

FREEEDOM

anarchist fortnightly

Vol. 61 No. 23

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50p

As anti-capitalists gather to disrupt the Euro summit we predict that ...

Nice words will hide hard politics

Funny how European summits always happen in exotic locations, preferably with beaches. When did they last hold one in Dudley, say, or Dortmund? Charitable folk might say politicians deserve these little indulgences – much better to announce a late-night deal on a new European Union treaty as dawn breaks over the Cote d'Azur – but charitable we ain't. They brought it on themselves.

The summit which starts in Nice next Wednesday (unless anti-capitalist protesters can prevent it) is supposed to make changes to the way the EU takes decisions. This is to streamline it before eastern European states begin joining in the next few years. So far, so dull. It was also intended to 'solemnly proclaim' a toothless Charter of Fundamental Rights, but this was dropped from the agenda last week following British complaints that it could be used to undermine the power of the state to abuse its citizens. Headlines in the last fortnight, however, have been preoccupied with another aspect of the summit – the formal establishment of a military 'rapid reaction force'. Any mention of boring things like 'war' and 'fighting' is, like, so old century and won't occur. This is all about 'top grade crisis management', and member states will be asked to commit up to 100,000 troops plus lots of hardware to manage any crises that lumber into view. To nobody's surprise, the Tories see this as evidence of a superstate in the making. "Superpower ambitions and now with an army to match" droned one. "Monumental folly" rumbled Mrs Thatcher, somewhere in the home counties. The British government plausibly denies this claim. Anarchists of all people fear the state, super or otherwise, but Blair has no interest in creating a new one. The whole history of European institutions, from 1951's Coal and Steel Community onwards, has been the history of individual states coldly pursuing their

own interests, whatever Euro-romantics say. So here. Neither Britain nor France wants a new army, and they don't expect this new thing to actually do anything. Looking at its elephantine command structure (which they designed, incidentally) that's just as well. It could only be deployed by unanimous agreement of EU states, which might number 25 in a decade. And everyone has to play, even tiny Luxembourg which has promised 100 troops. Certainly not *magnifique*, nor fit for crisis management either.

Before 1989 the EU successfully carried out its function, which was to give Germany respectability and the freedom to develop its economy while the French restricted them politically (and, especially in the early days, got their mits on German raw materials). But German reunification spelt the end for this balance of competing interests. What happens in Nice will show how far Germany is now Europe's motor, driving everyone else economically like before but starting to lead politically too. That is why German rulers are keen federalists, because this is the best way to bind other states into their empire. The question which presses increasingly hard on Britain and France is, how to respond. 'Crisis management' is part of their (woefully inadequate) answer.

These two states launched the idea for a

common defence policy a couple of years back, for two reasons. They hoped that their military strength would allow them, as it always has, to punch above their weight and counterbalance German influence. They hoped that, by setting up new institutions, they would distract Europe's energies from further federalising. (The French may've seen it as a way of getting their hands on NATO secrets previously denied them too). This was the plan. But politicians in Berlin are funnier than they are, it seems. They do indeed see the new force as the start of a joint army, a key "part of the integration process" as their foreign minister said last week. And they've trumped the others as well, by promising more soldiers than either London or Paris can muster. They'll also stump up cash to give the force some real crisis management, not to say war-making, potential.

This leaves prime minister Blair and French president Chirac in a quandary. If they can't succeed by using military power to boost themselves, then how? The obvious answer, of course, is that they can't. The power of French and British bosses in the European Union is on the wane, and it will wane more as the club expands. However much they try to cover it up with nice words in a swanky resort, no politician likes that.



Marching onwards ... but to whose tune?

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The Hague conference is no solution to ...

Global Warming

Ironically, international talks on reducing greenhouse gases which broke up in chaos in Holland last week have produced hot air and not much else. Despite the efforts of several hundred protesters to push the need for real change onto the agenda, negotiators from the United States managed to block even the weak measures diplomats from the European Union were asking for. The conference of 180 states had to abandon any attempt to implement the cuts in emissions of 5.2% fixed at the Kyoto summit in 1997, settling on cuts of 3% instead. Just to put this into perspective, scientists reckon a reduction in emissions of at least 60% is needed to stabilise the climate as it is now.

Unfortunately, the horror of global warming isn't going to wait for quarrelsome politicians and industrial leaders to resolve their differences, nor for the rest of us to realise the need to change the way we live. There has never been a more urgent task for human beings to undertake. And the picture gets worse. As the science of global warming has become more clearly understood, climatologists have had to revise their estimates of its effects. Assuming current trends continue (a huge assumption given the push towards 'economic growth' from all the institutions of western capitalism, and the increase in environmental degradation this would entail), they now say that global temperatures will rise by up to six degrees centigrade by the year 2100. Such a massive rise would be a disaster in any case, but within a period of a hundred years (a blip in geological time) it would be a catastrophe. Mass extinctions and the collapse of agriculture, not to mention a rising sea level would inevitably follow. If you live in Bangladesh, New York, Mumbai or Great Yarmouth, start packing. The really terrifying prospect though (at least if you live in western Europe) is that a warmer Atlantic would effectively switch off the gulf stream,



Drought which has already killed most of the Masai herders' cattle – another result of global warming?

the 'conveyor belt' that stops, say, Scotland from experiencing the winter temperatures of minus forty degrees which its latitude would warrant otherwise.

As the depth of US opposition at the COP6 conference became clear, there was much gnashing of teeth from European diplomats, let alone from greens and protesters (many of whom were by this week lodging courtesy of Dutch police). "This is a step backwards", said the French environment minister. But the difference is that many of the greens probably hoped for something different from this jamboree of the rich and powerful; many of the protesters probably didn't expect

anything better at all. The rich and powerful can't make the changes that are needed, because their wealth and power rely on the system which also causes global warming. They carry on their mantra of 'economic growth', because to do anything else would effectively end their position at the top of society. Capitalism can not live in accordance with ecological principles. An anarchist society is a precondition for their realisation. Both rely, not on ruling over something (whether it be other human beings or the natural world), but on releasing potential and removing obstacles to progress.

