

FREEDOM

anarchist fortnightly

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50p

When it comes to New Labour ...

Is the novelty wearing off?

An interesting thing in the leaked report of New Labour pollster Philip Gould, was the comment that this country had moved from a 'representative democracy' to a 'direct democracy'. He claimed that now public opinion had to be monitored on a daily basis.

Perhaps we should bear in mind that Mr Gould – as a pollster, and the industry he represents – would have a vested interest in promoting this idea. Such people also seem to confuse what

appears in the tabloid media with the genuine opinion of the public. Consequently much of the efforts of contemporary politicians is devoted to sucking-up to the tabloids.

Somehow New Labour seems to have fallen foul of the press with *The Times* and *Sun* trading in the current embarrassing leaks. As the Prime Minister's chief pollster, Philip Gould's memo claimed that "something has gone persistently wrong" and ended that the New Labour brand was now "badly contaminated".

Mr Gould insists that "we lack politicians genuinely in tune with the people". But there still seems to be a flaw in the media-oriented packaging and branding approach of Gould and New Labour. Is public opinion measurable anyway?

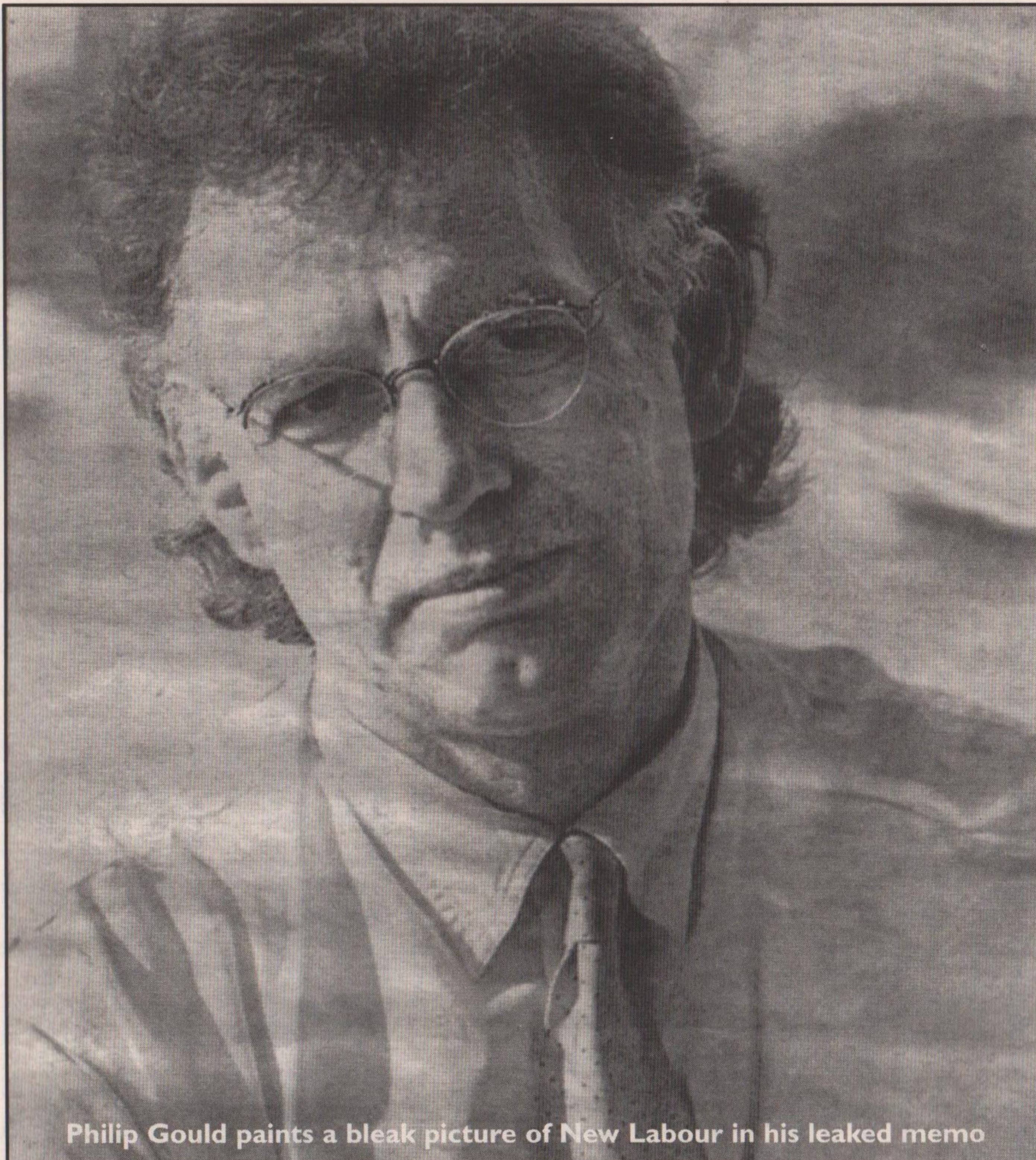
New Labour: an empty vessel

The low turn-out in the May local elections was a disappointment to many politicians and was a sign that New Labour had lost its touch. There was some self-righteous stuff for the non-voters from the party faithful.

The local press carried letters defending the new vision. One letter writer in the *Rochdale Observer*, while admitting that the "mass of non-voters is not a homogenous entity", declared that "there are many of us (and I believe I speak for a large constituency) who have arrived at the conclusion that the whole thing is an elaborate and pointless facade".

This letter writer is clearly old Labour in a Keynesian sense, and he goes on to say that "of course the Nouveau Capitalist party at least promised us amelioration, while continuing to outflank the Tories on nearly every platform from the Right". He lists the attacks on single mothers, the disabled and the "surrender of macro-economic policy to the unelected and unaccountable". He also declares that "the flagship New Deal is really a very old deal, yet more tokenism and make-work schemes, all couched in a singularly unpleasant rhetoric of compulsion and coercion". Meanwhile Labour propagates the notion that unemployment is an individual failing rather than a function of aggregate demand.

The writer seems to detect that New
(continued on page 2)



Philip Gould paints a bleak picture of New Labour in his leaked memo

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More vinegar than Chanel

Writing in the *Observer* in 1999 Martin Amis, in an article titled 'The Shock of the Nou', detailed his experiences travelling with a group of Manchester United fans to the European Cup final at Barcelona's Nou Camp stadium. Amis might often have found himself in his father's shadow, but the article at least demonstrated that when it came to misanthropic bile and anti-working class prejudice, he could keep pace with old Kingsley. Amis's text is splattered with references to 'the herd' and 'the mob', "the group ferocity of the football fan", all "dowdily anonymous or heavily merchandised". Mocking the flow and tenor of working class speech is second nature to our rotten-toothed wag: "singing or chanting or bawling is supposed to be one of the folklorish charms of the game; but musical anti-talent seems to be a *sine qua non* of the average fan". Anyone who watched the game, either at the Nou Camp or on television, will recall it as a peaceful enough affair, becoming increasingly more dramatic as injury time approached. No major rows outside or inside the stadium. For Amis, though, the experience had a different effect: "I have felt the ugly and atavistic lusts of the football fan, and they disquiet me". The cause of Amis's disquiet? Sheer proximity to the unwashed masses. Amis's fear is the fear

of football as a celebration of working class identity and mob power. In his book about Barcelona, Jimmy Burns interviews a Barca fan who describes football as a "collective fiesta" (*Barca* by Jimmy Burns, Bloomsbury, 1999), and it is precisely this glimpse of a class unbowed which Amis recoils from. Judging from the reactions of the liberal media and the left generally to the supposed chaos of Euro 2000 and Jack Straw's Football (Disorder) Bill – including the reaction of some correspondents to this paper – he's not alone in his fears.

The premise for the introduction of the Bill, "the disorder perpetrated by England supporters in Charleroi and Brussels" (Jack Straw in *Hansard*, 4th July 2000) doesn't stand up to examination. As Straw concedes, 965 British nationals were arrested, 464 were deported and a "very small number of those originally arrested now face trial". Therefore on the basis of a linked series of events which resulted in a negligible amount of criminal charges, New Labour seeks to bring in a Bill to curtail the freedom of movement of a swathe of UK citizens. (An objective examination of the footage from Euro 2000 reveals groups of football fans drinking, chanting and throwing the occasional plastic glass or plastic chair. The only sustained violence resulting in serious injury was carried out by rival fans against English

supporters, or by police baton charges and using CS gas and water cannons against groups of fans. The position of the left in relation to what were, after all, sustained assaults by the police on groups of young working class lads, though, is what might ironically be called the *Dirty Harry* line. In the film of that name, after beating up a suspect who is later released as a result, the Clint Eastwood character remarks that he's "All broken up about that man's rights." So for the left in relation to the civil liberties of England fans.)

