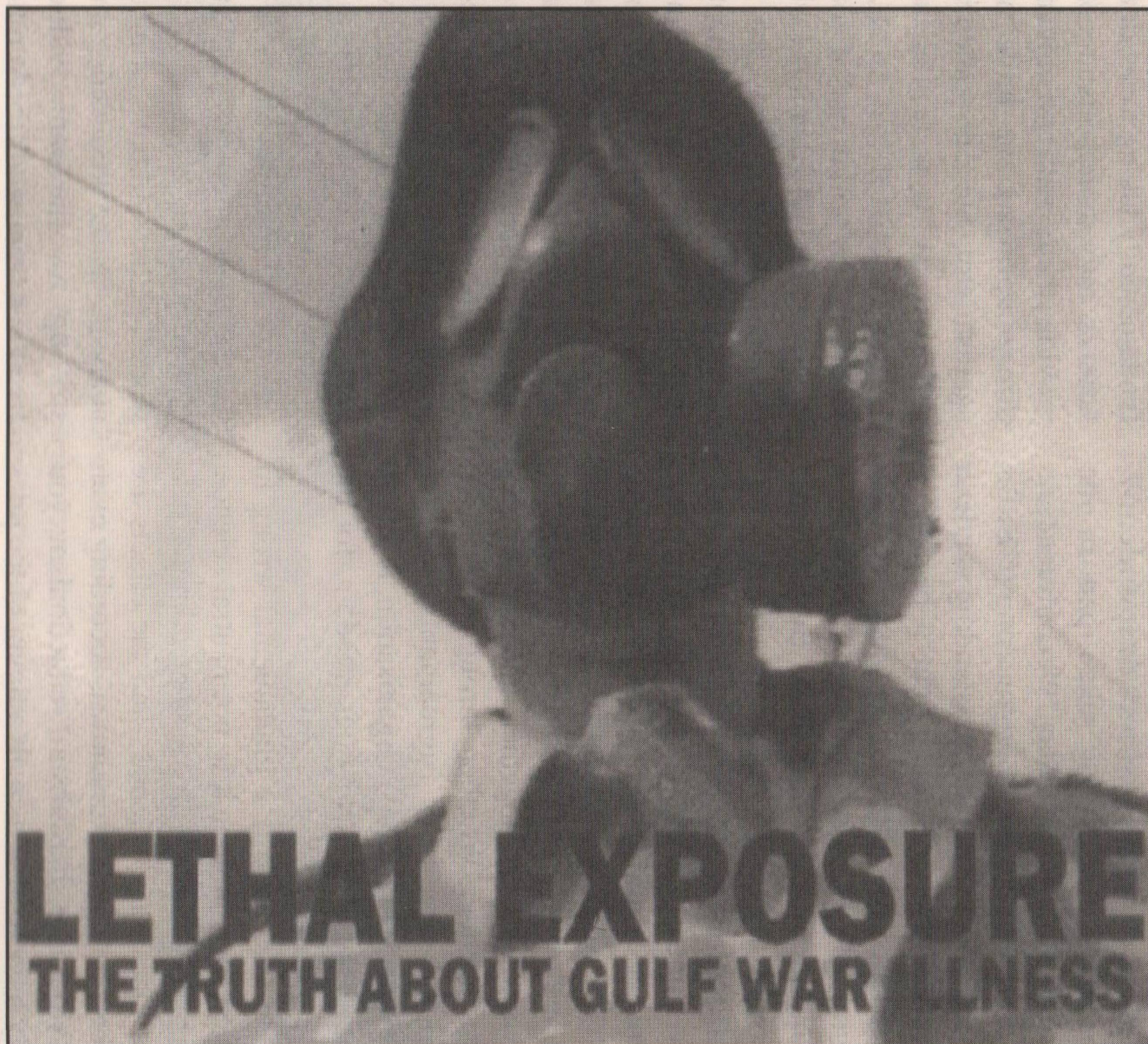
During the Gulf War DU was used in armour-piercing missiles for the first time in actual combat. A rod of DU is wrapped in other material and the whole fired at the target. When it hits, the matrix material crumbles or explodes, while the DU rod, which is very dense and quite hard, carries on through the tank armour, concrete wall or whatever.

Bare rods of DU, perhaps hundreds of them, are scattered about the former battlefield area. DU dust mingles with the desert sand, some particles small enough to be blown, despite their density, into populated areas.

'Gulf War Syndrome', the range of symptoms experienced by American and British soldiers who took part in that war, has been attributed to many causes: infection by Iranian biological weapons, poisoning by the concoction of vaccines, organophosphate poisoning from insecticides, traumatic stress, ailments contracted since the war but attributed to the war in the hope of financial compensation. Ray Bristow is the only sufferer so far to be diagnosed as suffering from uranium poisoning (it is chemically poisonous as well as radioactive).

In Baghdad there is evidence of increased genetic mutation. Do not believe the fantasy fiction about genetic mutation producing viable monsters like Godzilla. What happens in Baghdad is that babies are born without heads. The cause is not proved, but radioactive DU dust is the obvious suspect.

It could be that those who developed, authorised and used DU weapons were foolish not to anticipate the consequences. But it seems more likely that they just didn't care. That would explain why the MoD medical assessment is being kept secret.



DR

# anarchist fortnightly

# Freedom

Vol. 60 No. 1

9th January 1999

50p

## Mandelson's Legacy: Style and Low Cunning

We live in strange times!

There has been a cultural shift in political emphasis since the Cold War ended, and the implications of the issues surrounding the Mandelson case seem to confirm this. The old predictabilities of politics fought out between 'Left' and 'Right' no longer hold up.

Just as the cosy 'post-war' realities of free orange juice, school dinners, council houses, the NHS and Welfare State have been shaken up, so the nature of politics has been transformed. The profile of Peter Mandelson now seems to suggest Machiavelli is a serious thinker again.

The press accounts of the Ministerial spin-masters and the various feuds within New Labour read like a Shakespearean description of the court of King John. Andy McSmith in *The Observer* claims: "New Labour is a world where surface unity is a mask for murderous feuds".

As we write, Tony Blair in his New Year message has said: "Labour's sense of purpose remains undimmed". Yet over Christmas virtually every column inch of newsprint suggests a Labour party full of intrigue and

double-dealings. Gordon Brown, the Chancellor, and his spin-doctor Charlie Whelan are the usual suspects for the leaks which brought down Mandelson. The former Trade Secretary Peter Mandelson and Mr Brown were close until 1994, when Mandelson supported Blair as party leader. Agriculture Secretary Nick Brown is Gordon Brown's most reliable Cabinet ally, and bitter enemy of the Mandelsonians. Mandelson's notorious pal Derek Draper has been calling for the sack of Charlie Whelan.

### Prescott demands policies

Last week John Prescott, the Deputy Prime Minister and an old Labour type, argued: "We need to get away from rhetoric and back to the substance of government". That represents a call for real policies instead of spin, and it's being suggested that the Prescott camp is consolidating an alliance with the Chancellor – while Tony Blair is on holiday – to fill the hole left by Mandelson in the midst of Blair's government.

Mr Prescott's sentiments may seem admirable, but are wrong-headed in the current political climate. It was through having too many policies in the 1980s, and much of the '90s, that kept Labour out of power. As soon as, under Peter Mandelson's guidance, New Labour jettisoned most of their policies in favour of rhetoric they got

elected decisively. At the ballot box, style proved superior to content.

Rhetoric, as Blair and Mandelson have shown, is inherent to the exercise of power. All the ministers have special advisers (spin-doctors) paid out of public funds to push the party line. It seems that every government department has one political adviser, sometimes two, ready to snub opposition charges and force through the government position. This US style of political aide worked a charm for Labour in opposition.

Any attempt to do away with the spin-doctors and the new political rhetoric is doomed. The system and the spiel are too useful in power politics. As the Prime Minister's press secretary Alastair Campbell has said, attempts to end the spin cycle may just be "crap, that's C-R-A-P, crap".

Rhetoric must be utilised by the successful politician, but he must take care not to become too captivated by his own sound-bites. Otherwise he'll lose his way.

### Instinct before intellect

So long as he doesn't allow rhetorical eloquence to run away with himself, Tony Blair is showing he has a better grasp and a keener instinct for power than Brown or any of his colleagues. The Chancellor may, as Anne McElvoy wrote last week in *The Independent*,