Anarchism is a harmonised society, from which exploitation has been removed and in which we can live in our own interests – unlike now, when our clear human interest to prevent global warming is blocked by the absurd way we choose to run our affairs. In a free society, in Murray Bookchin's words, "we would witness a creative interplay between individual and group, community and environment, humanity and nature". All the summits our bosses organise are theatre, distracting us from the need to build communities afresh. Bosses won't do it for us. We have to do it for ourselves. **RSG**

New internet threat

A Paris judge has ordered US internet firm Yahoo! to stop giving French users access to a site selling Nazi memorabilia. Acting on complaints from anti-racist groups, Jean-Jaques Gomez insisted that the firm observe French laws against the advertisement of any objects likely to incite racial hatred, even though the site itself is run from America.

We oppose the judge's decision, much as we loathe and detest the site's contents, for two reasons. Freedom of speech means freedom of speech, irrespective of the views

it is used to express and however hard we fight against fascists' actions. More worrying still, though, is the prospect this case opens up for censorship of the internet by the backdoor. Either Yahoo! will employ technology (which already exists) to prevent French residents viewing this vile site or – worse still – internet providers will start excluding controversial material from their servers entirely, to avoid falling foul of laws elsewhere in the world. Fascist nonsense today, but who knows what will be excluded tomorrow. A dangerous precedent has been set.



Different rules

This newspaper covered at length the progress of the Regulation of Investigatory Powers (RIP) Act, brought into force in October. Despite all the new law's talk about 'the need for privacy' and 'mutual trust', the government quickly used it (surprised? We weren't) to allow employers to monitor and watch over their employees, via backdoor regulations slipped in at the last minute. It is hard now to imagine any circumstances in which bosses would not be permitted to intercept workers' electronic communications. As civil rights campaigners Liberty say, "the whip hand is now with the employer". Expect to hear of more cases like the recent one in which a woman was fired for surfing the net at work in search of a holiday. And as for using work time to check out the latest subversive sites, or to e-mail protest groups, forget it.

That's the law for us. No privacy, no respect, no sanctuary. What's the law for

them though, the people who decide what we should or shouldn't do? Almost thirty years later, the CIA has just released 16,000 files on US policy towards Chile at the time of the 1973 Pinochet coup. There's nothing new in them – all they do is confirm that, yes, America did have a guiding hand in overthrowing Allende's elected government even though US rhetoric was about supporting democratic states. Needless to say though, the CIA opened its cupboards only with reluctance and not until it had been given a direct order by Clinton (as part of a power struggle in Washington between the 'intelligence' service and the state department). Different laws for them and us. But at least the files were finally released. Which is better than would happen in the UK, where the chances of MI5 and MI6 permitting access to files of this sort would be about the same as those of a snowball landing in the fires of hell.

No class?

Is the notion of class still worthwhile? Most debates over the issue end up in playground nattering, 'Yes, it is!' 'No, it isn't!' and then the inevitable name calling. Instead, what is needed is an analytical approach.

Terms such as 'class', 'class society' and 'proletariat' have meaning. They cannot be thrown around indiscriminately and without forethought. Nor, can they be discarded in an offhand manner. It is also necessary to note the existence of hierarchy and inequality does not always imply class division. In unionized workplaces, as only one example, income and position are related to seniority, or how long you have remained on the job. Junior employees have lower salaries and lower status positions than senior employees, yet no one would ever claim that a class

difference existed between them. The reason is everyone who stays on eventually gets to have seniority and thus partake of the privileges (such as they are). I would suggest, from this example, that a class society implies a very large measure of social rigidity. A worker, and his or her children, are fixed 'in their place' and neither individual nor collective efforts would have much success in changing this situation.

Thus, exclusion is a most important aspect in class creation (exclusion from the 'good things of life', of course). In a true class system, no matter how intelligent, hard-working, capable and aggressive the lower classes are, very, very few are allowed to improve their lot in life in any significant fashion. The labourer or poor immigrant whose children become teachers or nurses is

an exception, as are the teachers or nurses whose children become tenured professors, corporate lawyers or CEOs. 'Proletarian' or even 'working class' has real meaning only if the overwhelming majority are excluded from property ownership. 'True proletarians' would be tenants and have virtually no savings and investments. The top 5% of wealth owners and income earners in a class society are thus, almost exclusively, a self-perpetuating elite. In other words, the wealthy and powerful are almost always the children of the wealthy and powerful and rarely of middle, let alone, working class parentage.

It should also be pointed out that the question of the nature of classes in society may not be understood within the confines of the either/or dichotomy. A society might well have elements of a class nature, without being reduced to the class system as envisaged by nineteenth century socialists.

The question of whether class is important is not merely of academic interest. A class society is highly rigid and very inefficient in terms of that revolting new concept, human capital. Such a society has difficulty in reforming and therefore has a tendency to degenerate and eventually blow apart (two good examples being pre-revolutionary Russia and France in the eighteenth century). The more class-ridden, the more likely that it must end in violent revolution. When class is less important, the system is more flexible and new means must be found to induce change.

To settle the question as to what extent individual societies are class based, and

therefore to come to some consensus as to the importance of the notion of class, we must try to answer as objectively as possible the following:

- How common is social mobility?
- How widespread are political and economic barriers to higher education and the acquiring of marketable skills?
- How widespread are property ownership, investments and savings?
- How many of the top 5% of income earners and wealth owners are not of wealthy origin?
- What percent of the business, academic, political and bureaucratic elites are not of 'upper class' origin?

A word of caution for anyone attempting to answer these questions. You cannot take the raw data on income and wealth at face value. The figures have to be interpreted. Most statistics are based upon individual earnings and wealth, yet most people live in families. Some forms of income such as housing subsidies and potential wealth like government or company pension funds are not included. There is also the question of age. Everyone over the age of fifteen is included, and young people have lower incomes and aren't apt to be home-buyers or to have savings. One example to show how easily the data can be misinterpreted: in Canada only 55% of the total population are homeowners, which looks rather poor, yet in the age 40-64 bracket this figure climbs to 76%. The real level of home ownership is underestimated by almost half.