Football 'hooliganism' – a process, in sociological terms, of identity-formation and contestation of territory between groups of rival fans, in which few participants suffer serious injury, with the risk to non-participants minimal – has for years, been a testing ground for policing strategies. What horrifies the *Guardian*-reading middle classes is the 'vulgar chanting' and occasional outbursts of nationalism (although the 'new Britain' rhetoric and anti refugee witch-hunts don't seem to have put them off New Labour). What concerns the state is much simpler, and concerns precisely the formation of a collective working class identity (even one cut through with tribal/national allegiances). In his new work, *The Fabrication of Social Order* (Pluto, 2000) Mark Neocleous charts the development of

the 'police' concept as a means to "the abolition of disorder" from the beginnings of bourgeois rule to the present, and makes explicit the link between the formulation of methods towards "the ordering and regulating of the city" and the creation – through dispossession – of the working class. Neocleous quotes Sonnenfels to the effect that "there are only two roads open to make one's livelihood if one does not have an inherited fortune: work or crime", and maps the extent to which all forms of working class behaviour which do not facilitate their "setting to work" have become subject to criminalisation and policing. (Neocleous's *The Fabrication of Social Order* is one of the most brilliant and provocative works of 'critical theory' produced in years. It is not possible to do justice to his deconstruction of the 'police' concept here, but his refusal of liberal/reformist conceptions of the state and "law and order" is exemplary). As Neocleous makes clear – and as so many whose response to the Football (Disorder) Bill have been musings about 'English nationalism', or the inability of the football supporter to hold his drink, have forgotten – "police protects the imaginary universality of particular interests within this order. The demand for order in civil society is thus a demand for class order".

The last twenty years have seen – on the back of the Thatcher government's victories over the organised working class, culminating in the 1984-85 miners strike – a mass of legislation passed to entrench the notion of working class life as 'policed' life, a life bounded, hemmed in, by the state. From the increased use of CCTV as a means to deny space for the possibility of collective relations, and to engender an almost instinctive awareness of social life as policed life, through the extension of powers of stop and search, entry, arrest and detention via the 1984 Police and Criminal Evidence Act, to the criminalisation of protest which began with the 1986 Public Order Act and culminates in the Terrorism Bill, we have arrived at a position whereby "no human problem exists, or is imaginable, about which it would be said that this certainly could not become the proper business of the state" (Neocleous). One of the arenas for this "pacification through policing" of working class life has been football. From the late 1970s football became a testing ground for techniques that would later be deployed against the trade union movement and the left. The dispersal/crowd control techniques employed by the Tactical Support Groups were worked out against football crowds. The use of CCTV and mobile video cameras, which are now commonplace at demonstrations, first appeared outside football grounds.

(continued on page 2)



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The use of restrictive bail conditions, and, later, restrictive Community Service Orders, deployed throughout the miners strike, were a regular feature of the policing of 'hooligans', as also the use of affray as a catch all charge to avoid the need to frame individual charges of assault, etc., in relation to crowd activities. The intelligence and surveillance techniques devised by the National Football Intelligence Unit were later set against militant anti-fascists (who are intended as a prime target of the Terrorism Bill – another fact 'forgotten' by the liberal eco-left, who think it will apply to them, even though non-violent direct action of the type pioneered by Greenpeace *et al* has been explicitly ruled out as a target by Home Office spokesmen in Commons debates on the Bill) and incorporated into the workings of the National Criminal Intelligence Service more generally.

The provision in the 1986 Public Order Act for Exclusion Orders to bar those convicted of hooligan-related offences from football grounds for specified periods, and the subsequent extended provisions of the 1991 Football Offences Act, were predicated, as Jack Straw makes explicit, on the notion that "football hooliganism ... is perpetrated by a relatively small minority of known football troublemakers". However, "the blunt truth ... which has become very clear from events last month is this: football hooliganism abroad is no longer confined to a small minority of known troublemakers." In other words – the 'organised conspiracies' used to ram through the 1991 Act don't exist. Rather than give up this particular ghost though, Straw intends to extend the powers of the 1991 Act to cover the 'spectre' of the white working class male *per se*. Faced with an absence of conspiratorial intent (and a reality that

consists of a few drunks throwing chairs) Straw determines that everyone who seeks to attend a football match will be part of the conspiracy. Does anyone really believe that the Bill is a response to the fear engendered in Her Majesty's government by a few lads with Union Jack face paint abusing the locals across Europe? This is, literally, policing for the sake of it, an opportunity to police the freedom of movement of a large minority of working class youth (which, once on the statute books, could be extended by the use of police 'discretion' to cover groups beyond the remit of the Bill) and to re-introduce the freedom of movement restrictions, embodied in the old PTA in the form of exclusion orders, (and dropped in the Terrorism Bill) in a new guise. The Bill provides for the making of a 'banning order' on the complaint of a police officer, outside current criminal proceedings. Moreover a 'constable in uniform' during a 'control period' can ask any British citizen to surrender his passport and appear before a magistrates court, on the basis of 'reasonable suspicion' about that individual's behaviour and intent. If the possibility of a generalised removal of the right to freedom of movement on the basis of 'reasonable suspicion' doesn't trouble the liberal mind; consider section 2, which allows the Secretary of State to make any supplementary, incidental or consequential provision, and any transitory, transitional or saving provision, which he considers necessary or expedient for the purposes of, in consequence of or for giving full effect to the Act. Still, it's only for the yobs, so why worry?

What's so farcical about the left/liberal response to Euro 2000 is that it fixates on the aspect of football hooliganism that concerns the state the least – the nationalism of the supporters. Nationalism, and the deployment

of the race card, have been standard weapons deployed by New Labour since they came into office. The reason is clear enough. Racism works for the ruling class precisely because it tricks the working class into taking its eye off the ball, into concerning itself with the benefit levels of poor refugees rather than the incomes of Richard Branson or Lord Sainsbury. In the last week statistics released showed that while the poor were poorer under New Labour, the income of the rich grew at a higher rate than in the Major years. In the same week, the British National Party beat the Tories into second place, with 26.2% of the vote, in the North End ward by-election in Bexley, Kent. The issue the BNP scored so heavily on? Asylum seekers. The left/liberal focus on race has played into the hands of the far right, and into the hands of the bi-partisan establishment. Seeing increasing numbers of working class people buy into the racist myths propagated by Blair, Straw, Widdecombe and Hague, the left/liberal 'opposition' has disengaged further from working class terrain – abandoned it to the BNP – and retreated to liberal platitudes about 'multi-culturalism' precisely when what's needed has been a focus on turning working class disenchantment away from race towards an understanding of poverty and urban collapse rooted in class. (One example of a more positive intervention can be located in the Independent Working Class Association's interventions in the London Borough of Islington, focused on opposition to council house sell-offs, environmental justice in working class areas and the privatisation of housing benefit services. Contact the IWCA at BM Box IWCA London WC 1N 3XX for details). The same could be said for football – for years, while the state employed ever more brutal policing techniques against