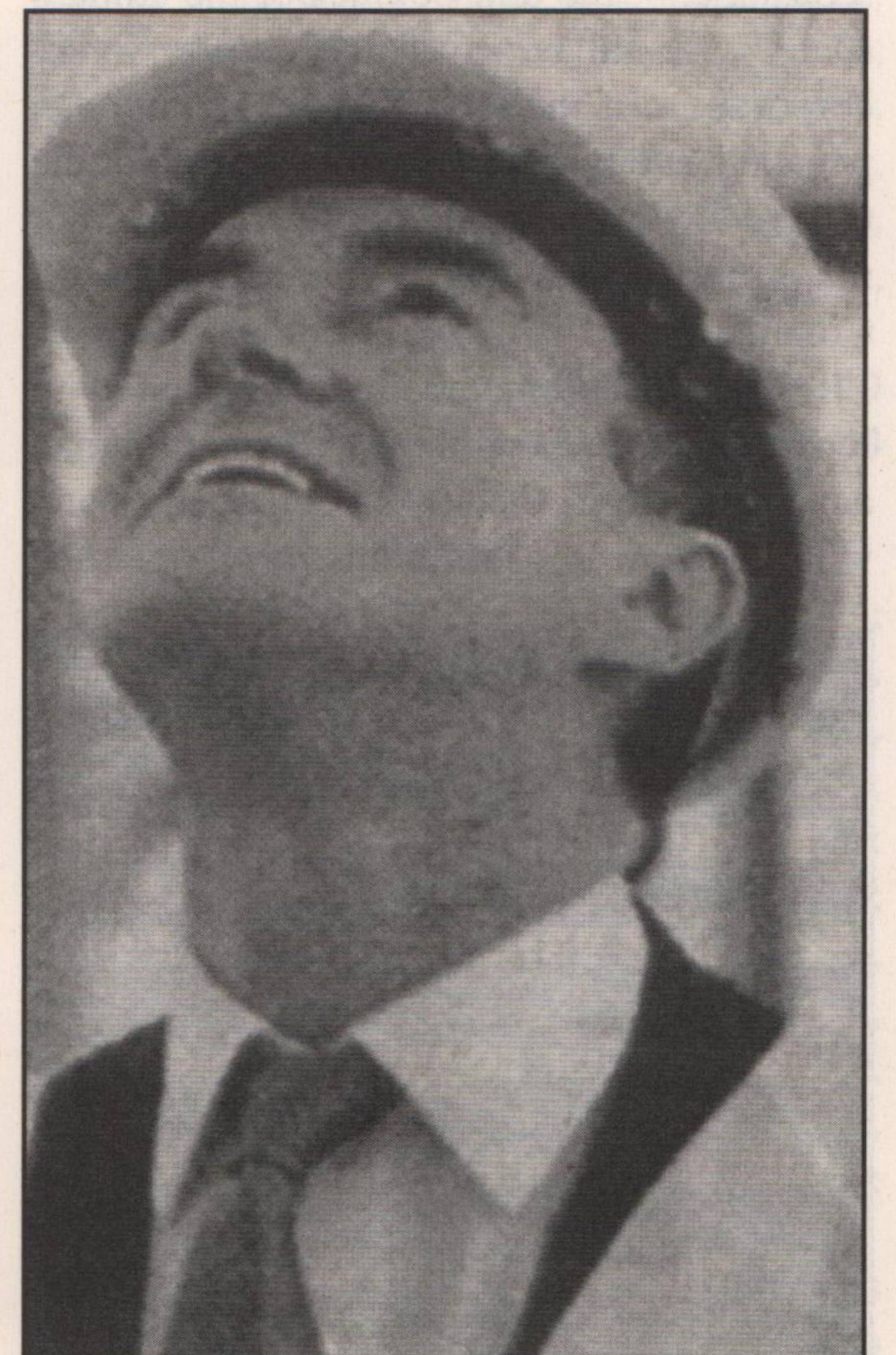
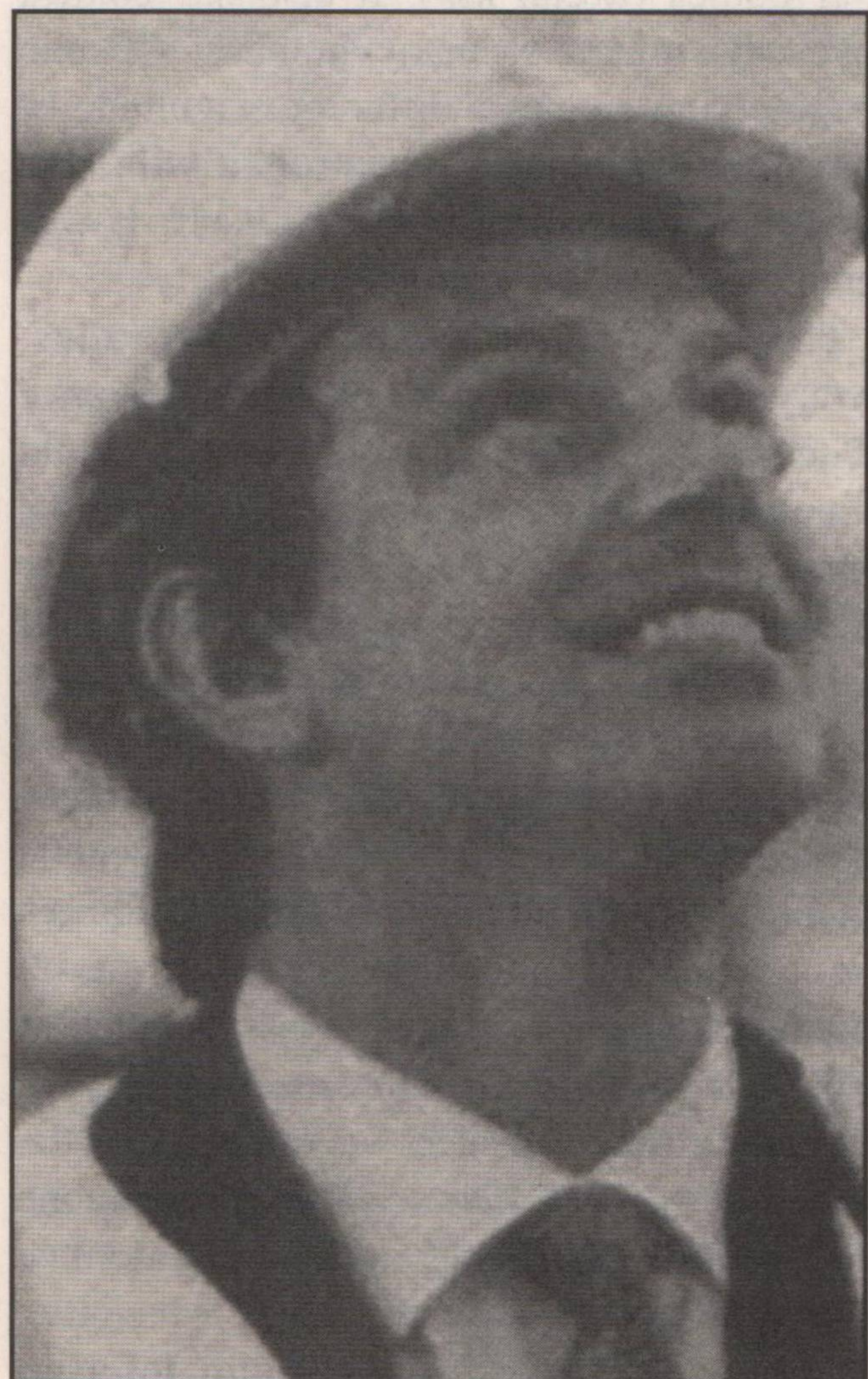
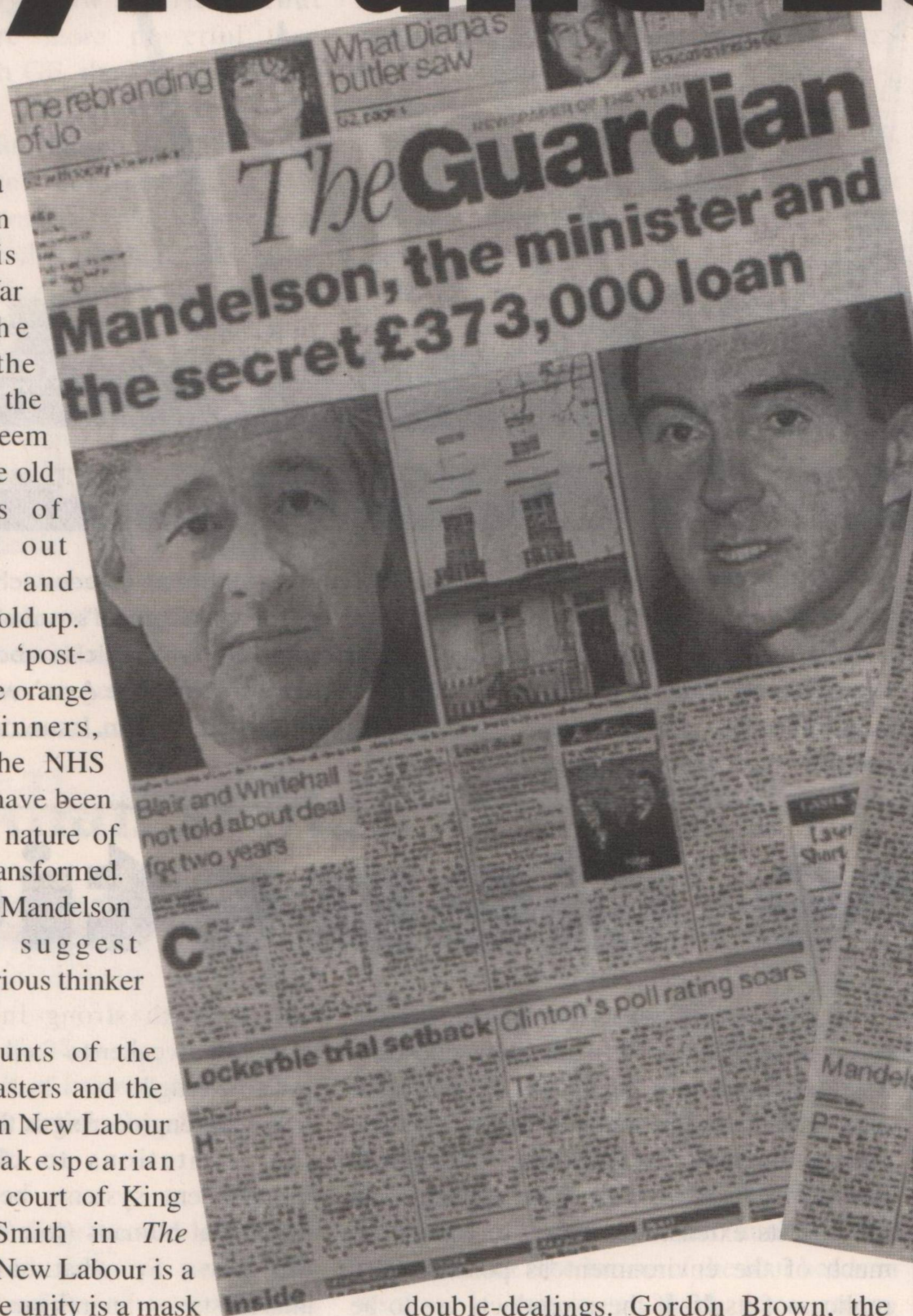
have a "more classical political intellect", but Blair has the greater low political cunning.

In modern politics low cunning counts for a lot more than intellect. Intellectual qualities, as in the case of Michael Foot, Gordon Brown or Robin Cook, can often come over to the general public as wooden or fageyish.

Blair and Mandelson managed to give New Labour accessible mass appeal and style. Theirs was the superiority of the Spice Girls over Caruso.

The main lessons Blair learned from Mandelson are the vital qualities of the inferior kinds of intelligence such as instinct and cunning. If the situation is uncertain, as it often is these days, before committing himself to any concrete policy, as Prescott and some left-wing MPs are now urging, he'll come up with some vague but picturesque comment while waiting to see which way the wind is blowing. He

knows that to try to take some clear coherent stand based on socialist principles or policies set by the Labour Conference would be fatal in the world of modern politics.



# The Secret Agent

Greenwich is a symbol. It has the International Date Line and Greenwich Mean Time. It is supposed to become a symbol of the new millennium, which depends on your system of dating, some industrial relations disputes and some buildings work. In the last centennial Greenwich was a symbol in the novel *The Secret Agent* by Joseph Conrad. It was the symbol of science chosen to be destroyed as a gesture in order to provoke a clamp-down by the British government on foreign revolutionaries.

Conrad is an interesting symbol, you can like him or loathe him. As a schoolchild it was the latter. I was force-fed with *The Nigger of the Narcissus*. I could never sit through a complete showing of the film *Lord Jim*. Conrad was Polish, writing English better than most native speakers. I never liked *Nostramo*, his supposed masterpiece on the nature of revolutionaries, or *Heart of Darkness*, supposedly the source for the film *Apocalypse Now*, which might have been a surprise for Conrad although a good Hollywood lawyer could have a good run with it. *Under Western Eyes*, possibly based on Nachaev, was more convincing. *The Secret Agent* was something else for me. It is based on a real incident. In the late nineteenth century there was a fashion for blaming 'outrages' on anarchists. A few governments and nationalists made some contribution. In 1894 somebody was blown up by their own bomb in Greenwich Park. This was the high point of British anarchist outrage, if you disregard a working class syndicalist movement.