Larry Gambone

Cream and misdemeanours

On Saturday 18th November, Home Office Minister Barbara Roche was flanned by two 'bakers' of the Bogus Baking Brigade, who gave her a taste of the lemon meringue as she left her 'surgery' in Wood Green, north London.

They wanted to draw attention to offensive government actions which Roche has been in charge of, in her role as minister for immigration issues, such as the voucher and dispersal systems for asylum seekers and the increasing use of arbitrary imprisonment of those whose only crime is to flee oppression at home. "We want a world where the movement of people is determined by human needs and desires rather than the profit motive" said one, as he headed back to the bakery.

Two weeks earlier, ex-head of the International Monetary Fund Michel Camdessus got a convivial welcome when he gave an lecture in Oxford about 'humanising globalisation'. Oxford Global Action held a demo outside, protesting against IMF policies, but they were denied entry to the hall itself. A few did manage to get in, and even talked their way into a private reception afterwards. A couple of protesters engaged Camdessus in polite discussion, before two glasses of red wine fell on his Armani. As a result, one person has been charged with 'criminal damage'. She was due to appear before Oxford magistrates yesterday. Michel's suit, sadly, didn't make it.



Marxism and 'Anarchism': a reply to the SWP

— Part Five —

To conclude our reply to the article 'Marxism and Anarchism' in *Socialist Worker* (16th September 2000), in the final part of their article they move onto Spanish Anarchism: "The anarchist organisation inside the Spanish CNT, the FAI, was centralised and secret. A revolutionary party thrives on open debate and common struggle with wider groups of workers."

The FAI, regardless of Marxist myths, was not centralised. It was a federation of affinity groups. As one member put it: "Each FAI group thought and acted as it deemed fit, without bothering about what the others might be thinking or deciding ... they had no ... opportunity or jurisdiction ... to foist a party line upon the grass-roots" (Francisco Carrasquer, quoted by Stuart Christie, *We, the Anarchists!*, page 29).

Murray Bookchin paints a similar picture:

"The FAI ... was more loosely jointed as an organisation than many of its admirers and critics seem to recognise. It has no bureaucratic apparatus, no membership cards or dues, and no headquarters with paid officials, secretaries, and clerks ... They jealously guarded the autonomy of their affinity groups from the authority of higher organisational bodies - a state of mind hardly conducive to the development of a tightly knit, vanguard organisation. The FAI, moreover, was not a politically homogeneous organisation which followed a fixed 'line' like the Communists and many Socialists. It had no official program by which all faistas could mechanically guide their actions" (in *The Spanish Anarchists*, page 224).

Was the FAI a 'secret' organisation? When it was founded in 1927, Spain was under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and so it was illegal and so secret by necessity. With the

foundation of the Republic in 1931, the FAI refused to register as an organisation as required by Republican Law. Thus it was illegal rather than secret. As one anarchist militant asked: "If it was secret, how come I was able to attend FAI meetings without ever having joined or paid dues to the 'specific' organisation?" (Francesco Carrasquer, quoted by Christie, *op. cit.*, page 26). Moreover, given the periods of repression suffered by the CNT and FAI during the Republic, being an illegal organisation made perfect sense (again, the SWP ignore historical context and so mislead the reader).

Did the FAI ignore 'open debate and common struggle'. No, of course not. The members of the FAI were also members of the CNT. The CNT was based around mass assemblies in which all members could speak. It was here that members of the FAI took part in forming CNT policy along with other CNT members.

Anarchists in the CNT who were not members of the FAI indicate this. Jose Borrás Casacarsa note that "One has to recognise that the FAI did not intervene in the CNT from above or in an authoritarian manner as did other political parties in the unions. It did so from the base through militants ... the decisions which determined the course taken by the CNT were taken under constant pressure from these militants." Jose Campos notes that FAI militants "tended to reject control of confederal committees and only accepted them on specific occasions ... if someone proposed a motion in assembly, the other FAI members would support it, usually successfully. It was the individual standing of the faista in open assembly" (quoted by Stuart Christie, *op. cit.*, page 58).

As can be seen, open debate with their fellow (continued on page 6)

ANTI-SANCTIONS PETITION LAUNCHED IN LONDON



Jeremy Hardy and Bruce Kent outside Downing Street

On 20th November, 'Universal Children's Day', comedian Jeremy Hardy and veteran peace campaigner Bruce Kent launched a new nationally-coordinated Constituency Petition Against the Economic Sanctions on Iraq, which will run until the British General Election.

Standing outside Downing Street, Mr Hardy said: "On Universal Children's Day, it's vital to emphasise the impact Tony Blair's Government is having on the sick children of Iraq. The excuse for sanctions is the behaviour of the Iraqi leadership, who are not suffering at all. Our leaders are also guilty of human rights abuses in Iraq. I hope our children are never made to pay the price."

The Constituency Petition is a nationally-coordinated campaign of local petitions. It is believed by the organisers to be the first national petition campaign to centre around

an interactive website (to be found at <http://www.notinournames.org.uk>)

Voices in the Wilderness UK, one of the sponsors of the petition, responded to a new statement by Peter Hain, Foreign Office minister with responsibility for Iraq, by

welcoming the minister's change of tone towards Iraq. What we demand is a change in policy that will actually benefit ordinary families in Iraq. We are demanding the lifting of economic sanctions on Iraq.

On Sunday 19th November Mr Hain admitted indirect negotiations with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz, in a declaration

which the *Times* described as a "vastly different" in tone from earlier statements.

The Constituency Petition is backed by Act Together/Women Against Sanctions on Iraq, the student Campaign Against Sanctions on Iraq (CASI), the Iraqi exile group the Committee for Lifting the Economic Sanctions on the Iraqi People (CLESIP), the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding (CAABU), *New Internationalist* magazine, Sheffield Campaign Against War in the Gulf, Voices in the Wilderness UK, and Women in Black.