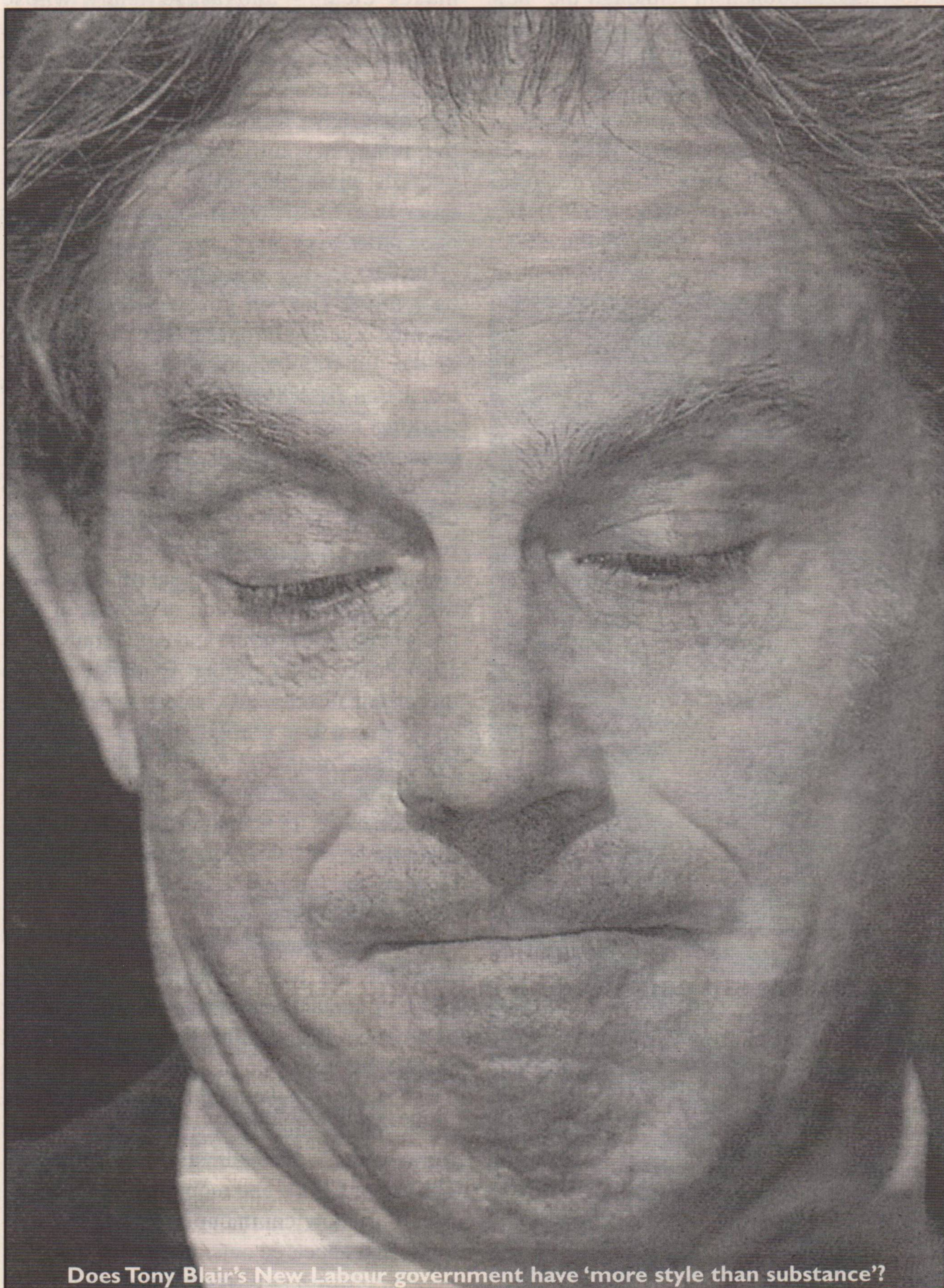
football supporters, the left said nothing. Even the deaths of 96 Liverpool fans at Hillsborough in 1989 as a direct result of police crowd control techniques and hostility towards supporters, merited barely a bleat of protest. Football was the recruiting ground for NF/BNP/C18, etc., therefore it was terrain to be avoided, rather than contested. The end result of all this is a situation the state can live with; working class discontent diverted into a racist cul de sac and the BNP as a pressure valve to allow the proles to let off steam.

The Football (Disorder) Bill tells us that, while the left/liberal opposition have given up on the working class as, in the words of Arthur Hopcraft, "always ... more vinegar than Chanel" (Arthur Hopcraft, *The Football Man*, Penguin 1968), the ruling class (and those middle class writers like Martin Amis who share its hopes and fears) knows the class war isn't really over yet. As Neocleous puts it: "Order is hardly threatened unless there is a force which appears to possess the potential of undermining it".

Nick S.

Death Row

In the article 'Death Row' (*Freedom*, 15th July 2000) we reported on Gary Graham's battle against execution. Part of his struggle involved reclaiming his African identity and taking the name Shaka Sankofa. In his pre-execution statement Shaka stated: "Make sure that we get my name as Shaka Sankofa. My name is not Gary Graham. Make sure that it is properly presented on my grave." We are sorry that this important aspect of Shaka's battle was overlooked in our article.



Does Tony Blair's New Labour government have 'more style than substance'?

(continued from page 8)

Labour is an empty vessel with a "supine attitude" to "global market forces". Though, with Gordon Brown's new spending plan, the government may yet manufacture the impression of some substance in time for the next General Election.

The roots of destiny

Do political organisations need roots or can they get by today on sound-bites and style? I think perhaps some fascist parties, like the Italian fascists in the 1930s, could perform quite well on style without offering serious solutions to social problems. Perhaps today, even in a democracy, it may be advantageous for an opposition party not to have a clear political programme.

Just now, though, New Labour seems to be searching around for its core support. The image that the government is seen as "more style than substance" as Philip Gould suggests, is something New Labour now appears to want to get away from.

One of the Italian parties has been through the same experience. In 1994 media tycoon Silvio Berlusconi plunged into the political arena, with not much more than a winning smile and a bunch of catchy slogans. He didn't have a proper party.

He cobbled together a brand new organisation called Forza Italia (Go Italy). It was a rootless plant, just a branch of Berlusconi's advertising firm. The critics called it 'the plastic party'.

At that time Berlusconi said: "We do not want to set up a party (like the others) ... we want a lightweight structure".

Then señor Berlusconi stormed the Italian political establishment and won the general election after a three-month campaign employing an advertisement blitz. But after a defeat

in the 1995 general elections and four years in opposition, Forza Italia re-invented itself. It now has a far-reaching grassroots structure.

In *L'Unita*, the left-wing daily which was once the mouthpiece of the Italian Communist Party, the leftist intellectual Alberto Astor Rosa wrote an envious editorial about Forza Italia: "We had strong social roots, and gave them up; they had none, and created them. We could count on an efficient extensive organisation, and we tore it down in the belief that a lightweight structure could help us carry out a nimble strategy; they started from scratch and set up a first-rate grassroots structure, knowing full well that television is not enough. We could count on a layer of society to back us, and we lost it; they didn't have one, and now they die."

Surely there is a message here for New Labour. Tony Blair's pollster Philip Gould talks about the rise of 'direct democracy', but I don't think he sees it as an anarchist might do – rather he still seems to think in media terms and operates through the focus group. Thus far New Labour seems to have gone out of its way to neglect its roots, becoming a media and television based movement depending largely on the charisma of its leader.

It seems that the novelty of spin, the focus groups and sad sound-bites, have only a limited appeal in a democracy. Forza Italia, which is buoyant after its successful boycott campaign in the May referendum over electoral reform (only 32% of Italian voters turned out, when 50% is necessary), recognised this. Force of circumstances seems to be driving New Labour in this direction. Anarchists as well, if they are to be socially significant, would have to identify a constituency of their own whether that be in the labour movement or among the environmentalists or whatever.

BB

Velvet Gloves: Fylingdales and St Paul's



On 8th July, several hundred demonstrators from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) visited Fylingdales radar station on the north Yorkshire moors. It's part of the 'early warning' system, a base controlled by the USA, that pretends it's run by the RAF. In spite of the average age of those present, the energy level was high.

President Reagan thought America could be defended by 'Star Wars' technology – a vast nuclear 'umbrella'. Protests led to the idea being dropped by the politicians. Scientists and armaments manufacturers continued to try and test the idea for thirty years – and failed. Hard pressed armaments manufacturers are now trying to sell President Clinton what has been termed 'Son of Star Wars', aimed against 'rogue states', i.e. countries the Pentagon doesn't like. Instead of paying out the comparatively petty cash to buy-off/make friends with such people, \$60 billion is the price ticket for the system. It would be linked to Fylingdales and adjacent facilities at Menwith Hill, spy base. The proposed system "would encourage the US to strike first and make nuclear war more likely".

It came as an encouragement to us, the morning of the CND demo, to hear that some hours previously the latest 'Son of Star Wars' test, had also failed. It had been carefully fixed to succeed, but still went wrong.

Characters from the film *Star Wars*, entertained the demonstrators with street theatre: Chewbacca and Princess Leah arguing with the evil Darth Vader. Many passing motorists showed their approval while only a few gave us the finger.

Police had been carefully briefed for their best behaviour, saying, 'thank you very much' as they took my leaflets. Of course, such presentation is only the iron fist of power inside the pale pastel glove. The Prevention of Terrorism Bill, soon to become law, will give the police powers, to define anything they do not like politically as terrorism. For example, declaring the whole site of an action to be a 'prohibited area'. Such laws are consistent with nuclear weapons. If you are

to have a 'defence system' based on lies, then you must have legislation to enforce lies, and deter activists.

Similarly, a few days after this reported demonstration, we saw another pale pastel presentation from St Paul's Cathedral. The gentility of the queen mother, hiding the iron fist. Many refuse to recognise that the power exercised by royalty's underlings is so subtle that it usually ensures our agreement with whatever they do. Law and order is thus maintained, and the poor and oppressed kept in place. Another misconception about royalty

is that they are neutral politically. But while they are the Commanders in Chief of regiments, and the Admirals of the Navy, they never come to our demos or peace camps – most welcome Ma'am, have a badge, we have dug you a loo over there.