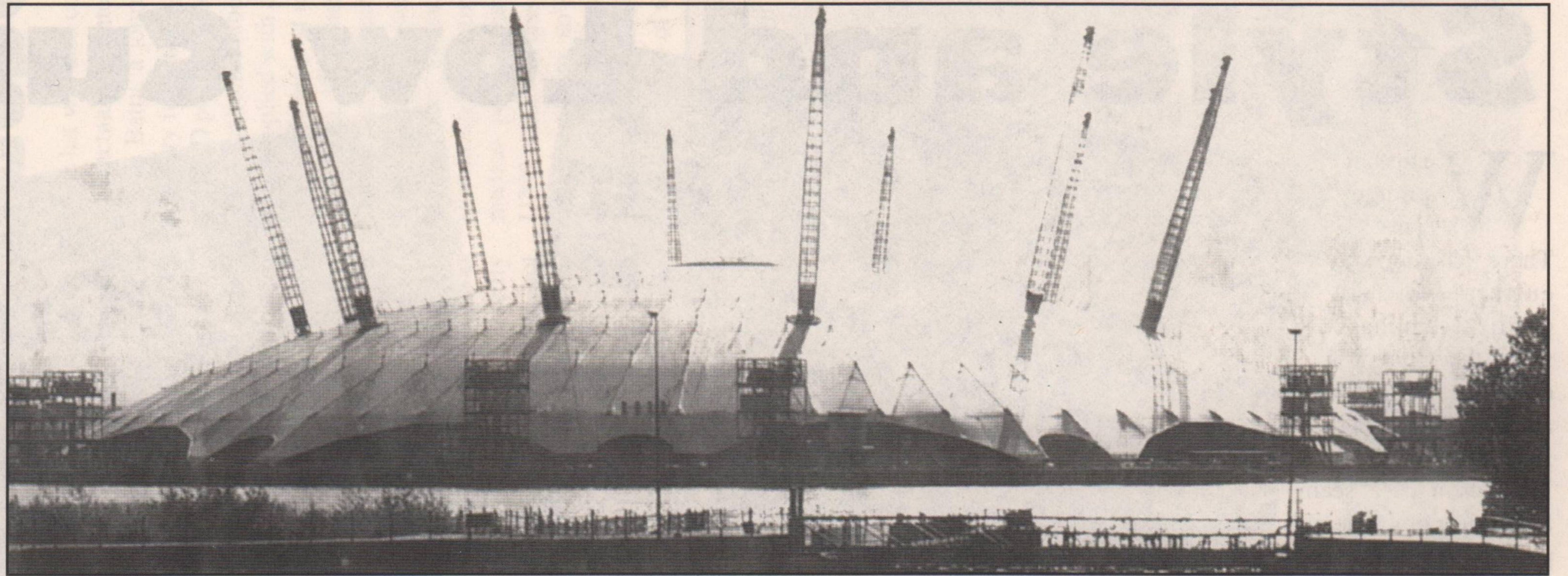
*The Secret Agent* has been dramatised a number of times. I reviewed a television serial a few years ago. The central character was played by David Suchet, in contrast with his blustering role as Hercule Poirot. I commented that, crammed into three hours, this could not match the book. It was a good production, with a convincing contrast between the shabby working class world with anarchists and pornographers trying to muddle along and the upper class world of the Russian Embassy and the Patroness Duchess.

Colin Ward has sent me a video copy of a feature film based on *The Secret Agent*. It is well produced, if squeaky clean, by the 'creators' of *Dangerous Liaisons* (Huh). At around an hour and a half, the pace is more speeded. It must lose even more subtlety. The central character, Verloc, is played by Bob Hoskins, which, as it would, changes his presentation from seedy to bustling. Winnie, his long-suffering wife (Patricia Arquette), is not the mouse of the previous version, she has more strength until her depression after her brother's death as the bomb victim. There

is more implied sex than in the earlier version. The policeman, Heat, is the British Bulldog of those *I Knew the Anarchists* books which used to clutter the Freedom library. The Russian diplomat, handling the secret agent, is suitably slimy. Tom Ossapon, who steals the money, is played by Gerard Depardieu, which must have been a selling point for the film. The presentation is clean. Like recent productions of Jane Austen, Winnie has neat eyebrows. The warnings on the box include "Violence: infrequent, moderate". Isn't that the point of the story?

An entertaining videotape, it doesn't tell you much about anarchism.

David Peers



Millions of visitors are expected to descend on London in a year's time to visit the millennium dome at Greenwich, the place which, over a hundred years ago, was also the site of an anarchist bomb explosion that inspired Joseph Conrad's novel *The Secret Agent*. Readers who have seen the film of *The Secret Agent*, or even read the book, will be interested by two articles about it, one by Paul Avrich and the other by Donald Room, in our quarterly journal *The Raven* no. 33 on 'Anarchism and The Arts', which also includes interviews with Jim Allen (writer) and Ken Loach (director) of the Spanish Civil War film *Land and Freedom*. Issue no. 33 of *The Raven* is available from Freedom Press at £3, post-free anywhere, for 96 pages.

Genetic manipulation seems to have a deep fascination – perhaps we are all instinctive primitivists when it comes to this subject. While there have been many contributions recently in the pages of *Freedom*, we have not yet got to exactly what the implications may be.

I believe that to do this we must trust our intuition a little more than we have. As Paul Tremlett put it, use a little more courage and imagination. With some exceptions, which have not been followed up, the discussion has tended to be rather short-sighted and egocentric. I do not wish to single out particular writers, but I would like to comment on particular points, starting with the most straightforward.

First, dealing with the present products of genetic engineering. Some think that 'consumers', the dull bovines of the admass society, should be given the choice. Every corporation in the world agrees – they can persuade enough of the people enough of the time of anything. Mass consumers, like other majorities, are always wrong, are they not, Comrades?

It should be remembered that even with long 'tested' GE products, such as human analogue insulin, the testing only really starts with widespread use. As this has progressed

with insulin more warnings are appearing, spurred by an increase in sudden deaths among users. Do the drug companies have their own agenda? Yes, they want to stop people using other types of insulin – taken from animals – altogether, world-wide. People desperate for animal insulin scour the internet and get postal supplies on which their lives depend. Profit is part of the agenda in this case. It also illustrates that the processes are never as controlled and exact as they would like us to believe, nor can all the effects be predicted.

We should not get led into conventional aspects of corporate agendas; as I will note below, they are beside the point. What appears alarmingly obvious is that many anarchists accept the underlying proposition of GE. In this case we set ourselves up as rather superior consumers, and allow ourselves the responsibility of retrospectively (that is, when it is too late) judging each case on its merits.

To whom or what the merits may accrue is not clear. Merit, like benefit, in this context seems to be a weak notion of some general good. What is overlooked is that not only is the level of expertise involved in GE qualitatively different from that of any other science or technology, so are its potential outputs. It is no good saying you have never been threatened by a soya bean – it is the corporation that planted the bean which is the threat. To disregard this is to take the rather superficial attitude attributed to dear old King Canute. And for those who feel safe because the complexity of genetic interactions will never be mastered, imagine trying to explain the complexities of a computer to the dear old monarch.

The question of what it is geneticists are trying to achieve is an Aunt Sally question. Those in favour will trot out the usual stick of disease elimination and the carrot of more carrots to feed the gullible. Ultimately genetic products will follow the agenda of all life and its extensions, that is to convert as much of the environment as possible into replicas of itself. If these products are to be optimum version of the human being, we have to ask whose judgement of optima will be followed?

Paul Tremlett (*Freedom*, 31st October) noted "a tendency to separate genetics (science) from other institutionalised practices pervasive in our culture" and that "This undermines our ability to launch an effective critique of the particular historical-political formation in which we find ourselves". In this he is absolutely correct. (Pity the debate got distracted into the safer ground of the market.)

So what of the corporate or institutional hidden agenda? It is profound and so far safe, it hides in the human blind spot, as it does the same agenda with all other species. It is so simple you will probably reject it for sometime, but check the facts and your experience before you dismiss it out of hand. The hidden agenda of all institutions (and corporations) is the evolutionary succession of those who extend them (humans).

Given this the MAI revelations, as well as the actions of Monsanto *et al*, may begin to fall into place. The sorts of merits and the optimum values required are those of institutions, not individual humans. We live in an institutional culture where every vital human need, and most of the wants, are controlled by institutions. If you live in a

culture with strong institutions it will starve the weaker to feed and fuel you – but for how long?

Genetic engineering is the necessary art for the institutions to close, to live as independent systems beyond the will of individual humans (few of them respond to this now.) So what has this to do with anarchists or anarchism? Not much more than it has with the rest of our species, except our view of life and power structures should have given us more clues to the nature of the problem.

The system we traditionally reject, authoritarian government, has control over our bodies (it can kill). It also has control over the minds of many humans. Genetic engineering creates a different magnitude of game, in that whatever controls it will have power and authority over life itself. It will create the forms it wants.

The world is moving on, Comrades, everything evolves in an evolving universe. Does anarchism let it go, comfy in its old nineteenth century political armchair with its matching twentieth century economic footstool, or can it get up and get ahead? If our principles and philosophy cannot match the future genetic challenge they will prove as worthless as other exhausted patterns of thought. The immediate relevance of genetic manipulation to anarchism is that it requires us to expand our philosophy from its homocentric limits to encompass as much of life as is possible. Genetic freedom for soya beans? Why not? Unless we believe that the world is as much ours to destroy as anyone else's – and that belief raises many doubts, does it not?

Colin Johnson

— COPY DEADLINE —

The next issue of *Freedom* will be dated 23rd January, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be first post on Thursday 14th January

## Anarchist demo against death sentence

Following the last Northern Anarchist Network conference on 7th November in Liverpool, it was decided to protest about the detention and threatened execution of the African-American revolutionary prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. On Saturday 14th November some twenty anarchists from across the north of England, and some from Cardiff, assembled outside Manchester's Deansgate office of American Express. Several went inside and there was a confrontation with the staff, several of whom were sympathetic. Later the police were called.

Mumia Abu-Jamal has been on death row fighting his conviction for the last sixteen years. He was sent down for the murder of a Philadelphia policeman, despite overwhelming evidence that he is innocent. A national demonstration in Philadelphia on 7th November 1998 was supported by solidarity actions as far away as Oslo and Cape Town. In London supporters demonstrated outside the American Embassy. The following Saturday they turned their attention to American businesses, symbols of corporate America. But action needs to continue ...



Join in the demonstrations, which are going to be regular events. For more information contact Anarchist Black Cross, 121 Railton Road, London SE24 0LR, or leave a message on 0171-326 0353. The Mumia website is on <http://www.mumia.org>.

## The State of the Unions: on a road to nowhere?

Twenty years ago trade unions were the dominant feature of the British industrial relations landscape. Over half of everybody in work belonged to a union. The year of 1979, however, marked the high water mark of union influence and power in the country. Since then unions have experienced a long and steady decline, losing over five million members.

In the space of twenty years the typical workplace in Britain has changed from one that recognises trade unions to one that does not and the workforce from one where the majority of workers are union members to one where six out of ten are not. Out of a workforce of 23 million people, just six and a half million belong to TUC-affiliated trade unions. The number of strikes in 1997 was the lowest since 1891!

This decline in union power is not, as some claim, a result of the fact that workers have no grievances about their jobs – far from it! Last year the Citizens Advice Bureaux dealt with 584,000 queries about employment – the majority covering poor pay and conditions and dismissal. The number of workers taking their cases to Industrial Tribunal has nearly doubled since 1984. Last year 20,000 people were injured at work, while the numbers killed rose by 20%. Half the workforce are not satisfied with their job (many more if managers are excluded). The gap between the highest and lowest paid grows ever bigger – the National Minimum Wage to be introduced next April is unlikely to do much to help the low paid.

Why, then, has trade union membership fallen to such an extent? The biggest single factor is that the traditional heartlands of British trade unionism – manufacturing industry, coal and railways – have been decimated in the last twenty years. Every factory closed down and workforce made redundant has meant lost union members. The Tories' anti-trade union legislation also played a part, as have hostile employers who have used the threat of globalisation and international competition to de-recognise trade unions.

Unions have not just lost members, they have also failed to recruit new ones. Unions have been particularly poor at recruiting young

people, women (now the majority of the workforce), part-time workers and workers from ethnic minorities.

The TUC's most recent response to declining members has been to promote 'social partnership'. This is a road to nowhere. Rather than negotiate with employers the TUC sees the role of unions as "contributing to the success of an enterprise by helping employers plan for the future and manage change" (*Unions at Work*, TUC, 1998).

Should any of this worry anarchists much? Anarchists hold widely differing views on the relevance of trade unions. Syndicalists see revolutionary trade unions as the basis of social change and post-capitalist organisation of society. Malatesta argued that unions were always reformist, while anarcho-primitivists see unions as being as much responsible for maintaining industrial society (which they seek to overthrow) as capitalists.

While it is true that most unions are hierarchical, male dominated and reformist, for working people they offer at present the only effective protection against abuses at work. At best they are also a form of self-organisation. As anarchists we do not live in isolation from the rest of society. If anarchism is to be a credible social theory we should have an idea of what function we believe unions should have. Despite their decline, some seven million people do still belong to a trade union. This alone is good enough reason for anarchists to take note of what is happening to trade unions.