Milan Rai

Voices in the Wilderness UK

Mayday 2001

The Mayday 2001 mini-conference will be held at the Button Factory, Hardess Street, Brixton on Saturday 16th December from 10am to 5.30pm, to discuss ideas for Mayday in London next year, as part of the local and global celebration against capitalism and the state. Decisions taken at the conference will formulate a final co-ordinated framework of actions and events. The organisers of the day are keen to achieve consensus between groups and

individuals present (political parties have not been invited). "Let's make it a day to all meet up and build links in our local and global struggle against capitalism. There will also be a social event in the evening to celebrate past and future struggles."

A crèche and youth space will be also available (see back page for more details).

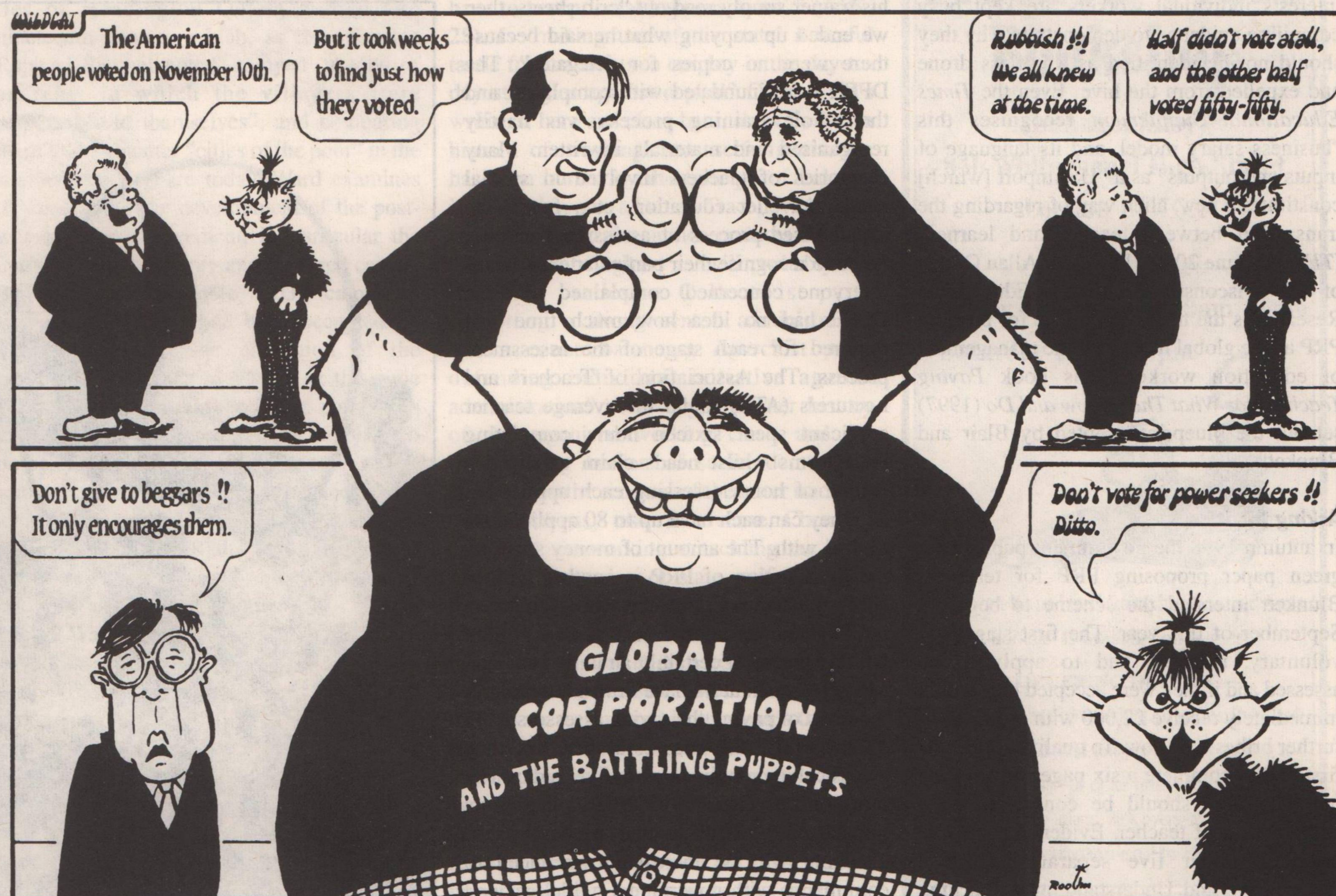
Get in touch with the organisers for more details at BM Mayday, London WC1N 3XX or contact mayday2001@hushmail.com

Things can only get wetter

Inspired by the blue plaques councils put on the walls of buildings where the worthy once lived and worked, members of the Rising Tide coalition held a carnival in the City of London on 14th November to coincide with the climate talks on the Hague, encouraging people to see the link between the profit system – capitalism – and environmental degradation. Led by a samba band, revellers distributed leaflets headed 'things can only get wetter' as they left Liverpool Street station. Though city police were taken by surprise they managed to prevent a plaque 'for services to profit-driven destruction' being attached to the wall of BP head office, but protesters succeeded down the road at BP Finance and Merrill Lynch. They also managed to put up a plaque outside PR firm Shandwick (who handled Shell's PR during



the time five years ago when Ken Saro-Wiwa was hanged in Nigeria, to Shell's delight) and outside Warburg Dillon Read, brokers for Shell and BP.



COPY DEADLINE

The next issue of Freedom will be dated 16th December, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be first post on Thursday 7th December. 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).

Sad Spectacle of Performing Teachers

Performance Related Pay (PRP) schemes are crude devices for promoting competition, discouraging criticism and destroying workers' solidarity. The government has just imposed PRP on four hundred and fifty thousand teachers in twenty five thousand schools. Their zealous determination to individualise pay and conditions undermines trade unionism, increases insecurity and destroys teamwork. It is anathema to socialism and typical of New Labour, but the teachers just couldn't wait to jump through hoops in pursuit of fools' gold.