Martin S. Gilbert

Liverpool's music scene?

For me, Liverpool is a place where music once happened, but as time went by ceased to exist completely. The death of the Liverpool music scene is synonymous with the growth of political apathy amongst the people of Liverpool, who no longer even own the city of Liverpool for themselves, leaving themselves at the mercy of faceless bureaucrats who wouldn't even recognise the needs of the city if it smacked them on the nose. Instead, they continue to pump money into 'student culture' providing homes and cheap entertainment for the same bourgeois sods who will piss off back to Daddy's IT firm in Surrey once the three-year holiday is up. Basically the same bunch of tossers who go to our quaint little venues to watch 'lovable mop-top' cover bands consisting of seventeen-year-old boys trying not to even emulate John Lennon any more, but Tommy Scott – which speaks volumes about the distinct lack of creativity amongst Liverpool youth. Those who dare to stray from this tourist-friendly stereotype face nothing but ridicule, not only from 'fellow musicians' in the city but from the people themselves who are now terrified of difference, as a result of all spirit and ambition being crushed during the atrocity that was the 1980s Tory government.

The stereotype – i.e. the outdated haircut, the oversized mountaineering jackets and an abundance of Adidas – is now the only expression of unity that the modern Scouser knows of. Rarely has the maxim 'ignorance is strength' been adhered to so completely by one city, as signs of a decent education in this

downtrodden dive of a place are scarce. Therefore it is of no surprise that the rare talent that Liverpool *does* produce shoots up the M62 before anyone can say 'Eeee...' – which is an absolute tragedy. What was once the music capital of the world has transformed into a soulless shithole, and the people of Liverpool – not the tourists or the brats who have come to play house and experience the 'wacky scouse humour' of the place, but the real people who spend a lifetime accepting a second-class existence accompanied by a second-class soundtrack – need to reclaim the city for themselves before it gets to the stage where it's too late and Liverpool has no soundtrack at all!

Sarah Crewe

COPY DEADLINE

The next issue of Freedom will be dated 12th August, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be first post on Thursday 3rd August.

If possible contributions should be typed using double-spacing between lines, or can be sent as text files on disc (with a print-out please).



From open access to early closing

The revolution began in Clerkenwell in 1894, and the revolutionist was James Duff Brown, a quiet, diminutive Scotsman. No revolvers were fired and no barricades erected yet a great victory was gained. The massed ranks of reactionaries were defeated and the old order swept away. A century later Brown's courageous action is forgotten and his legacy neglected. Yet

courage and confidence were not misplaced. Despite an increase in library usage there was little sign of the predicted 'chaos' and soon Bournemouth (January 1895) and Darwen, Lancashire (June 1895) followed Brown's example and adopted open-access. A pamphlet of 1899 showed that the loss of books in the libraries that had adopted open-access was extremely modest and amounted

forty-nine public libraries in Britain were built with blood money from Andrew Carnegie, who by the time of his death in 1919 had become the richest man in the world. In 1892 Carnegie's company determined to smash the trade union that operated at their giant Homestead steel mill. After locking-out the unionised workforce, Carnegie's manager Henry Clay Frick, began evicting them from their homes and replacing them with scabs. Frick engaged three hundred fully armed thugs of the notorious Pinkerton agency who opened fire on protesting workers, killing seven and wounding many more. Carnegie destroyed the union but Alexander Berkman almost succeeded in assassinating Frick.

amount on books that they are able to generate from their profitable sidelines. This is the Railtrack syndrome where 'successful' railway stations are increasingly devoted to the sale of croissants, knickers, burgers and socks and the 'unsuccessful' left semi-derelict. Big libraries become more commercially orientated and small, branch libraries open shorter and shorter hours until they are closed altogether.

A new leaf or the final chapter?

Unlike schools, libraries support rather than direct learners, and this fails to impress politicians who consider that education is something to be imposed not offered. Similarly, libraries appeal more to self-motivated truth-seekers than to the passive couch potatoes nurtured by our consumer society. The development of independent, critical thinking plays no part in our modern education system and libraries have become an unloved, Cinderella service. With political determination books, magazines and the new media could be attractively repackaged to create stimulating, popular new learning-centres but this is unlikely to happen. A continuing decline in the quality of library provision is far more likely. My local library, for example, offers limited hours and charges £5 an hour for using the Internet. Such limitations on public access would make Duff Brown turn in his grave. Even photocopying costs two and a half times more than in local shops. Libraries have become second rate public service providers and third rate providers of commercial services. As supermarkets open longer hours, libraries open shorter hours, as bookshops become more attractive and the larger ones include coffee shops, libraries get tattier and most refuse to even offer public toilets. Local councils are required by law to provide a "comprehensive and efficient" public library service (Public Libraries and Museums Act, 1964), but libraries are first in line when cuts are made as politicians regard them as soft targets. Public libraries command little political support and because they just seem to have always been there, we tend to take them for granted. After continuous cuts and years of neglect the situation is now critical. We may be the last generation to be offered the fruits of Carnegie's cruel exploitation and the gains of the Clerkenwell Revolution.

Christopher Draper



CHAOS IN THE LENDING LIBRARY

(frontispiece to the anonymous pamphlet *The Truth about Giving Readers Free Access to the Books in a Public Lending Library*, 1895)

Brown's revolution was a fragment of anarchy in action, an achievement to be recognised, treasured and defended.

Chaos in the lending library

In 1894 James Brown recklessly opened up the bookshelves of Clerkenwell Library to the uncontrolled explorations of the untutored masses. He had been warned that it would end in disaster. Victorian librarians jealously guarded and regulated public access to their precious books with intricate systems of grilles, reserve collections, incomprehensible catalogues and request systems of labyrinthine complexity. It was inconceivable that a member of the public should simply be permitted to walk into a library, glance through a few books on the shelf and within a few minutes of entering be able to take home several self-selected volumes, whatever next! Such uncontrolled access would surely erupt into destruction, chaos and violence with members of the public fighting over books and causing irreparable damage. The frontispiece of a contemporary pamphlet (shown here above) illustrated the inevitable consequences of such unwise loosening of the strings of authority. Brown was nevertheless convinced that order and efficiency were hindered rather than helped by authoritarian forms of library organisation and he proceeded to create a system of open access at Clerkenwell Public Library. He withstood a fierce, sustained and co-ordinated attack from his overwhelmingly reactionary colleagues. In 1920 Berwick Sayers recalled the strength of that opposition: "So sharp were the divisions ... that the municipal library profession went into two armed camps, and friendship and good-feeling were frequently destroyed by it. It is difficult for younger librarians to realise the courage and confidence that were needed to champion open-access twenty five years ago against the active antagonism of 90 per cent of the profession" (*Manual of Library Economy*, edited by W. Sayers, page 3). Brown's

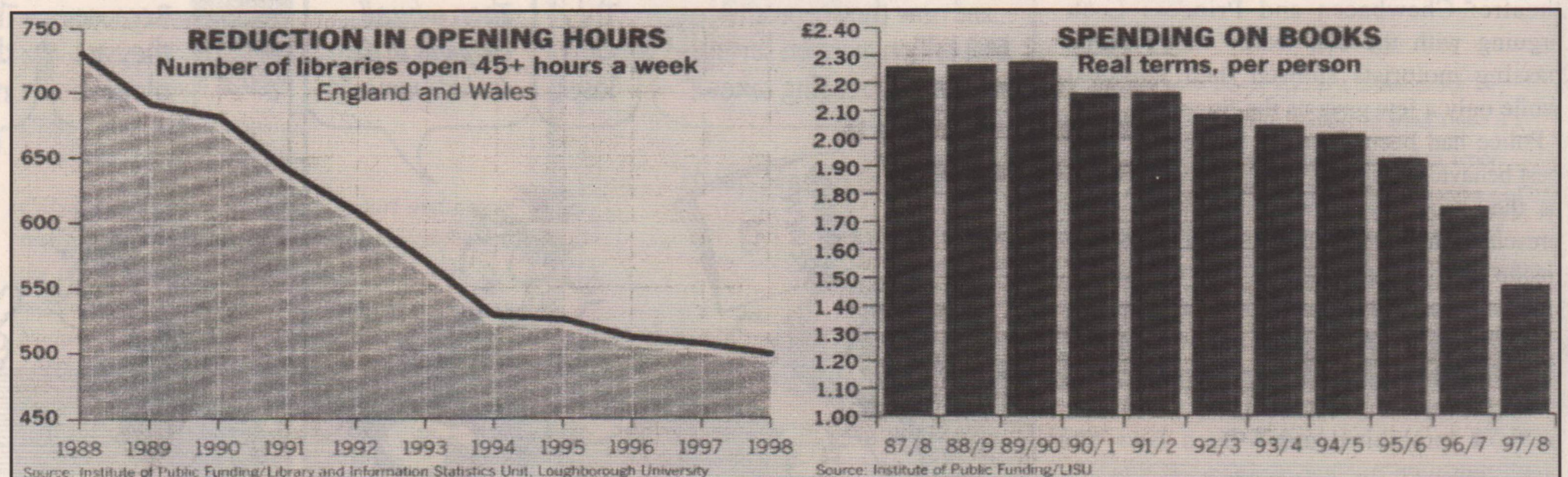
to an average of only one volume (value two shillings) for every 27,547 loans. Eventually even the most reactionary library authorities capitulated to the open-access system. Brown was an important, though largely unrecognised, pioneer in the continuing struggle for the liberation of learning.