Anarchists should be arguing for a more active social movement unionism linking workplace concerns and organisations with wider issues. The Liverpool dockers did this through the Campaign for Social Justice and their links with Reclaim The Streets. Unionism should also be much more internationalist. This is particularly important given the rise in multinational corporations. Rather than discussing partnership we should be advocating greater worker control. Finally we should be campaigning for a shorter working day and week – we need less work, not more.

None of these ideas will transform society in themselves, but they will be a step in the right direction.

Richard Griffin

## McLibel case goes back to court

On 12th January the McLibel case will return to the Court of Appeal. Most points in the judgement were against the plaintiffs, but the defendants were ordered to pay £30,000 and they are appealing against this.

In a separate case, the defendants are suing the Metropolitan Police for breach of privacy, misfeasance in public office and breach of confidence. This arises from evidence at the trial that private investigators working for McDonalds obtained information from former colleagues in Special Branch.

Most readers will recall the McLibel case. In 1988 the international catering chain McDonalds issued writs against five members of London Greenpeace (an anarchist group unconnected with Greenpeace International, which was founded later) alleging that their leaflet, *What's Wrong with McDonalds*, was defamatory. Advised that they stood to lose everything, three of the five decided to apologise. Helen Steel and Dave Morris, propertyless and unemployed, felt able to accept the challenge.

After various delays, including 28 pre-trial hearings, the trial began in June 1994. It was predicted to last three weeks, but in the event it took three years, including 314 days in court. This made it the longest trial in English legal history (the next longest, a criminal case, took 291 days). One hundred and eighty witnesses and 40,000 pages of documents were examined. McDonalds spent about £10 million, reducing their British profits for the three years by about 6%.

One cause of the length of time was that McDonalds insisted on challenging every line of the leaflet, which meant that almost

every facet of their business had to be examined. Another was the energy and resilience of Morris and Steel, who having called McDonalds' bluff were ready to take the case to the end. Yet another was that the case was heard by a judge alone (on the ground that it was too complicated for a jury), so that all concerned, except Steel and Morris and their witnesses, were handsomely paid for every day they spent in court.



# No God, No Master



Daniel Guérin

**No God, No Master: An Anthology of Anarchism**, edited by Daniel Guérin, translated by Paul Sharkey (AK Press, two volumes, paperback £11.95\* each)

Daniel Guérin (1904-1988) was a French socialist intellectual who passed from Trotskyism through libertarian Marxism to anarchism, and wrote books about Fascism and the French Revolution, Algeria and the United States, decolonisation and homosexuality, as well as poetry and drama, fiction and autobiography. Back in the 1960s he also produced a couple of the most interesting modern books on anarchism.

*Anarchisme: De la doctrine à l'action* was a cheap little paperback, first published in

France in 1965, and later republished in several revised and expanded editions. *Ni dieu ni maître: Anthologie historique de l'anarchie* was an expensive big hardback, published first in France in 1965 and then in Switzerland in 1969, followed by a second version published in four cheap little paperback volumes in France in 1970, and later reprinted several times; the first version was compiled by Guérin together with the staff of the Paris publisher, Editions de Delphes, especially André and Georges Nataf, and the second version was revised by Guérin with help from other scholars, especially Marianne Enckell of the Centre International de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme.

Both books were reviewed at the time in anarchist papers – including *Anarchy* 94 (December 1968) – and they have ever since been important sources for anarchists who can read French. A rather bad American translation of the former, with an interesting introduction by Noam Chomsky, was soon published as *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice* (1970). A rather good English translation of the latter has eventually appeared after a third of a century as *No God, No Master: An Anthology of Anarchism* (1998).

There are some immediate problems. The title is difficult to render, but perhaps *No God, No Master* is better than the more literal *Neither God nor Master*, which sounds stilted in English. The second version of the book, which is the one used here, contained more editorial material though less original material than the first version, which was both larger and better, but perhaps the more educational bias is more useful to more people. The translation is efficient, though occasionally inelegant and even inaccurate, but no attempt has been made to indicate which passages are already available in English. A few passages have been omitted without any indication or explanation. The editorial apparatus is nearly thirty years old, and no attempt has been made to bring references up to date or to add relevant English-language sources; the few errors haven't been corrected, and instead a few

new mistakes and misprints have been added. There is little information about the previous editions of the book or about its editor, and some kind of new introduction would have been welcome.

Nevertheless, although rather minimalist, this is a valuable English-language version of the best anthology of anarchism as it appeared to most people who called themselves anarchists during the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The book was produced to mark the centenary of the death of Proudhon in 1865, and it covers the century from the publication of *What is Property?* in 1840, when Proudhon was the first person to call himself an anarchist, to the conclusion of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, when the largest anarchist movement in the world was almost destroyed. It appeared when anarchism was reviving in many parts of the world as a serious challenge both to Western liberalism and to Eastern communism, and it remains a remarkable collection of material illustrating the form of anarchism as a revolutionary ideology and a militant movement trying to put theory into practice.

Guérin's short foreword described the book as the dossier of a rehabilitation hearing for a victim of three false criticisms – that it is obsolete and even dead; that it is individualistic, utopian, nostalgic, optimistic, marginal; and that it is contaminated by the deviation of terrorism. It claimed that the book consisted of material which was either unpublished or inaccessible or kept in obscurity by a conspiracy of silence, and also that the constructive ideas of anarchism were still alive and could help contemporary socialism take a new direction. These claims weren't strictly true then, and they are even less true now; but the book is still very impressive on its own account.

The first volume, the equivalent of the first two French volumes, covers the rise of anarchist theory during the late nineteenth century. After the foreword, it begins with Max Stirner, representing the whole individualist tradition and presented as a precursor of existentialism. The central sections contain a great deal of material by Proudhon and Bakunin (filling about a quarter of the whole book) and by a few of their associates. By contrast there is relatively little material by Kropotkin (virtually nothing from his books, which have been the most widely read of all anarchist writings). Almost everything in this volume was written in French, which was the main language of the original anarchist movement, and almost nothing in English.

The second volume, the equivalent of the last two French volumes, covers the spread of anarchist action during the early twentieth

century. It begins with Malatesta and some of his associates and opponents, and goes on with Emile Henry, representing the terrorist phase of the late nineteenth century. Then come the syndicalists in France (especially Fernand Pelloutier and Emile Pouget) and in Spain. Finally come various libertarian activities during the revolutions in Russia (especially Volin, Nestor Makhno, and Kronstadt) and in Spain (especially Augustin Souchy, Gaston Leval, and Buenaventura Durruti). Most of the material in this volume was written in other languages than French, but still almost nothing in English – indeed there is no native British or American anarchist in the whole book.

Guérin's view of anarchism was that of a revolutionary socialist, a former Marxist, sympathetic in general to its collectivist version and its practical application and in particular to its incarnations as revolutionary syndicalism and insurrectionary communism. Above all he saw anarchism as a manifestation of the class struggle, the long tradition of direct action by the poor and weak against the rich and strong, although he was himself a middle-class intellectual, like most of the writers he referred to or quoted from (and most anarchist and indeed revolutionary writers of all kinds). Both his little history and his big anthology concentrate on anarchists who called themselves anarchists and acted as anarchists, and ignore the pre-anarchists, semi-anarchists, quasi-anarchists, ex-anarchists, pseudo-anarchists, and post-anarchists who confuse so much discussion of the subject – supply your own names – as well as the philosophical, literary, aesthetic, nihilist, pacifist, fellow-travelling, and non-aligned anarchists. (In the history he went too far in this direction, including some libertarian socialists who were more socialist than libertarian, but in the anthology he stuck more closely to his line.)

His view of anarchism would have been shared by most of the people who appear in his books, and is still shared by the organisations which continue to favour forms of anarchist thought and action associated with such terms as communism, classism, councillism, workerism, syndicalism, and so on. Other anarchists take other views, but all must recognise that this one was held by most anarchists during the century under consideration. It remains for history to decide what anarchism has been during the subsequent half-century, whether an evolving tradition or a completely new form.

Other histories and anthologies of anarchism could take and indeed have taken different approaches, but the work of Daniel Guérin stands as a lasting memorial to what may be called classic anarchism, of which this book gives a convincing and memorable picture. English-speaking anarchists owe a considerable debt to Paul Sharkey and the AK Press for making it available at last.

NW

## Freedom Press Bookshop

(in Angel Alley)

84b Whitechapel High Street  
London E1 7QX

— opening hours —

Monday to Friday 10.30am - 6pm  
Saturday 11am - 5pm



Books can be ordered from the above address.  
A booklist is available on request.

### — ORDERING DETAILS —

Titles distributed by Freedom Press (marked\*) are post-free inland (add 15% postage and packing to overseas orders). For other titles add 10% towards p&p inland, 20% overseas.

Cheques/PO in sterling made out to 'FREEDOM PRESS'

Now available from Freedom Press

## The Raven

Number 38 on

# 1968

A special edition of *The Raven* on the remarkable events of the year 1968, including articles by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Fredy Perlman, Karl Young, Sebastian Hayes, Philip Sansom, Nicolas Walter, and many more.

96 pages Freedom Press £3.00

# Reclus, Kropotkin and Social Ecology

In his famous book *What I Believe* (1884) the religious anarchist Leo Tolstoy affirmed that one of the basic conditions of human happiness was that of 'work' – what William Morris in that same year described as 'useful work' – work that was creative, productive and pleasurable, as opposed to 'useless toil'. The other conditions of human happiness Tolstoy suggested were physical well-being, a sense of unity with nature and satisfying social relationships both within the family and with a wider circle of people. Tolstoy recognised, like Morris, that work, both physical and intellectual, was an indispensable human activity for it was only through work that humans produce their basic livelihood. The only people who despise work are those who live off the backs of others.

In a well-known essay Bob Black, with some pretension, calls for the abolition of work. "No-one should ever work" he writes. But as he defines work as "compulsory production" or "forced labour" his notion that "most brands of anarchism" have believed in work (in this sense) constitutes a wilful *mis*-representation of an earlier generation of anarchists – though this assertion may bolster his own sense of originality and self-importance. As far as I am aware, no anarchist has ever advocated 'forced labour' and critiques of 'wage slavery' under capitalism go back to the nineteenth century. As his own essay indicates, Kropotkin, Pouget, Berkman, Bookchin and Goodman all advocated the abolition of 'work' as forced labour. Tolstoy certainly believed in the crucial importance of work: he recognised too that both asceticism and a 'ludic life' (as enjoyed by the Russian aristocracy of his day) were both parasitic on the work of others. In fact 'work' (as forced labour) and 'play' are simply two sides of the same coin, and both actively promoted by capitalism. Just as 'modernism' and 'postmodernism' represent two facets of capitalist ideology.

Reclus and Kropotkin were important advocates of libertarian socialism (communism) at the end of the nineteenth century. To label them 'leftists' and to bracket them with the Bolsheviks is about as silly as conflating strawberry jam with tomato ketchup because they are both red. Before the advent of chaos magicians, poetic terrorists, troggs, the hidden imam, eco-primitivists and other truly authentic free spirits, Reclus and Kropotkin were widely known as anarchists. But equally important, both men were essentially ecological thinkers. They thus recognised not only the necessity of 'work' – the productive interaction of humans with nature in order to sustain a livelihood – but emphasised that this work should be creative, satisfying and entail voluntary cooperation not coercive labour. Work, as Kropotkin put it, should be a "pleasure and a relaxation in a society of equals". But they also emphasised the ecological aspects of human productive activity. This meant not only forging economic systems that were sustainable and did not lead to the degradation of the environment, but also respecting the integrity and intrinsic value of the natural world.