New Labour, old capitalism

Payment by Results was the system for setting teacher's pay in Victorian Britain. It was ended in 1898 when it became evident that it led to a narrowing of the curriculum and dull, mechanistic teaching methods. Over the next century schoolteachers developed a more collegiate, collective approach allowing for a wide variation in teaching methods. People generally chose careers in education more out of social concern than a determination to make money or gain social prestige. The values of the education, health and social services were not those of industry (which is not to claim that they were the ideals of anarchy). Serving as capitalism's Trojan Horse, New Labour is welcomed into areas of social and economic life where Conservative governments previously met with distrust and opposition. New Labour is proving the ideal vehicle for capitalist penetration of places where social values had gained precedence over narrow economic goals. Teachers greeted New Labour as a friend and their naive co-operation with its imposition of PRP exposes schoolchildren to further exploitation.

Ronald McDonald Management

Although research suggests that PRP has proved unsuccessful at increasing industrial production, for capitalism it has the greater merit of destroying any remnants of solidarity within a workforce. Instead of sticking together to protect and promote their mutual interests individual workers are kept busy compiling evidence to demonstrate why they should not be identified as a useless drone and expelled from the hive. Even the *Times Educational Supplement* recognises this "business salary model, and its language of inputs and outputs" as a "US import [which] constitutes a new, alien way of regarding the transaction between teacher and learner" (*TES*, 9th June 2000). Professor Allan Odden of the Wisconsin Centre for Educational Research is the man responsible for pushing PRP as the global model for the management of education workers. His book *Paying Teachers for What They Know and Do* (1997) set out the blueprint adopted by Blair and Blunkett.

Asking for it

In autumn 1998 the government published a green paper proposing PRP for teachers. Blunkett intended the scheme to begin in September of this year. The first stage was voluntary, teachers had to apply to be assessed and if they were accepted they would immediately receive £2,000 with promises of further bribes to follow. To qualify applicants first had to complete a six page form setting out why they should be considered as a superior sort of teacher. Evidence had to be provided under five separate headings: 'Knowledge and Understanding', 'Teaching

and Assessment, Pupil Progress', 'Wider Professional Effectiveness' and 'Professional Characteristics'. According to Colin Butler, Performance Manager at Borden Grammar School, Sittingbourne, the first requirement demands knowledge of "national strategies in literacy, numeracy, ICT" etc. The second "paperwork [to] show that you set and monitor targets for all pupils". Pupil Progress "requires statistics that show your results compare well with ... national figures". For Wider Professional Effectiveness "take the school development plan and see how best to align your interests and skills with its expectations." Professional Characteristics are evidenced by "diagnostic testing at certain intervals ... keep the tests and evidence of how they are used" (*TES*, 27th October 2000). This whole process evaluates teachers according to how well they conform to government specifications and denies all notions of professional independence. Headteachers initially decide whether an individual teacher should be considered for superior status and an elevated pay scale, before a roving assessor calls to add the rubber stamp.

A piss-up in a brewery

For an initiative that claims to improve the management of education, PRP has been a model of ill-managed ineptitude. The criteria to be assessed were initially identified by a private company, Hay McBer, who were handed the contract without undergoing any formal tendering process. When questioned, the Department for Education and Employment (DFEE) was unapologetic and refused to reveal how much public money was given to Hay McBer (though it is widely reckoned to be about four million pounds!). The training of heads and the employment of roving assessors were put into the hands of another private company, Cambridge Educational Associates (CEA). Their performance was a disaster from day one. Paul Patrick, head of Cardinal Wiseman School, Middlesex said his training was "patronising, poorly-planned and felt like a slow readers group". Richard Carter, a head from Falmouth claims his trainer simply read out "crib sheets, then we ended up copying what he said because there were no copies for delegates". The DFEE were inundated with complaints and the whole training process was hastily reorganised and materials rewritten. Many categories of teachers involved in special needs, traveller education, etc., found the standardised process of assessment entirely failed to recognise their particular experience. Everyone concerned complained that the DFEE had no idea how much time was required for each stage of the assessment process. The Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL) found the average teacher applicant spent sixteen hours completing their forms whilst heads claim to spend a couple of hours assessing each application and they can each have up to 80 applications to deal with. The amount of money spent on the introduction of PRP is another area of concern. Charles Clarke, the schools minister, initially announced the cost at £21 million but this is almost certainly an underestimate. Many commentators have drawn attention to the irony of paying the roving assessors £375 a day whilst the successful teachers they assess can gain only an extra fiver a day. The most serious criticism of PRP concerns its impact on the educational process itself. Teaching will be increasingly reduced to compliance with government guidelines and

endless testing. A recent book for teachers advises them to "ensure that what you are teaching fits into the National Curriculum Programmes of Study or external exam syllabuses. Ensure that what you are teaching and what pupils are learning can be assessed, and make it clear how and when this will happen" (*2,000 Tips for Teachers*, Nick Packard and Phil Race, 2000). The importance and quality of relationships in education will be further marginalised. Colleagues will be increasingly regarded as rivals and resources to exploit without due acknowledgement or reciprocation. Children's feelings, emotions and psychological development will become increasingly neglected in pursuit of narrow exam-orientated targets.