Carnegie's blood money

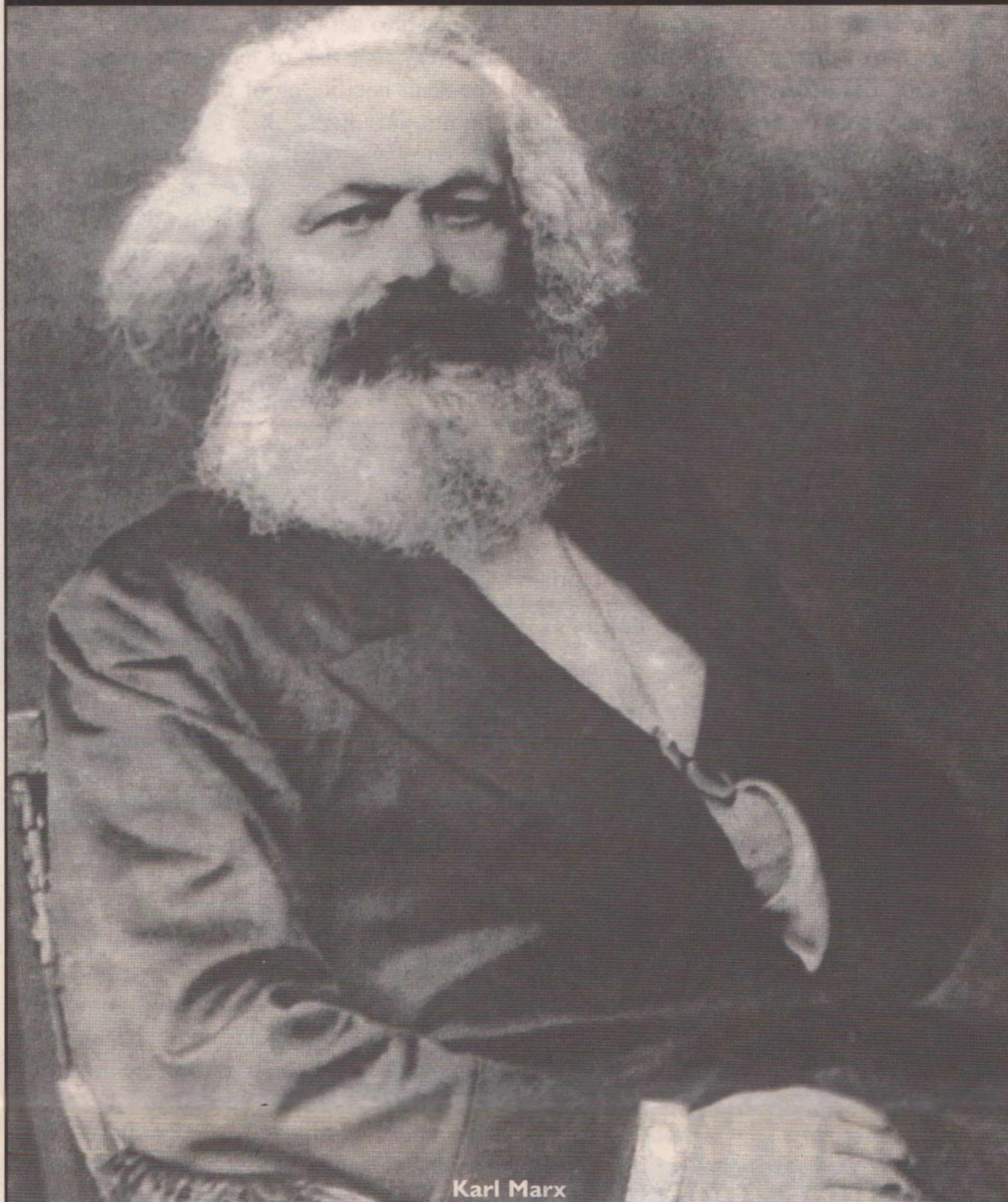
Besides getting access to books it was initially a struggle for people to get access to a library at all. Wealthy citizens who could afford to buy their own books weren't keen to finance municipal libraries providing access to the lower orders. After all, "What would come of their errand boys" demanded a speaker at Lowestoft "when sent out on messages when the library was established? They would loaf about the place and the people might wait for their meat and fish!" (T. Greenwood, *Free Public Libraries*, 1891, quoted on page 213). In 1900 a ratepayer inquired through the columns of the *Islington Gazette* why he should have to pay eight shillings a year for "lazy people that have nothing else to do but lounge about at home or in a library reading books". Ironically the funds for erecting many of Britain's public libraries, including the one at which I researched this article, came not from public authorities but from the ruthless exploitation of American steelworkers. Five hundred and

The rise and fall of a great institution

Until the nineteen seventies the public library system continued to develop and evolve. Many of us owe our first acquaintance with radical ideas to books and magazines discovered at local libraries. Open all hours and entirely free it was a wonderland to me and countless other working class kids whose homes were almost intellect free zones. I can still recall the profound intellectual effect of one particular magazine article, which I came across in the library opposite my granny's house, in the nineteen sixties. The article questioned whether the Beatles should really be paid more for one show than a miner could earn in a lifetime. It set me off on a train of thought that still continues, but it wasn't just the intellectual articles. The library used to get all the comics and football mags and had big encyclopaedias to find out weird stuff. It opened up a whole new world beyond my experience and well beyond what I could otherwise afford to pay for. Now my local library has cancelled all magazine subscriptions and provides only a handful of newspapers. The cutbacks have been severe, sustained and they continue. In many parts of the country you can now get a more comprehensive, newsy read in the dentist's waiting room than the central library! Whilst the government parades its commitment to raising reading standards, it presides over a disastrous decline in public libraries. Between 1976 and 1998 the number of libraries open for more than sixty hours a week fell from 173 to just six! In the last ten years the amount libraries spend on books has declined by 35% to £1.40 per person per year (in my area it's now 92p!). Of course libraries nowadays provide a range of other resources, CDs, videos and Internet access but inevitably as these areas expand book space is sacrificed. There is a huge commercial imperative pushing these new facilities for their 'income earning potential' and the average library in England and Wales now generates an income of £1.25 per local resident. The figures almost suggest that libraries are only being permitted to spend an



Has Marxism a future? This month saw a well-attended Marxism Today conference organised by the Socialist Workers Party. Earlier this year the magazine *LM* (formerly *Living Marxism*) was forced into closure and bankruptcy by a libel action, but its publishers plan a series of conferences to challenge consensus politics, with an impressive array of speakers. Both these events attracted whole-page features in the broadsheets. To start the run-up to the Anarchist Bookfair next October, we decided to remind our readers of our objections to Marxism, and to advertise a Freedom Press classic.



Karl Marx

Poor Marx

In capitalist societies wealth appears as an immense collection of commodities, to quote Karl Marx. This is especially the case with his own works, which have become fetish objects rather than living texts, even more so now that the Marxist project has collapsed. Take his best-known single writing, the *Communist Manifesto*, the 150th anniversary of whose publication fell in February 1998 and was marked by articles in several papers. It is doubtful whether its message is taken seriously by anyone anywhere any more, yet at least a dozen English-language editions are currently in print (not counting the many versions available on the Internet), at prices varying from less than £1 to £15, appearing not only from leading left-wing publishers on both sides of the Atlantic but also in leading paperback series. If you actually take the trouble to read it and to read about it, you learn – to misquote Marx – that his interpreters have only tried to change it in various ways; the point is to understand it.

Everyone knows that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote the *Communist Manifesto*, which was published before revolution broke out in France in 1848, that it ends by saying *Workers of the world, unite!*, that it was immediately very influential, and that it is right in general if not in particular details. Everyone is wrong.