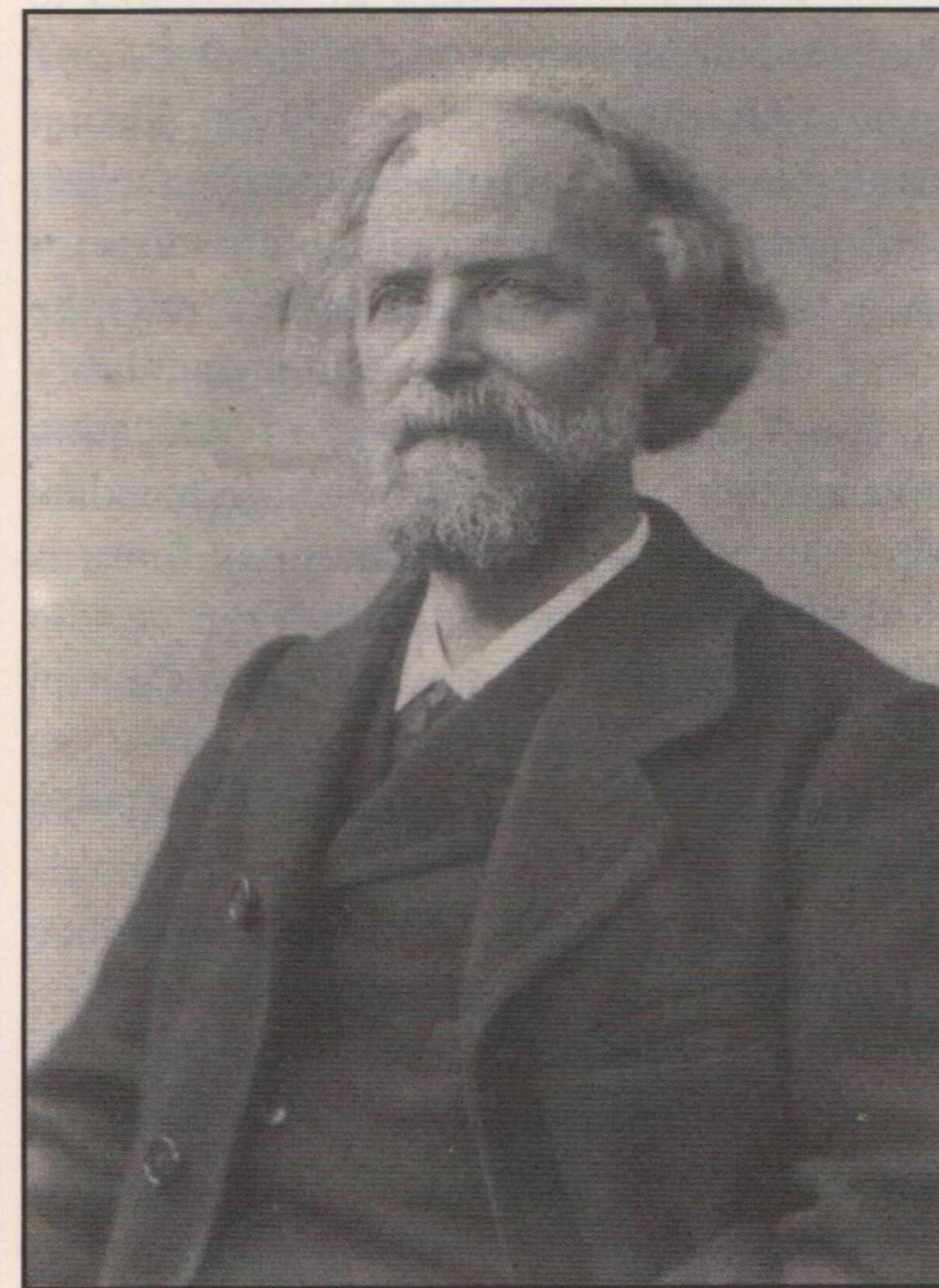
Graham Purchase is a great admirer of both Reclus and Kropotkin and he has been instrumental in producing two very useful pamphlets which contain early articles by these two eminent geographers and anarchist thinkers.

*Man and Nature* contains two articles by Reclus. The first is a review of George P. Marsh's classic study *Man and Nature*,

published in 1864, which was one of the first books to critically explore the impact of human activity on the natural world. In his review Reclus notes that the earth has long been modified for human benefit, but this historically has often involved the abuse of power, causing severe ecological problems – deforestation, the exhaustion of soil fertility which has led in many areas to the 'complete devastation' of the landscape, floods, the extinction of wildlife and adverse climatic changes. This disruption of the 'harmony' between humans and nature had become particularly evident to Reclus in his own day; the industrial capitalists preferring power to beauty, and carried away by the intoxication of work, dreamed only of moulding the earth to their own image. Reclus does not decry the use of technology, nor the attempt to transform the landscape to make it more habitable for humans. But he warns of the ecological dangers of "brutal exploitation" for we are all "children of the earth" and that it is nature that gives us "life, movement and being".

The other article by Reclus, published in 1866, gives a seminal review of the varying conceptions of the natural world that have been evident in the history and the culture of different European peoples. He applauds the increasing "awareness of nature" that has taken place since the eighteenth century, but again emphasises that the "implicit harmony" between the earth and people must be respected and nourished, and that work must combine beauty and utility, not degrade the environment. He quotes Pliny, "that the great estates have ruined Italy" and highlights the "brutal violence" with which the majority of nations have treated the earth.

This has led – reiterating the earlier article – to widespread deforestation, floods, damaged climates and the pollution of the landscape. Reclus pleads that there is a need



Elisée Reclus

to retain a sense of poetry in landscape, as well as a love of nature for its own sake. Reclus was a deep ecologist, without indulging in misanthropy, or completely forgetting that we have to work in order to produce our basic livelihood.

The pamphlet on Kropotkin, *Some Communal Experiments and Why They Fail*, includes the essay 'Communism and Anarchy', first published in *Freedom* (1901) and two short notes on the problems of establishing a 'communist colony' as an isolated community. Kropotkin emphasises

that 'communism' – the holding of property in common – is essentially an economic institution and may take many different forms. It may lead to liberty and a free life; it may equally lead to oppression and slavery. He also makes the familiar distinction between authoritarian (or state) communism and anarchist communism. The latter, free communism, involves three essentials: the abolition of the wage system (i.e. forced labour), the abolition of private property, and the emancipation of the individual and society from the state which upholds the 'economic slavery' (i.e. capitalism). But although Kropotkin clearly admired, as Purchase writes, the directly democratic and non-authoritarian peasant village communes, he was highly sceptical of the idea of forming isolated and independent communes. Kropotkin discusses several reasons why such communes have tended to fail: they were isolated rather than federated, limiting the freedom of movement; they became imbued with a monastic or authoritarian spirit, allowing little leisure time for the individual, or any independent life for the family household; they were often modelled on the patriarchal family itself, often to the detriment of the women who became virtual 'slaves of the community'. Purchase emphasises that Kropotkin was never an advocate of small, isolated anarchist colonies.

Brian Morris

Elisée Reclus, *Man and Nature* (1995) and Peter Kropotkin, *Small Communal Experiments and Why They Fail* (1997) are both published by Jura Books, Petersham, Australia, and each with an introduction by Graham Purchase.

## — ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

# Positive and negative trends

Remember how in the 1950s George Woodcock wrote some kind of valedictory article in *Freedom* with the concluding advice: *nurture the positive trends*. I took this to mean that while the world in general and the political left in particular were moving further and further from the destinations sought by the classical anarchist propagandists, there were all the while initiatives around us which, while neither world-shaking nor revolutionary, were the kind of social innovations you and I would see as the attributes of an anarchist society.

As the authoritarian Marxists world and the whole movement for state socialism has evaporated, to be superseded not by libertarian socialism but by a primitive worship of market ideology, it has become more and more necessary for us to nurture the positive trends. Somebody with this aim is the publisher Jon Carpenter of Oxfordshire, who for years now has been either importing or publishing books which nurture these positive trends. I often marvel that he stays solvent.

His latest launch into the cruel seas of publishing was described in *Freedom* for 12th December, *Living Lightly: travels in post-consumer society* by Walter and Dorothy Schwarz. I indicated my pleasure in their interview with anarchistic people around the globe, but also my misgivings in the advocacy of 'living lightly' in a world for whom such advice is superfluous, not to say insulting, and in a rich country with poor citizens whose situation is getting worse, and not better.

Now another book has appeared which, like *Living Lightly*, is unlikely to penetrate your

local Smith's, Waterstone's or Dillon's. This is *Monitoring Poverty and Social Exclusion: Labour's Inheritance* by Catherine Howarth, Peter Kenway, Guy Palmer and Cathy Street, published by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation at £16.95 (plus £1.50 p&p from York Publishing Services, 64 Hallfield Road, Layerthorpe, York YO31 7ZQ).

Just as the authors of *Living Lightly* have sought to monitor and nurture the positive trends, so these authors, from a body called the New Policy Institute, have constructed a set of 46 indicators to monitor and update the facts in Britain of poverty and social exclusion.

Their catalogue of negative trends has hardly been mentioned in the press. Their summary of their findings is that:

1. The number living on *low incomes* relative to the average is far higher than twenty years ago, with the numbers in households with below half average income rising from four million in 1982 to eleven million in 1992. Although the number fell in the mid-1990s, 1996-97 again showed a significant increase over 9% to 10.5 million individuals.
2. *Children* are more likely than adults to live in poverty and more than 2.5 million live in workless households. Those born in the bottom two social classes are 25% more likely to be underweight as babies and twice as likely to die in childhood accidents. They are three times as likely to be excluded from school if they are black than if they are white.
3. *Young adults* have twice the average rate of unemployment, and those who have jobs are five times as likely to be paid below half

the male average wage than older workers. Suicide rates amongst young men with no known occupation are nearly four times the rate as those amongst young men in social classes I and II.

4. Over four million *working age adults* would like to work but do not. Whilst the number officially counted as unemployed had dropped from three million to less than two million in the last five years, the number of other 'inactive' people who want work actually rose from 2 to 2.5 million.

5. Thirty per cent of *pensioners* are in the bottom fifth of the income distribution, and 1.5 million live off state pensions and benefits alone. Poorer pensioners are more likely to suffer from ill health, disability and anxiety and to have low spending on items such as food.

6. Disadvantage is concentrated within certain *communities*. Eighty per cent of households in social housing have a weekly income of less than £200, and in seventy per cent of such households the head of household is not in paid work. Although much more likely to be burgled, over fifty per cent of households do not have household insurance.

A whole chain of incidental deprivations are linked to these categories, and one reason why some of us are unable to rejoice in the Internet or e-mail or fax is that we are aware of those fellow citizens who lack a telephone, a bank account, and haven't even a toe-hold in the world of the Schwarzes, or me and you.

Colin Ward

## — CZECHOSLOVAKIA —

# International solidarity with strikers of Kladno-Vrapice

Austerity politics of all previous right-wing governments and continued by a new social democratic one include cuts on public education. A continuous attack is carried out against the educational system of apprentices as rising unemployment reduces a need for training young skilled workers, because a lot of experienced ones are available for employers. That is why the government tries to save as much money as possible, especially in this sector of education.

The Ministry of Education seems to intend to close down special training institutes designed for the education of handicapped children (low IQ, mentally retarded, behavioural defects and social backwardness) and 'integrate' these children into normal classes. In fact there are not the facilities for such integration, when the educational system suffers from overcrowded classrooms and a lack of teachers. Handicapped children would have no chance in such schools, but this does not matter from the government's point of view as these children can hardly find a place for themselves in the labour market anyway and will end up unemployed. It seems the government considers their

education an inefficient loss of money.