Class collaboration

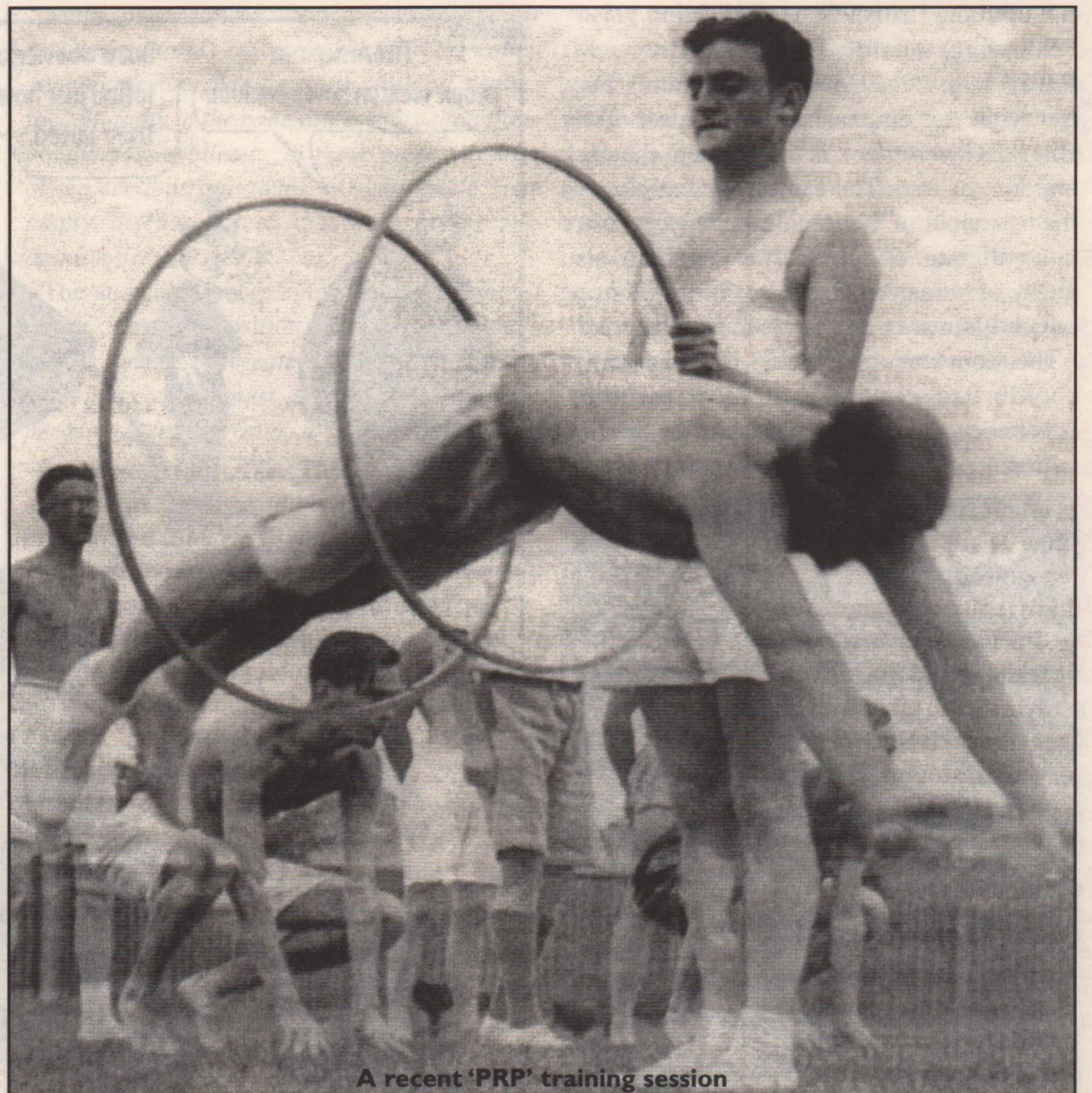
Surveys initially suggested that teachers would oppose the imposition of PRP. In March a *Guardian* survey (7th March 2000) revealed that 68% of secondary teachers and 78% of primary teachers considered the introduction of PRP into schools a bad idea. Another study conducted by David Marsden, Professor of Industrial Relations at the LSE came to similar conclusions, putting the figure opposed to PRP at 67%. In April the NUT's annual conference voted to ballot all its members on strike action against PRP after a poll had revealed that 97% of NUT members opposed any scheme of payment by results. In July the NUT took the government to court to prevent the introduction of PRP in September. Sadly it was all so much hot air. Although Doug McAvoy, the general secretary of the NUT claimed, "nothing as devious, deceitful and manipulative as this was ever done by the Tories. This Government has sunk to new lows in the staff rooms" (*Independent*, 1st May 2000) he refused to ballot the NUT membership and relied on the goodwill of the judges to oppose the government's plans. Although the courts criticised the DFEE and McAvoy claimed success it was a hollow victory. PRP was back on track by October with only minor amendments having been conceded.

Both the judges and the Teachers Pay Review Body backed Blunkett's PRP scheme and teachers' contracts still compel them to report on the teaching of colleagues. The other teacher unions were even more gutless than the NUT, their line was to argue only over the details of PRP, not the principle. The fight is over, if indeed it ever began. Yet the picture is worse than one might imagine for out of the 250,000 teachers immediately eligible to apply for PRP, 197,000 have voluntarily put themselves forward. For two grand 80% of them chose to collaborate with a system they know to be immoral. One teacher, Sarah Fryer deserves especial recognition for her particular volte face. As Deputy Head of Sir William Borlase School, Marlow she movingly informed the 1999 ATL conference that she was quitting teaching because of the government's approach to education, "with league tables and performance-related pay it is beginning to imply that children are robots, not miniature human beings to nurture." She did indeed leave the classroom but was next spotted by the *TES* working at the Department of Education and Employment. Her new job was to implement the Green Paper on Performance Related Pay!

An unhappy ending

Having so effectively demonstrated that their compliance is so cheaply bought teachers can hardly be surprised that the DFEE is already rolling out a new beefed-up feature of PRP. The associated advertising campaign features a smartly dressed female executive-type figure ascending a staircase to the left whilst to the right a mixed bunch of world-weary adults and children crowd onto a narrow escalator. Her flight of stairs seems reserved solely for her ascent whilst the copy beneath the almost full-page illustration asks, "Have you got what it takes to be a fast track teacher?" For apparently "as a Fast Track Teacher you'll ... receive accelerated rewards meaning you can jump up the pay scale." Teachers are now to be motivated like City traders; "eschew the common herd, we can help you join the top people". A naked appeal to feelings of greed and elitism is at the rotten core of DFEE thinking and few teachers have the moral courage to stand up for alternative values.