Marx and Engels, German political exiles in Belgium, joined the international socialist League of the Just, which became the Communist League in 1847, and at its London conference in November-December 1847 they persuaded it to commission a manifesto from them. Engels did provide material for it, but he was hardly ever in Brussels while Marx did the actual

work of writing it during December and January. It was then printed in London as an anonymous 23-page German language pamphlet for the Bildungs-Gesellschaft für Arbeiter (Educational Society for Workers), though with a false imprint, and issued at the end of February 1848; about a thousand copies were produced, at a cost of £5. But by then the revolution had already started in Paris, the last French king had escaped into exile, and a provisional government had been appointed. Although the manifesto must have been read by many people, since it was quickly reprinted several times in German and also translated into several other languages, there is no evidence that it had any influence on any event at the time.

The title of *Communist Manifesto* was suggested by Engels in November 1847, possibly echoing a *Manifesto of Communists* issued by French exiles in London in 1841; but the original published title was in fact *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (meaning a broad tendency rather than a narrow organisation). Much of the content was based on previous writings by Engels, including a *Communist Confession of Faith and Principles of Communism* prepared for the Communist League in June and October 1847, but most of it was based on previous writings by Marx, who also enormously improved the style and argument. It was later claimed by several critics (including Varlaam Cherkozov, Georg Brandes, and Georges Sorel) that much of the text was plagiarised from the *Manifesto of Democracy* published by the Fourierist leader Victor Considérant in France in 1843 and republished in 1847; but, although there are many parallels between the two documents, they look more like
(continued on page 7)

Anarchism versus Marxism

Marxism, Freedom and the State by Michael Bakunin, translated and edited with a biographical sketch by K.J. Kenafick (Freedom Press, 64 pages, £3.50*)

When asked how anarchism differs from Marxism, the anarchist inevitably turns to the writings of Bakunin, for it was in his attacks on Marx and his followers in the First International that Bakunin crystallised the theory of modern anarchism, in combining a philosophy of human liberty with the theory of socialism. But here the problem is that Bakunin never produced a full-scale book in his lifetime, so that it is useful to have a short anthology made from his copious and often repetitive writings, and one welcomes this reprint in which the main points of Bakunin's thought are accompanied by an account of his life and the philosophical influences on his thought.

Since its reprinting in 1990, this book has had a striking new jacket in black on red showing a photograph of a crowd of people, presumably in some Eastern European country, under the statue of Lenin. What can they be doing – are they bringing about the downfall of a communist government? And what will they put in its place? Another government? "After a brief moment of liberty or revolutionary orgy, citizens of a new State, they will awake to find themselves slaves, playthings and victims of new power-lusters", wrote Bakunin.

The six chapters of this book cover the nature of human liberty; Marxist ideology;

the State and Marxism; internationalism and the State; social revolution and the State; and political action and the workers.

Bakunin was concerned with the question of the nature of human liberty and how it manifests itself in society. He distinguished between freedom and egoism or individualism in that no one can be free in isolation, one's own freedom is bound up with that of others. He rejected the concept of rights and duties which he considered to have a religious origin, and a major part of his writing is to show religion as *idealised authority*. He denies that abstract theory can be the starting point of human emancipation. If that were so, then as the theoretical knowledge is possessed only by a few, there would be the need for an elite to direct popular movements, and this elite would lead the masses back to slavery.

In Marx's State, although there will be no economically privileged class there will be the reign of 'scientific intelligence', a new minority ruling class, a new hierarchy, and Bakunin shows this cult of the State to be a feature of all Marx's writings and activities.

Marx is, like Bismarck, a 'German patriot' and to reconcile his nationalism with his internationalism he must see Germany as a progressive State. But Bakunin denies that the most advanced capitalist States are those most capable of social revolution. Marx takes no account of factors other than the economic, and so thinks that the wretched conditions of the masses is not to be blamed on the nature of the State. Moreover, to Marxists the working class means the upper layer of the

workers "the least socialist, the most individualist" part, and he had a contempt for 'the rabble'.

Bakunin on the other hand looks to "the instinct of revolt" against authority, and he sees this as being more or less developed in different races or peoples according to the extent to which they have been conquered politically. He considers it a fatal error to suppose that a political revolution must precede a social revolution, that socialism can be introduced by new political parties, and warns that the Marxian programme will lead to tyranny.

Bakunin knew both Marx and Proudhon and Kenafick claims that "his system consists of Proudhonian politics and Marxian economics", and one must bear in mind when reading Bakunin that he and Marx shared a lot of ideas. He never abandoned his admiration for Marx's economics and he shared with him (and it was a feature of the thought of the time) a belief in the class struggle, and in a kind of historical evolution in which mankind marches on to a glorious future.

Although much of his thinking on anarchism has been modified by later writers such as Kropotkin and Malatesta, in view of this it is perhaps all the more remarkable that he should have differed so completely from Marx on the question of liberty. In the chapter 'The State and Marxism' he sees marxism as a religion with a "little army of fanatical adherents", the "continuator of Bismarck", sharing with him the cult of the State. And the State means competition, war

and slavery.

Today, when the Cult of the State has assumed enormous proportions compared with Bakunin's day, his warnings can be seen as prophetic.

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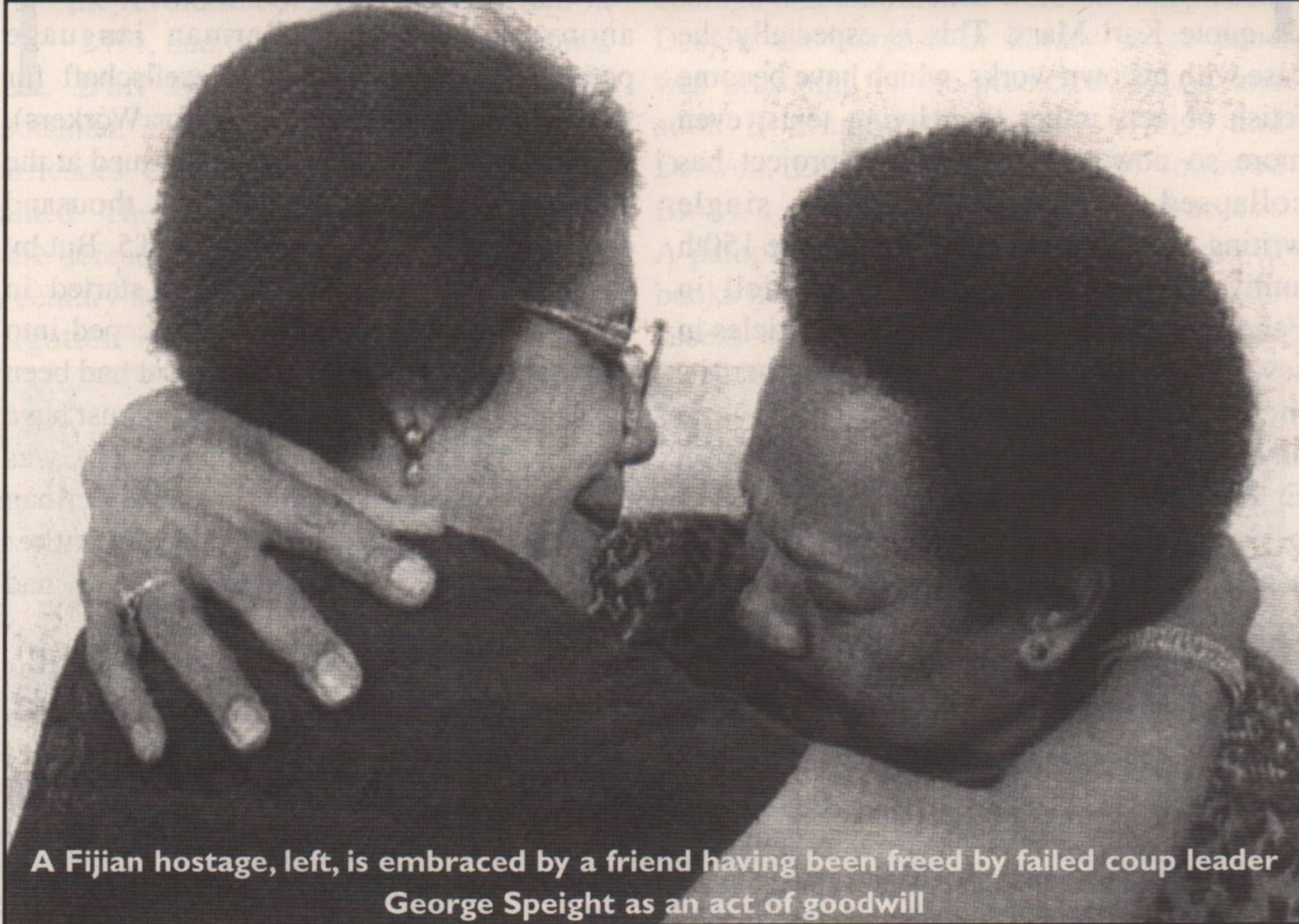
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Institutional racism in Fiji



A Fijian hostage, left, is embraced by a friend having been freed by failed coup leader George Speight as an act of goodwill

The current situation in Fiji should be of concern to all anarchists. I was amused to hear the Fiji military leader state that he had signed an agreement with Speight and his goons because he was concerned that the country would descend into anarchy. If only Fiji would descend into anarchy, then the two pillars of Fijian society, racism and hierarchy would no longer be such an important component of the Fijian community. Allowing the Great Council of Chiefs to pick the next government is a recipe for disaster. The 48% of the population who are not indigenous Fijians will sooner or later take up armed struggle. The elements within indigenous Fijian society who support Speight and his army colleagues, do

so at their own peril. You cannot disenfranchise 48% of the population without serious consequences.