The first steps to close down special training institutes were undertaken by the last right-wing government, when directors of these institutions were called off into the towns of Havíčkův Brod, Lutín and lastly Kladno-Vrapice. The Ministry of Education replaced them with new ones whose mandate seems to be to run the institutions towards bankruptcy. But in Kladno-Vrapice the teachers and other employees walked out in support of their director, Ms Topinková. She was 'called away' during the July/August 1998 holidays and a new director, Mr Trachta, took over the institute with police assistance. Employees of the Kladno-Vrapice institute went on strike with the full support of pupils and their parents. Their demand was the reinstatement of Ms Topinková as director and an investigation into the economic management of the institute, as Ms Topinková was accused of conducting this incorrectly. For support and protection they joined a teachers' trade union, but it refused to help them because the leaders were uncertain about the Kladno-Vrapice employees' right to strike. All the support for the strikers and the protesting children and

their families have so far got has come from Czech anarchist and trotskyst groups.

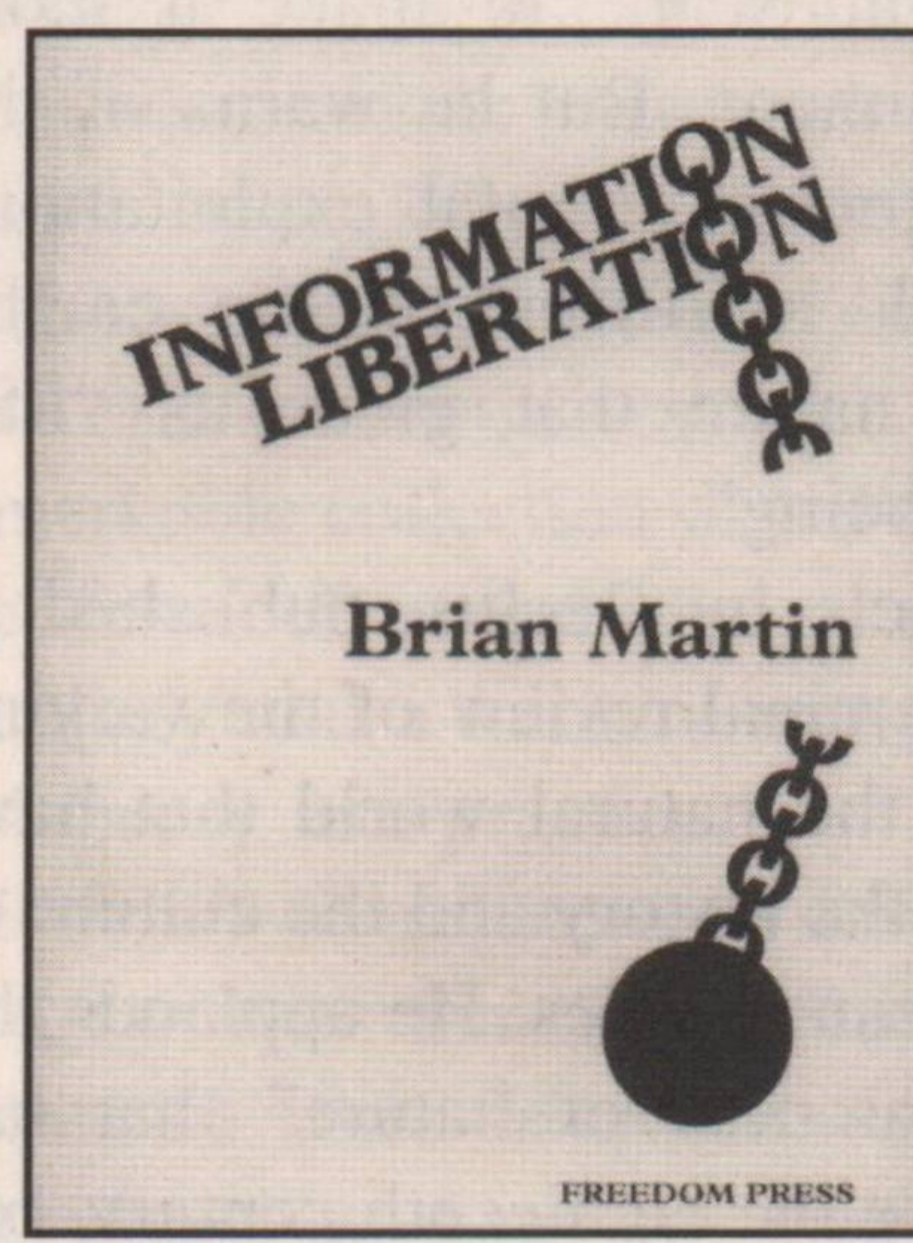
The new director locked out the entire striking staff of 45 employees, and offered individual contracts to those who would break the strike and submit to his new management. Many employees were scared of losing their jobs (there is 9% unemployment in the Kladno region) when the director hired 'scabs' (unskilled people unable to teach the handicapped children) and signed the contracts. Nevertheless seventeen employees stayed out on strike and have extended their

demands to include an end to the destruction of special education and cuts on education, and a true right to strike.

Solidarita (a Czech organisation of revolutionary anarchists) asks you for solidarity with the Kladno-Vrapice strikers. Please get your political organisations and union organisations to support the striking teachers. Letters and messages of support can be sent to Ms Topinková / Kladno-Vrapice teachers' union organisation at fax + 420 312 672 360 or e-mail budoucnost email.cz. Please send protest letters demanding the reinstatement of all locked-out employees and Ms Topinková without any victimisation, and an end to the destruction of special education in the Czech Republic to the Minister of Education, Eduard Zeman, fax +420 2 311 4172.

Vadim Barák

International Secretary, Solidarita



**Information Liberation:**  
challenging the corruptions of information power  
by Brian Martin

Freedom Press

**Information Liberation:**  
challenging the corruptions of information power  
by Brian Martin

Information can be a source of power and, as a consequence, be corrupting. This has ramifications through a number of areas. There is a need for a radical critique that is accessible and oriented to action. Several topical areas are addressed, including mass media, intellectual property, surveillance and defamation. For each topic, a critique of problems is given, examples provided and options for action canvassed. Not every topic relevant to information power is addressed – that would be an enormous task – but rather a range of significant and representative topics. This book will fill a major gap in a very popular field.

**Freedom Press**      **192 pages**      **\$7.95**

## — OBITUARY —

## Pier Carlo Masini

The noted historian Pier Carlo Masini has died at the age of 75 in Florence. Born at Cerbaia in the province of Florence in 1923, Masini's youth was spent in the anti-fascist student circles which sprang up in Florence at the end of the '30s. He joined the liberal-socialist movement of Tristano Codignola, and was a driving force in its youth groups around the magazine *Argomenti*.

He was arrested for 'conspiratorial' activity on 21st June 1942 and condemned to three years confinement at Guardia Sanframondi in the Matese mountains in southern Italy. Released on 19th May 1943 he returned to Tuscany and there grew close to the Communist Party.

During the last phase of the war and the immediate post-liberation period, Masini moved towards the anarchist movement, with what he saw as the compromises of Togliatti, the Communist Party leader. Under the influence of the anarchist veterans Alfonso Failla, Umberto Marzocchi (who had fought with the anarchist militias during the Spanish Civil War) and Mario Mantovani, Pier Carlo became enthused with the ideals of anarchism from August 1945.

Two of the first anarchist papers to appear in Tuscany in the months following the liberation were edited by Masini – *Passione*

*Rivoluzionaria*, organ of the Tuscan Anarchist Youth, and *Alba dei Liberi* (Dawn of the Free).

Masini's relationship with the anarchist movement was not easy. Pier Carlo was full of dynamism and enthusiasm, but he often came up against comrades advanced in years, exhausted by the long struggle against fascism and often isolated and marginalised within the workers' movement by the hegemony of Marxism. Masini set out to consciously revive the movement, creating a political and cultural network that reached out far beyond the movement itself.

He put the first stage of this plan into operation with the magazine *Gioventu Anarchica* (Anarchist Youth) which appeared between 1946-1947, jointly edited with Carlo Doglio. Despite its brief life of fourteen issues, the magazine had a great influence on the renaissance of Italian anarchism, with articles covering many political and cultural issues, including important articles on cinema written by Doglio. Masini, through the magazine, entered into dialogue with other reviews and the tiny Bordigist and Trotskyist organisations.

Within the Italian Anarchist Federation (FAI) Masini was initially occupied with its Antimilitarist Commission, then becoming editor of the FAI weekly paper *Umanita Nova* in 1948. A magnificent and energetic editor, he was also a superb orator.

The internal conflict within the FAI between the youth grouped around Masini and the more traditional elements came to a head with the Livorno congress of 1949 and the Ancona congress of 1950. Masini proposed a Libertarian Party with an anarchist theory and practice adapted to the new economic, political and social reality of

postwar Italy, with an internationalist outlook and effective presence in the workplaces. This led to the secession of the group around Masini and the creation of the magazine *L'Impulso* and the Gruppi Anarchici d'Azione Proletaria (GAAP, Anarchist Groups of Proletarian Action). The GAAP allied themselves with a similar development within the French anarchist movement, the Federation Communiste Libertaire, whose leading light was Georges Fontenis. These two groups were the main components of the Libertarian Communist International (ICL) in 1954, along with a small Spanish section and informal links with the British movement via the militant Ken Hawkes.

However, the GAAP's hopes of breaking out of isolation had not taken account of the mystification purveyed by the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and its political and cultural hegemony over the working class. This led on to collaboration with Communist Party dissidents and above all with Azione Comunista, a confederation of small Bordigist, Trotskyist and ex-Communist organisations, among the latter being Giulio Seniga, who had been on the executive committee of the PCI. This grouping had been the result of the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and represented the internationalist and anti-Stalinist section of the Italian extraparliamentary left. The GAAP fused with Azione Comunista.

However, as Masini wrote in a letter to Fontenis, "nostalgists for Paleolithic Leninism and second-hand Leninists" seized control of Azione Comunista and forced out or discouraged the anarchists. Masini made the decision to join the Socialist Party (PSI) at the end of 1958, joining a tendency within it that had internationalist, classist and anti-Togliatti positions. He remained with these social-democratic views for the rest of his life.

However, Masini continued his interest in the historic study of anarchism. He produced a fine pamphlet on the Italian factory councils of post-World War One Italy. He collaborated with the learned journals *Rivista*

*Storica del Socialismo* and *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*. He produced his first book on the Internationalists and the anarchist insurrections of 1876-78. He followed this up with an edition of three volumes of the writings of Bakunin, the great Russian anarchist. In 1963 he produced a collection of the leaflets, manifestos and proclamations of the Italian section of the First International 1871-1880. The importance of Masini as historian of anarchism can be highlighted by the fact that before he started his work in the early '60s, there were no serious studies on Italian anarchism, outside of the small anarchist publishing houses.

Masini continued his work with *The First International in Italy*, still one of the great works of historiography. He followed this up with his *History of the Italian Anarchists from Bakunin to Malatesta* in 1969. A cheap edition of this book in 1974 had a great influence on winning many young people over to the ideas of anarchism. Despite their disagreements with Masini's changed political views, many Italian anarchists remain grateful to him for his historic work.

In the last years of his life Masini devoted himself to others of his passions for research, in particular a history of Italian literature between 700-800. This did not stop him throwing himself with youthful enthusiasm into collaborating with the journal *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo* (Historical Review of Anarchism). He put great efforts into preparatory work for the review, thought up its title, and contributed to it right up to the end of his life. The last article he ever wrote, on the attempt on Mussolini's life by the young anarchist Anteo Zamboni, appeared in its second issue.