Christopher Draper



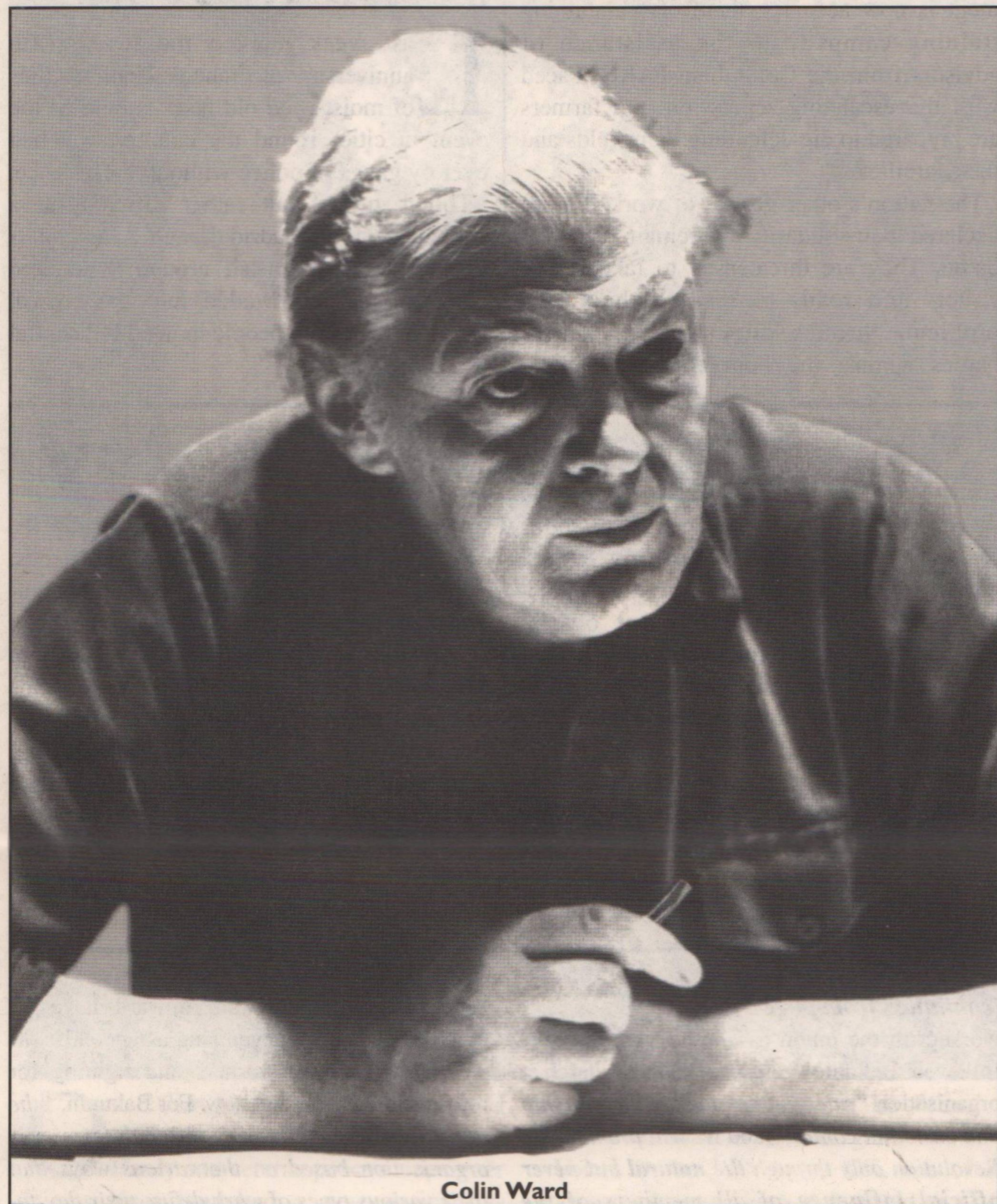
A recent 'PRP' training session

Social Policy: an anarchist response

by Colin Ward

Freedom Press, 96 pages, £5.00*

The texts featured in Colin Ward's latest collection of writings were originally given as seminar introductions and lectures during his year as a visiting professor of Housing and Social Policy at the London School of Economics. Given that, they are remarkable for being entirely free of academic pretensions, admirably clear, and determinedly committed to the popularisation of "the tradition of fraternal and autonomous associations springing up from below".



Colin Ward

Colin Ward's theme throughout is the recovery of the tradition of working class self-help and mutual aid, the "friendly societies, building societies, sick clubs, coffin clubs, clothing clubs, up to enormous federated enterprises like the trade union movement and the Co-operative movement". State socialism has given us, as Ward has noted elsewhere, "monopoly capitalism with a veneer of social welfare as a substitute for social justice" (*Anarchy in Action*, Freedom Press, 1982, 1996). The essays collected here examine the extent to which working class autonomy and self-organisation have been sacrificed to "a world in which everyone was entitled to everything, but where nobody except the providers had any actual say about anything".

Ward draws us to the work of co-thinkers such as David Green, and his work on the history of self-governing working class medical societies. We learn of the members of the Tredegar Medical Aid Society, founded in 1870, which provided medical and hospital care for everyone in the district, and which, at one time, employed five doctors, a dentist, a chiropodist and a physiotherapist, and a hospital to care for the health of about 25,000 people. The Tredegar Society's members had believed that the welfare state would "turn the whole country into one big Tredegar". The illusion of universal state welfare gave way to the reality of a self-perpetuating bureaucracy committed

not to the alleviation of poverty but simply to its regulation by the state. As Charles Booth once observed: "Our modern system of industry will not work without some unemployed margin, some reserve of labour". The administration of that reserve is the ultimate function of the welfare state.

The lectures explore the way groups and

awareness of conservation which existed when water was seen as a resource for all. As Colin Ward asserts: "The current Philistine resurrection ... of economic man in social policy is not only a betrayal of the poor, but is also an obstacle in the way of working out an ecologically sound and responsible approach to water supply in the next century."