Anybody who believes that those people who are denied even the most basic human rights will continue to let the situation go on unchallenged, are in for a very rude awakening. Any culture based on institutional racism has the seeds of its own destruction sown within it. Speight and his powerful supporters within traditional Fiji society will soon find that their Kava cup is empty. They need to understand that the road they have taken will have disastrous consequences for those people who have chosen to revert back to a feudal form of government.

Joseph Toscano

Deportation at Heathrow

Several arrests were made this morning (Tuesday 18th July) on a BA flight from Heathrow to Frankfurt. Passengers resorted to civil disobedience to prevent the forced deportation of 23 year old Salim Rambo, a Zairean refugee. Due to take off at 7.15am, the flight was delayed for over two hours. Mr Rambo was taken off the plane and his forced deportation was prevented.

Several passengers are still being held at Heathrow police station (page CAGE for more details on 07669 167 489).

Mr Rambo was caught up in the Civil War in the Republic of Congo (Zaire) and now fears for his life from both government and rebel forces. He was among over 11,000 people detained by the immigration service every year, and has been held in Harmondsworth detention centre and given no legal advice since the decision for his removal was made. Germany had already refused his asylum application, so return to Frankfurt this morning would almost certainly have meant deportation to Zaire and death.

The removal to Germany was taking place under a little known but often used clause of the Dublin Convention, which provides for removal of immigrants to a 'Safe Third Country'. As it is almost impossible to arrive in the UK without passing through a "Third Country", thousands of asylum seekers are deported with no consideration of their case. By deporting Mr Rambo in this way, without access to legal representation, the Home Secretary may have been in breach of international law. This is being taken up in court. Before boarding the flight passengers were

given leaflets by the anti-prison network, CAGE, informing them about Mr Rambo's presence on the flight. The leafleting was part of a long weekend of actions by CAGE. This included the occupation of the site of a proposed women's prison in Surrey and scaling the fence at Harmondsworth detention centre – which is how CAGE first came to communicate with Mr Rambo.

Passengers were also encouraged to delay the flight by refusing to take their seats until Mr Rambo was allowed off the plane. Similar actions in Belgium have led to commercial airlines refusing to deport asylum seekers. A spokesperson from CAGE said: "It is unbelievable that BA and its shareholders are profiting from the forced removal of people from the UK. This is the ultimate in putting profit before life, and it is nice to see that people here are standing up to it ... literally!"

CAGE

For more information on asylum issues:

National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns:
www.ncadc.demon.co.uk

Close Campsfield Campaign:
www.users.ox.ac.uk/~asylum

CAGE is a network set up to support and create resistance to the growing prison industry, of which the immigration detention complex is a part. For more information see www.veggies.org.uk/cage
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— AUSTRALIA —

Tiptoe through the Tulips

The battle lines are drawn up for the forthcoming Melbourne anti-globalisation protests. The mass media has rediscovered 'radical chic' and news stories are beginning to break into the mainstream press about the likely disruption that will occur on the 11th, 12th and 13th of September. The Victorian Labour government is beginning to call on its trade union allies to smother the planned protests. Sure they've organised a few talk fests and a few demonstrations held away from the Crown Casino complex, but they have conveniently ignored the first day of the meeting. Not even one unionist will officially be there on the 11th of September. Trades Hall is going to stage a march on the next day.

We need to understand that the Victorian Trades and Labour Councils' objectives are different, very different, from the mass of protesters. They want to put a lid on the protests before they even begin. Now is the time for rank and file unionists and radical shop stewards to ignore their leadership's calls to protest separately. We need to march together. We need to assemble together so we can blockade the Crown Casino complex. A divided movement is a weak movement. Whether we're young, old, employed, unemployed on social security benefits, self-employed, a trade unionist, a Church activist, an environmental activist or a radical activist,

we need to act together. If we don't, we run the very real risk of letting the delegates to the Asia Pacific leg of the World Economic Forum off the hook. This is more than a media event, this is our chance to throw a sabot (wooden shoe – the old worker tactic of throwing a wooden shoe into the machinery to sabotage the boss) into the globalisation equation. Human rights, environmental survival and labour rights hinge on our ability to derail their plans for the world.

Joseph Toscano

Suicide in Australia

Suicide is an individual tragedy as well as a community disaster. Suicide rates in Australia, especially among males, have almost tripled in the past two decades. Teenagers, men between twenty and forty and older males are most at risk. Over the past few years governments have taken an interest in the increasing suicide rate and have begun to implement suicide prevention programs.

It seems that an increasing number of people within the field are sceptical of the benefits of these programs. Suicide in Australia is treated as an individual problem. Resources are directed at individuals – little, if any, research has gone into social and community reasons for the increasing suicide rate. Unless more effort and energy is directed into pinpointing social reasons for the increasing suicide rate, the levels of suicide will continue to increase.

Alienation, competition, an increasing gap between expectations and reality, the rootlessness of post modern existence, the changing role of the male in society, commercialisation of all aspects of our existence, increasing work pressures and a lack of a career structure are a few of the problems that need to be examined.

Experimentation on rats has shown over and over again that social conditions play an important role in social behaviour. The more difficult the circumstances, the greater the level of self-destructive behaviour. It's obvious that the current trend to see and treat suicide as an individual problem divorced from social reality will not put a dent in the current Australian suicide rate.

Joseph Toscano

from *Anarchist Age Weekly Review*, no. 408, 16th July 2000

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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.

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The Greeks had a word for it – psyche!

Dear *Freedom*,

I'm afraid things are not as simple as George Nicholson makes out ('The Simplicity of Anarchism', letters page, 15th July). The anarchist believes, he writes, that humanity can solve its social problems by "the simple application of equity and mutual aid" – given "the freedom to assert its inherent qualities". But it is free to do that already – the human race has ruled the roost on this planet for thousands of years – and it *doesn't want* equity and mutual aid. It prefers inequity and mutual destruction. If you want evidence, read history.

In the fifth century BC the Greek historian Thucydides, describing the development of the Greek city-states, wrote: "The weaker, because of the general desire to make profits, were content to be governed by the stronger, and those who won superior power by acquiring capital resources brought the smaller cities under their control" (Crawley's translation).

There you have the root of the trouble – the *general* desire to make profits and acquire capital. Given this desire, what happens in relations between individuals also happens between states: those who acquire the most capital become the masters, and the rest are *content* to be their servants because, for them, that is the most *profitable* option. Thus any chance of equity is destroyed by greed.

Security too is destroyed, because this process of competitive capitalist imperialism leads inevitably to war. In the case of the ancient Greeks it led to the Peloponnesian War, a disaster from which Greek civilisation never recovered. In the course of describing the horrors and dreadful consequences of that war, Thucydides wrote: "The cause of all these evils was the lust for power arising from greed and ambition; and from these passions proceeded the violence of parties engaged in contention."

After two and a half millennia of further greed, ambition, and violence, and with the whole world now on the edge of destruction, what is the use of preaching equity and mutual aid without even considering the reasons why those things are so conspicuously absent from the record? The reasons are not social, political, or economic but *psychological*. Greed and ambition are psychological disorders, made respectable in a society run by the most successful in the struggle for power: that is, the most crafty and ruthless in their disorder.

Are there any anarchists who see that the problem is in the human psyche? If there are, what in their view is the solution?

Francis Ellingham

The editors suggest a few quotations to be going on with:

All kings have possessed such a portion of luxury and ease, have so far been surrounded with servility and falsehood, and to such a degree exempt from personal responsibility, as to destroy the natural and wholesome complexion of the human mind. Being placed so high, they find but one step between them and the summit of social authority, and they cannot but eagerly desire to pass that step. Having so frequent occasions of seeing their commands implicitly obeyed, being trained in so long a scene of adulation and servility, it is impossible they should not feel some indignation at the honest firmness that sets limits to their omnipotence. But to say, 'that every king is a despot in his heart' will presently be shown to be the same thing as to say, that every king is, by unavoidable

necessity, the enemy of the human race.