Masini's strong personality, his modesty and his style of methodic work his intellectual wisdom, his Toscanita (Tuscanness) endeared him to those who had the good fortune to be his friends.

*Pier Carlo Masini, Italian historian, born 26th March 1923, died 19th October 1998.*

Nick Heath

### The Raven Number 37



### Anarchism in the Americas and China

96 pages      £3 post free worldwide

## Freedom or Genetic Engineering

Dear Freedom,

I am an anarchist, and so against oppression, and so against genetic engineering. My middle name is not anarchist though, and I choose to fight the good fight through the ecological arena. I read the letter in the 14th November *Freedom*, and your reply, with interest, but also some despondency, especially after having taken part in the positive Bradford Mayday '98 conference.

I do not fight genetic engineering (GE) for the sake of it, or some long-standing vendetta against the soya bean. I fight it because it represents the ultimate in control – the control of our food, from seed to plate, and eventually of us ourselves. Surely most people have by now realised that multinationals are more powerful than government – with GE, the UK Agriculture Minister admitted that he was not "in the driving seat". Multinationals have more money, power and control than whole governments put together, and are pushing their agenda. Whether through the MAI, regional free-trade agreements, or the (highest) World Trade Organisation, it is they who seek to take away our freedom, for the sake of profit.

And yes, there is a fundamental wrong in GE in my opinion; it is not neutral science, nor is it similar with "past meddling". It is bad inaccurate 'science', and the effects are at best completely unknown, according even to Monsanto. It is absurd reductionism; you only have to read a small amount of the piles of current literature to get an idea of the

direction it is heading, to that of designer-babies, discrimination, and eugenics. Surely all that is oppressive, controlling, and detrimental to our freedom. Surely the fact that GE is currently being released into the environment and the food chain, without the chance of recall or identification, fundamentally taking away our choice, tying farmers into monopolistic contracts which provide them with no advantage, forcing things upon us we have no protection against, etc., etc., is something anarchists should resist. It is capitalism in its most rampant controlling form. Call me a "superstitious primitivist" if you like, pretend to yourself naively that it is I who symbolises the authoritarian 'enemy', ask for references for any of the above statements if you need further 'proof', but ultimately look to yourselves for why you feel so defensive.

At Bradford Mayday, some old-style anarchists realised that eco-heads are diverse and not represented by *Green Anarchist*. Though obviously we have lessons to learn, with the help (if they'll give it) of anarchists who've been involved with struggle for a while, we, the 'unofficial' anarchist movement have given some thought about who we are fighting, and why. Let's be open to different methods and rhetoric, and believe in each other, that maybe we can work together without sharing the exact same analysis, in the knowledge that we are striving for the same values, the same freedoms from, and freedom to.

**an Earth First!er**

## Guardian's 'State of Anarchy'

This letter was sent to the editor of *The Guardian* before Christmas, and a copy sent to *Freedom* by the writer. As we go to press, we don't know whether it has appeared elsewhere, but we believe our readers will find it of interest even if they did not read the article by John Gray which provoked it.

Let's hope that John Gray's academic work is better than his journalistic work. His argument for the need for a "strong, modern state" ('State of Anarchy', *Guardian*, 15th December) is based on a series of elementary errors and omissions.

He admits that states were responsible for most of the atrocities of the twentieth century, but alleges that they are not responsible for the atrocities of the past decade. He ignores the fact that most of the "irregular armies, tribal or ethnic militias or political organisations" which perpetuate such horrors do so in imitation of or in the name of states or in the attempt to replace or become states.

It is true that violence tends to erupt when states disintegrate or collapse, but the result is not so much anarchy (no government) as polyarchy (many governments). The cause is not the disappearance of the state, but the failure to learn how to do without the state. No wonder people in crisis resort to violence, when their rulers always relied on it. The solution is not to restore the state, which is part of the problem, but to replace the tradition of authority and atrocity with one of liberty and humanity.

Meanwhile, existing or aspiring states have been deeply involved in the various kinds and degrees of violence not only in all the countries John Gray mentions (Afghanistan, Albania, Bosnia, Chechnya, Colombia, Indonesia, Russia, Rwanda) but also in many more he doesn't mention (Algeria, Brazil,

Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Georgia, Ghana, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Kenya, Libya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Palestine, Romania, Slovakia, Tibet, Turkey, United States, Zimbabwe).

Half a century after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, most crimes against humanity are still being committed by the states which signed it, as is repeatedly and convincingly documented by Amnesty International and many other human rights organisations. The lesson of the four heads in Grozny is not to go back to a strong authoritarian state, but to go forward to a strong libertarian community.

**Mary Lewis**

## Bouquet

Dear Freedom,

I enclose a cheque for a joint sub for *Freedom* and *The Raven*. I still call myself a libertarian socialist rather than an anarchist, but increasingly I find it difficult to put a cigarette paper between my views and those of Colin Ward and some of your other contributors.

One of my mistakes during my time as editor of the *New Statesman* (when Colin was among my most valued contributors) was to fail to take it far enough down that road. In seeking to maintain a dialogue with the Labour Party mainstream I made it too easy for the control freaks of New Labour to take the magazine over when those of us who ran it during the early to mid-1990s were finally exhausted by the struggle to keep it afloat.

I now value *Freedom* as one of the very few readable voices of dissent in Britain. Long may you thrive.

**Steve Platt**

## News from Angel Alley

We include here the final donations list for 1998, to the end of our accounting year on 20th December, but excluding all the payments received at the end of last year – and with the large number of subscription

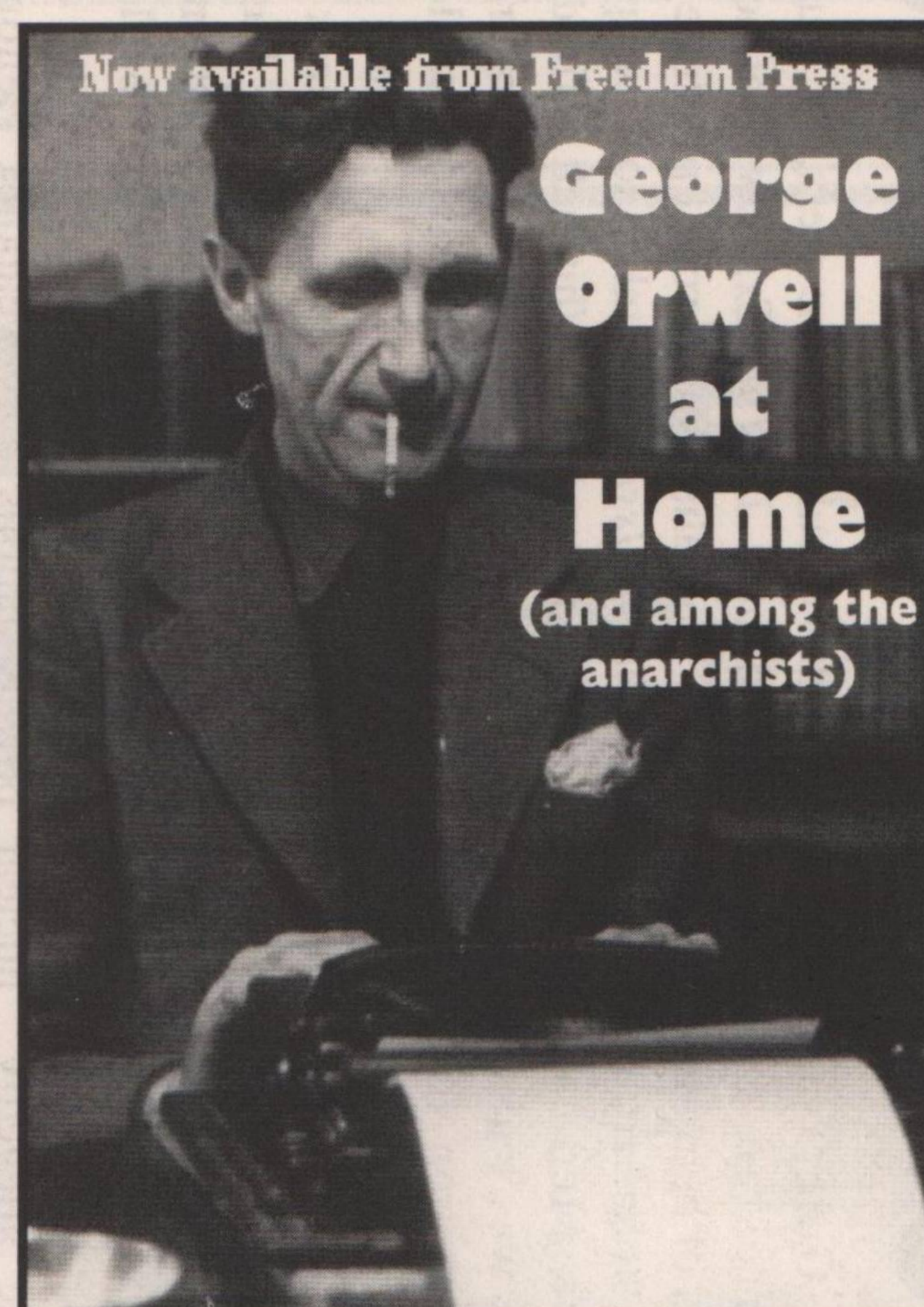
renewals in our first postbag as we re-open this week. All these will be acknowledged in our next issue, by which time all those who have renewed their subscriptions should have received a personal acknowledgement.

As a paper relying very largely on subscriptions, we have been encouraged to find so many people, including recent subscribers, have stayed with us for another twelve months. In 1999 we shall be bringing out *Freedom* every two weeks – except in the autumn when there will be a four week break between 21st August and 18th September – and the last issue will be dated 11th December, making 24 issues in all.

Last year we aimed to bring out four issues of our quarterly journal *The Raven*. We managed three, but we're aiming to improve this year by bringing out four issues on time – see our next issue of *Freedom* for more information. Note that subscribers get four issues for their money.

On the book publishing side, our *George Orwell at Home* volume has proved very popular, with repeat orders from some purchasers. Other new titles include *Information Liberation* by Brian Martin and Fermin Rocker's *The East End Years*.

We thank once again all those who have contributed to our three funds. The Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund and the Raven Deficit Fund enable us to hold the current subscription rates for another year, while the Freedom Press Overheads Fund helps towards the regular costs involved in the maintenance of our premises in Angel Alley – and last year the £4,000 we had to spend on a new roof. Many thanks to you all.



Now available from Freedom Press

**George Orwell at Home**  
(and among the anarchists)

This large-format book of essays and photographs is now available from Freedom Press at £6.95 (post free inland, add 15% if ordering from abroad)

**FREEDOM PRESS**  
84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

## DONATIONS

### November 1998

**Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund**  
Romford, MB, £33; London W3, NP, £6; Cambridge, MV, £6; Liverpool, RE, £10; Presteigne, MH, £3; Hawaii, ML, £19; London NW10, DL, £20; Totnes, TM, £6; West Derby, BE, £1; Telford, GB, £4; London E1, SH, £2; Leeds, RHP, £1; Hadleigh, AH, £5.

**Total = £116.00**

**1998 total to date = £822.00**

**Freedom Press Overheads Fund**  
Cheadle, SK, £5; Romford, MB, £33; Wolverhampton, JL, £5; Bristol, RS, £5; Hove, MB, £30; London, DR, £15; New York, PH, £2; Cleveland USA, TH, £10; Valparaiso, LO, £131; Clynderven, PWR, £6; Swindon, JK, £5; Cumbria, TB, £3; Swindon, REM, £6; Presteigne, MH, £3; Thames Ditton, HD, £3; Southsea, MJ, £1.50; Bristol, RS, £2; Hawaii, ML, £19; Nottingham, RB, £1.50; London, SH, £2; Aberdeen, DE, £5; New York, PC, £64; Stanford Vale, JC, £17; Cheshire, SK, £11.

**Total = £385.00**

**1998 total to date = £6,710.00**

**Raven Deficit Fund**  
Hawaii, ML, £19; Romford, MB, £33; Alicante, JH, £4; London E1, SH, £2.

**Total = £58.00**

**1998 total to date = £514.00**

### December 1998

**Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund**  
Manchester, AD, £6; Stirling, AD, £4; Isle of Wight, FNF, £6; Chelmsford, EA, £5; Reading, RB, £1; Newport, TP, £6; Newton Abbot, GH, £10; Pwllheli, MJ, £18; Abingdon, MB, £17; Acharacle, GS, £12; Basildon, AJ, £2.50; Saltburn, TE, £5; Perth, ZK, £5; Solihull, KD, £6; St Leonards, CP, £2; Bideford, JE, £6; Bothwell, DJW, £4; Trowbridge, TF, £2; Gloucester, TA, £25; Dalry, FG, £1; Wolverhampton, JL, £2; AM, £2; Hebden Bridge, HS, £50; Valencia, PD, £3; Morecambe,

AW, £2; Poole, JAP, £3; Cambridge USA, JK, £10; Hartfield, OM, £3; Tunbridge, BL, £2; Tewkesbury, PS, £6; Pinner, LOM, £2; Llwest, HD, £2; Bolton, DP, £2; Sacramento, DK, £4; Keighley, RG, £3; London, NW, £2; Shrewsbury, CJP, £6; Beckenham, DP, £60.

**Total = £310.50**

**1998 total to date = £1,132.50**

**Freedom Press Overheads Fund**  
Stirling, AD, £3; Manchester, AD, £4; Isle of Wight, FNF, £10; Pwllheli, MJ, £18; Abingdon, MB, £17; Acharacle, GS, £12; Kyoto, Japan, ML, £12; Copenhagen, TM, £5; Saltburn, TE, £6; Perth, ZK, £1; Solihull, KD, £6; St Leonards, CP, £2; Bothwell, DJW, £4; Lewes, BM, £4; Trowbridge, TF, £2; Gloucester, TA, £25; London, MB, £2; Wolverhampton, JL, £2; AM, £2; Hebden Bridge, HS, £50; Valencia, PD, £2; Morecambe, AW, £2; Poole, JAP, £3; Derby, BE, £2; New York USA, DF, £25; Chester, SC, £6; Beckenham, DP, £60; Cambridge USA, JK, £5; Hartfield, OM, £3; Tunbridge Wells, BL, £2; Crawcrook, PR, £5; Tewkesbury, PS, £6; Pinner, LOM, £2; Llwest, HD, £2; London, WM, £5; Ipswich, GN, £6; Bolton, DP, £2; Lewes, BM, £26; Sacramento, DK, £4; Keighley, RG, £3; Hove, WG, £6; Montreal, CB, £3; London, NW, £2; Cambridge, AG, £6.

**Total = £375.00**

**1998 grand total = £7,085.00**

**Raven Deficit Fund**  
Queensborough, RM, £6; Manchester, RD, £6; Stirling, PD, £4; Reading, RB, £1; Wrexham, RE, £9; Abingdon, MB, £17; Acharacle, GS, £12; Maidstone, PB, £6; Saltburn, TB, £6; Perth, ZK, £5; St Leonards, CP, £2; Trowbridge, TF, £2; Gloucester, TA, £26; Wolverhampton, AM, £2; Hebden Bridge, HS, £50; Morecambe, AW, £2; Cambridge USA, JK, £10; Tunbridge Wells, BL, £2; Pinner, LOM, £2; Llwrst, HD, £2; London, WM, £3; Bolton, DP, £2; Sacramento, DK, £4; Keighley, RG, £3; London, NW, £2; Beckenham, DP, £60.

**Total = £246.00**

**1998 grand total = £760.00**



**FREEDOM** fortnightly  
ISSN 0016 0504

Published by Freedom Press  
84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX  
Printed in Great Britain by Aldgate Press,  
London E1 7RQ

**Freedom on the  
World Wide Web**

http://www.tao.ca/~freedom  
e-mail Freedom Press at  
freedom@tao.ca

**a-infos**

daily multi-lingual international  
anarchist news service

To: majordomo@tao.ca  
Subject:

.....  
subscribe a-infos

Freedom and The Raven  
**SUBSCRIPTION  
RATES 1999**

	inland	outside Europe surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe (airmail only)
<b>Freedom (24 issues) half price for 12 issues</b>				
Claimants	10.00	-	-	-
Regular	14.00	22.00	34.00	24.00
Institutions	22.00	30.00	40.00	40.00

	inland	outside Europe surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe (airmail only)
<b>The Raven (4 issues)</b>				
Claimants	10.00	-	-	-
Regular	12.00	14.00	18.00	16.00
Institutions	18.00	22.00	27.00	27.00

	inland	outside Europe surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe (airmail only)
<b>Join sub (24 x Freedom plus 4 x The Raven)</b>				
Claimants	18.00	-	-	-
Regular	24.00	34.00	50.00	36.00

	inland	abroad surface	abroad airmail
<b>Bundle subs for Freedom (12 issues)</b>			
2 copies x 12	12.00	13.00	22.00
5 copies x 12	26.00	32.00	44.00
10 copies x 12	50.00	60.00	84.00

Other bundle sizes on application

Giro account number 58 294 6905

All prices are in £ sterling

**The Raven**  
anarchist quarterly

Number 38

1968

**Back issues still available:**

- 37 - Anarchism in the Americas and China
- 36 - Class Struggle and Social Protest
- 35 - Urban Environment / Psychoanalysis
- 34 - Communication (3) : Language
- 33 - The Arts
- 32 - Communication (2) : 'The Net'
- 31 - Economics and Federalism
- 30 - New Life to the Land?
- 29 - World War Two
- 28 - Noam Chomsky on Haiti
- 27 - Fundamentalism
- 26 - Science (2)
- 25 - Religion
- 24 - Science (1)
- 23 - Spain / Emma Goldman
- 22 - Crime
- 21 - Feminism
- 20 - Kropotkin's 150th Anniversary
- 19 - Sociology
- 18 - Anthropology
- 17 - Use of Land
- 16 - Education (2)
- 15 - Health
- 14 - Voting
- 13 - Anarchism in Eastern Europe
- 12 - Communication (1)
- 11 - Class
- 10 - Libertarian Education
- 9 - Bakunin and Nationalism
- 8 - Revolution
- 7 - Emma Goldman
- 6 - Tradition and Revolution
- 5 - Spies for Peace
- 4 - Computers and Anarchism
- 3 - Surrealism (part 2)
- 2 - Surrealism (part 1)
- 1 - The History of Freedom Press

**£3.00 each (post free worldwide)**

**FREEDOM PRESS**  
84b Whitechapel High Street  
London E1 7QX

**Meetings & Events**

**The London  
Anarchist Forum**

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

— PROGRAMME 1999 —

- 8th January** General discussion
  - 15th January** What is an Anarchist Movement? The *Problem* for Newcomers (symposium)
  - 22nd January** General discussion
  - 29th January** Symposium on Behaviour in Anarchist Meetings
  - 5th February** General discussion
  - 12th February** The Free Individual and Sovereignty in a Just Society (speaker Malcolm Hill)
  - 19th February** Symposium on 'The New Deal'
  - 26th February** Transgressing the Boundaries: Anarchy and the Psychology of Revolution (speaker Steve Ash)
  - 5th March** General discussion
  - 12th March** Symposium on Anarchism and Spirituality
  - 19th March** General discussion
  - 26th March** The *New Working Class* (speaker Peter Neville)
  - 2nd April** General discussion
  - 9th April** Deconstructing the State: Derrida and Bakunin (speaker Steve Ash)
  - 16th April** General discussion
  - 23rd April** Symposium on Anarchy and Racism
- Anyone interested in giving a talk or leading a discussion, please contact Peter Neville at the meetings (or telephone 0181-847 0203, subject to called display and answer phone so people who withhold their numbers or fail to leave a message will be ignored) giving your subject and prospective dates and we will do our best to accommodate.  
**Peter Neville**  
for London Anarchist Forum

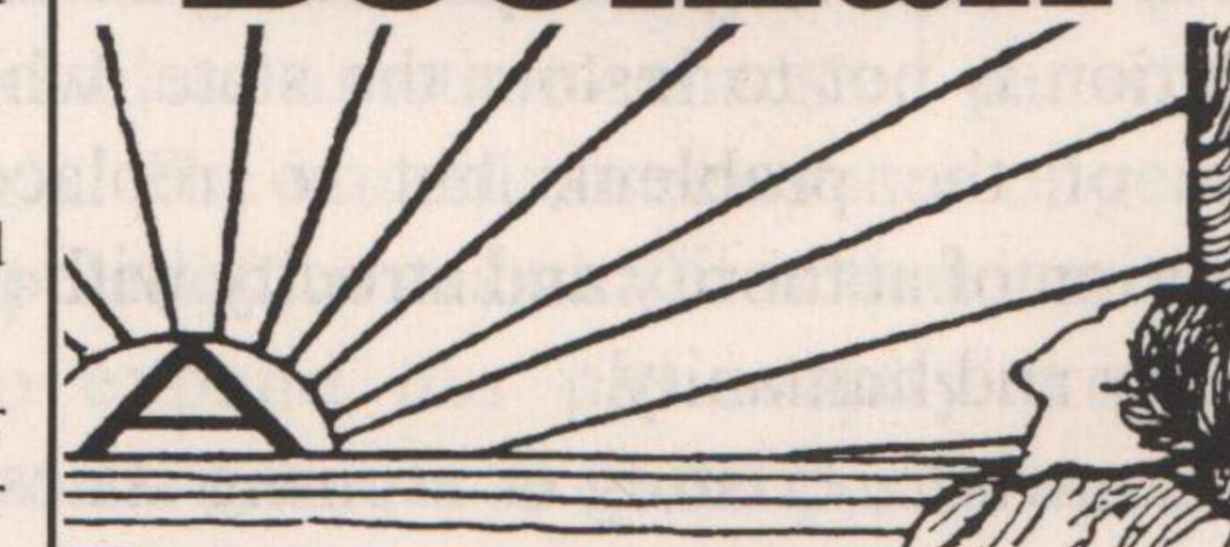
**Diggers 350**

In 1649, at the end of the English Civil War, the Diggers asserted the right to rent-free land for all. From 30th March to 10th April 1999 and into the new millennium *The Land is Ours* will be celebrating and reviving the Digger spirit.



Preparatory speaker/workshop meeting on:  
**Sunday 17th January 1999**  
from 12 noon until 5pm  
at  
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square,  
London WC1

**Fourth Annual Bay Area  
Anarchist  
Bookfair**



on 27th March 1999 from  
10am to 6pm  
San Francisco County Fair Building,  
Ninth Avenue and Lincoln Way in  
Golden Gate Park

**SUBSCRIPTION FORM**

To Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

- I am a subscriber, please renew my sub to *Freedom* for ..... issues
- Please renew my joint subscription to *Freedom* and *The Raven*
- Make my sub to *Freedom* into a joint sub starting with number 38 of *The Raven*
- I am not yet a subscriber, please enter my sub to *Freedom* for ..... issues and *The Raven* for ..... issues starting with number 38
- I would like the following back numbers of *The Raven* at £3 per copy post free ..... (numbers 1 to 37 are available)
- I enclose a donation to the Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund / Freedom Press Overheads Fund / Raven Deficit Fund (delete as applicable)

I enclose £ ..... payment

Name .....

Address .....

..... Postcode .....