Again, if kings were exhibited simply as they are in themselves to the inspection of mankind, the 'salutary prejudice', as it has been called [by Edmund Burke], which teaches us to venerate them would speedily be extinct: it has therefore been found necessary to surround them with luxury and expense. Thus luxury and expense are made the standard of honour, and of consequence the topics of anxiety and envy. However fatal this sentiment may be to the morality and happiness of mankind, it is one of those illusions which monarchical government is eager to cherish. In reality, the first principle of virtuous feeling, as has been elsewhere said, is the love of independence. He that would be just must, before all things, estimate the objects about him at their true value. But the principle in regal states has been to think your father the wisest of men, because he is your father, and your king the foremost of his species because he is king. The standard of intellectual merit is no longer the man, but his title. To be drawn in a coach of state by eight milk-white horses is the highest of all human claims to our veneration. The same principle inevitably runs through every order of the state, and men desire wealth under a monarchical government for the same reason that, under other circumstances, they would have desired virtue.

from *The Anarchist Writings of William Godwin* (Freedom Press, £3.50*)

Man, like all living beings, adapts and accustoms himself to the conditions under which he lives, and passes on acquired habits. Thus, having been born and bred in bondage when the descendants of a long line of slaves started to think they believed that slavery was an essential condition of life, and freedom seemed impossible to them. Similarly, workers who for centuries were obliged, and therefore accustomed, to depend for work, that is bread, on the good will of the master, and to see their lives always at the mercy of the owners of the land and of capital, ended by

(continued from page 5)

common borrowings of phraseology and ideology in general use among revolutionary socialists in early nineteenth century Europe – and of course the great difference between them was that, while most Socialists wished to end the class struggle peacefully, Marx and Engels (like Babeuf and Buonarroti, Barbès and Blanqui) wished to bring it to a climax. Its closing formula, which also appeared on the title-page, was *Proletarians of all lands, unite!* This had been used as a slogan in the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift* and as a toast at an international socialist dinner in London in September 1847, and replaced the motto of the League of the Just, which echoed Schiller's Ode to Joy: *All men are brothers!*

Engels began an English translation in 1848 but never finished it. The first English translation, by Helen Macfarlane, appeared in George Julian Harney's socialist paper *The Red Republican* in November 1850, and this was also the first time that the authors were publicly named, as 'Citizens Charles Marx and Frederic Engels'. The first known Russian translation, published in Geneva in 1869, has generally been attributed to Bakunin, later the main opponent of Marx and Engels in the First International and the main figure in the anarchist movement, but some scholars have doubted this because of its inaccuracy and a few have even attributed

believing that it is the master who feeds them, and ingenuously ask one how would it be possible to live if there were no masters.

In the same way, someone whose legs had been bound from birth but who had managed nevertheless to walk as best he could, might attribute his ability to move to those very bonds which in fact serve only to weaken and paralyse the muscular energy of his legs.

If to the normal effects of habit is then added the kind of education offered by the master, the priest, the teacher, etc., who have a vested interest in preaching that the masters and the government are necessary; if one were to add the judge and the policeman who are at pains to reduce to silence those who might think differently and be tempted to propagate their ideas, then it will not be difficult to understand how the prejudiced view of the usefulness of, and the necessity for, the master and the government took root in the unsophisticated minds of the labouring masses.

Just imagine if the doctor were to expound to our fictional man with the bound legs a theory, cleverly illustrated with a thousand invented cases to prove that if his legs were freed he would be unable to walk and would not live, then that man would ferociously defend his bonds and consider as his enemy anyone who tried to remove them.

from *Anarchy* by Errico Malatesta (Freedom Press, £1.95*)

The best prospects rest with people who wouldn't know what anarchism meant and don't trust institutions either. Sure we can claim a fair bit of spontaneous organisation at the margins – a modest and increasing amount of mutual aid and among the self-employed; social events that seem to get practically everybody in the village involved; musical evenings in local pubs. But, except in exceptional circumstances, we don't challenge the power of the district council, water board, supermarket or school, land ownership or even the phoney authority of those who just sleep or come to die in the village.

it to Nechayev, the evil genius of the Russian populist movement, who was more of a Marxist than a Bakuninist and was in Switzerland at that time.

One thing seldom realised about the *Communist Manifesto* is that nearly everything right in it was not original and that nearly everything original in it was



Michael Bakunin

I do know there is plenty of latent energy about, of people wanting to self-help and contribute to communal well being. In fact such is the availability of energy that even now the poor old parish council still upholding central authority and allocating pennies to half-cocked projects, is being increasingly by-passed. Energies are there now to enlarge the scope for living and working, extending recreational facilities, setting up alternatives to schooling, establishing communal gardens and orchards, whatever people want.

I suspect we don't get on with it because the need is not yet recognised to be great enough and being products ourselves of that abstract parent, the system, we prefer to let the old thing die quietly. It's all very English. The trouble is deteriorating organisations, unlike rotting vegetation and flesh, don't do much good in the passing. However, I do notice that this recession has alerted many previously self-satisfied people of their dependencies and vulnerabilities as consumers and employees. As the fable goes ... when the lion becomes old and decrepit enough and all the other animals are strengthened by his weaknesses, even the donkey will kick him. The space and time freed by shirking authority will not remain vacuous for long. There is a chance that the organisation associated with people taking responsibility for their own lives will fight off a new set of authorities to replace the old.

Denis Pym

(from *Freedom*, 20th February 1993)

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wrong. The spectre haunting Europe was not communism but socialism; the history of preceding societies was not the history only of class struggles; industrial society did not increasingly split into two opposed classes; the modern state is not just the executive committee of the bourgeoisie; the cash nexus was not the only relationship between man and man; the bourgeoisie did not corrupt the family; wages did not fall but rose; the petty bourgeoisie did not sink into the proletariat; the proletariat was not a genuinely revolutionary class; the coming bourgeois revolution did not lead to proletarian revolution, and the bourgeoisie was not destroyed by the proletariat; the communists did form a separate party opposed to other left-wing parties, with its own interests and principles, and they did not abolish private property or the family; their revolution did not lead to free association, let alone the dissolution of political power; they were just as utopian as the other socialists; proletarians did not lose national character; and proletarians had much to lose apart from their chains, and did not unite.

And so on. It could be said that no subsequent manifesto has ever matched the influence of the one written by Karl Marx 150 years ago, but it could also be said that none has had such a bad influence.

Nicolas Walter

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— MEETINGS FOR 2000 —

28th July Foucault and Anarchy (a debate with video screening)

4th August Anarchy and Counterculture: the 'Beats' and their legacy (a talk with recordings, speaker Steve Ash)

11th August Open Debate: anarchism and socialism, identical or incompatible?

18th August Meeting to be announced

25th August Monthly free dialogue (any topic)

Anyone wanting to give a talk or facilitate a discussion should contact Steve Ash, or any other regular, at a meeting, giving topic and preferred dates. A contact address will be available soon. Monthly free dialogues may be cancelled at short notice and used for scheduled talks if necessary.

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e-mail: anarchistage@geocities.com

Renewing the Anarchist Tradition

A conference in Plainfield, Vermont,
from 24th to 27th August 2000

for more info contact either of the co-organisers:

Cindy Milstein, 5641 S. Blackstone Ave.,
Chicago, IL 60637-1898, USA
e-mail: cbmilstein@aol.com

John Petrovato, PO Box 715, Conway,
MA 01341, USA
e-mail: ssimon@shaysnet.com

A die-in for the people of Iraq

Confronting the Foreign Office to mark the tenth anniversary
of the imposition of economic sanctions on Iraq

**Meet at 12 noon, Trafalgar Square
on Monday 7th August**

for more info contact voices in the wilderness uk,
16b Cherwell Street, Oxford OX1 1BG

tel: 01865 243 232

e-mail die-in@viwuk.freeseerve.co.uk

Cardiff action/ discussion group

Any readers in the Cardiff area who are
interested in forming an action/discussion
group please write c/o Freedom Press, 84b
Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX
quoting 'Cardiff Group'.

Fifth Anarchist Summer Camp to be held near Berlin 21st to 30th July 2000

enough room for 300 people plus
sleeping space for those without a tent
for more info contact:

Infoladen Daneben, c/o Acamp,
Liebigstr. 34, 10247 Berlin
phone (030) 42017286
fax (030) 42017281

e-mail acamp@jpbberlin.de
net <http://travel.to/acamp>

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