A final piece, 'Anarchism in the 21st Century', speculates as to how an anarchist tradition can be re-established which would be capable of "winning over the piratical Thatcherite individualism of the anti-social power of the young in to the camp of social action and effective community power". In this, Ward is clear that anarchism "in the 21st century" will be the property of the poor, a politics forged from the reclaiming of human dignity. "I see it emerging from endless local struggles for influence down on the estate. On one side are those heroines and heroes of local community action, battling for consensus over physical improvements, starting mother-and-baby groups, play-groups, food co-ops, credit unions, LETS ventures, and a whole range of activities built around communality and mutual aid and self-help ... On the other side are the vandals, arsonists, racists, joyriders, drug dealers ... loan sharks and tally-men exploiting the day-to-day, hand-to-mouth improvisatory economy of the poor."

Some controversy has been stirred by Noam Chomsky's recent comments about the possibility of giving limited support to the welfare functions of the state - defending and extending such functions ("expanding the floor of the cage", as he puts it). As an example, his comments on 'living wage' campaigns in an interview with *Anarcho-Syndicalist Review* will suffice. "Now, living wage legislation is legislation. It goes through some governmental organisation. So, is it wrong to fight for a living wage? I don't think so. In fact, fighting for a living wage is also a way of getting people to understand 'Look, we can win. We don't have to accept what happens to us'." (ASK, 25). Is 'making use of the state' a useful tactic for anarchists to employ in the day-to-day struggles against capital? Colin Ward's writings, here and elsewhere, show us how a history of working-class self-organisation has been buried by the triumph of Labourism. Ward quotes a Fabian Tract (no. 4) from 1886,* wherein the author predicts that the "Socialists of England ... will probably fall into two parties; a Collectivist party supporting a strong central administration and a counterbalancing Anarchist party defending individual initiative against administration". Certainly, the later history of the organised working class, and the demoralising burden of social democracy, suggest that the renewal of the latter tradition will be no easy task. In a sense, Chomsky and Ward are working at tackling the same dilemma. Provision of state welfare means that working class people recognise themselves as a class, not in relation to each other, but only in relation to the satisfaction of their basic needs by the state. Much as we might wish to see an end to this, it remains the case that for the most part the forms of organisation do not now exist to replace the provision of state welfare by the self-protection of the working class. Given that, it remains necessary to seek to preserve the minimal protection the state has, at times,

A separate essay, 'Water and the Gift Relationship', examines the 1989 sale of the water industry, the consequent rise of water debt and disconnection, and the way in which the establishment of water as a capitalist product militates against the

afforded us. The agenda of capitalism throughout the '80s and '90s though has been, straightforwardly, the dismantling the welfare structures of the post-war years in favour of low wage economies underpinned by the threat of a reserve army of unemployed workers. As Colin Ward contends, "the aim of the managers of capital today is to do without labour, and when it has to be hired, to do so on terms which are casual, part time and carry no obligations at all".

New Labour is determined to dismantle all but the most coercive aspects of the welfare state. The chains of dependency are being smashed, not by ordinary people realising their capacity for self-organisation, but by the state itself. In such context, the "huge welfare networks ... built up by the poor in the rise of industrial Britain", the lost tradition of working-class self help and mutual aid which Ward details, can be recovered, "rebuilt", as he says, "out of the same sheer necessity during its decline". We have no choice save to re-establish the concept of working class independence in our practical interventions - through helping form claimants unions, occupying community-based projects under threat of closure so that buildings, skills and services are not lost to our communities when the state withdraws, but retained under our control.

In all his writings, Colin Ward has sought to make clear how "anarchist society, a society which organises itself without authority, is always in existence, like a seed beneath the snow" (*Anarchy in Action*). In *Social Policy* he shows us not only how networks of working class self-help were established and how that history has been lost, but also how we can live without government again.

Nick S.

* Reprinted in *Anarchist Essays* by Charlotte Wilson (Freedom Press, £5.95*) which will be reviewed at length in a future issue of *Freedom*.

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Social Upheaval in Bolivia

In the past few months we Bolivians have experienced a social upheaval that has revealed, at its core, the strong desire and determination of the rural people to take control of their lives. The majority of those taking part in the insurgency were also pushed by the extreme poverty that prevails nationwide. The exploited and oppressed did their best to take their problems into their own hands and solve them. But they were thwarted by a combination of their lack of a clear revolutionary strategy and the role played by the reformists in stifling the flames of revolt.

The social explosion has resulted in a stalemate – owing to its weakness, the government has not been able to drown the workers' power in blood. In fact, it has had to make concessions and adjust some of the bourgeois laws. This does not mean that the

exploited are going to back down and disband; they still could begin the fight again because their poverty and oppression remain.

The rural people – who make their living by growing coca – were among the most combative during the upheaval of recent months. Although the bureaucrats representing them were able to extract a few concessions from the bourgeois state, now the ordinary growers are paying dearly for the surrender to the politics of prohibition and the hypocrisy of bourgeois imperialism with regard to the war on drugs.

About 40,000 families make their living cultivating coca for traditional use. They have no alternative but to sell their surpluses to drug-dealing mafias. In a country with very little industry, there are no other jobs they can find. It is no exaggeration to say that their only choice is coca growing or starvation.

The state has militarised the coca-growing region – it has dispatched 12,000 troops and is threatening to unleash the army's elite corps on the farming population. It has launched a dirty war in which the leveling of fields, kidnapping, house

burning, burglary and the jailing of unionists have become common. The state has gone so far as to have snipers fire upon unionists from helicopters supplied by the US Drug Enforcement Agency. The rural people have not remained indifferent to all of this. Though poorly equipped with old rifles and sticks of dynamite, they have used their self-defence committees to confront the government's show of force. Despite their rudimentary means of resistance, the government is now accusing them of maintaining training camps with the assistance of advisors from the Colombian FARC. Faced with the escalating repression, the farmers are prepared to die defending their fields and their families.

The nation's other groups of workers have declared their solidarity and remain ready for battle. They are threatening to take to the streets and roads to resolve their own problems through direct action. Recent battles against the bourgeois government

have given valuable experience, which, if assimilated, has the potential of strengthening the exploited and oppressed for the fights ahead.

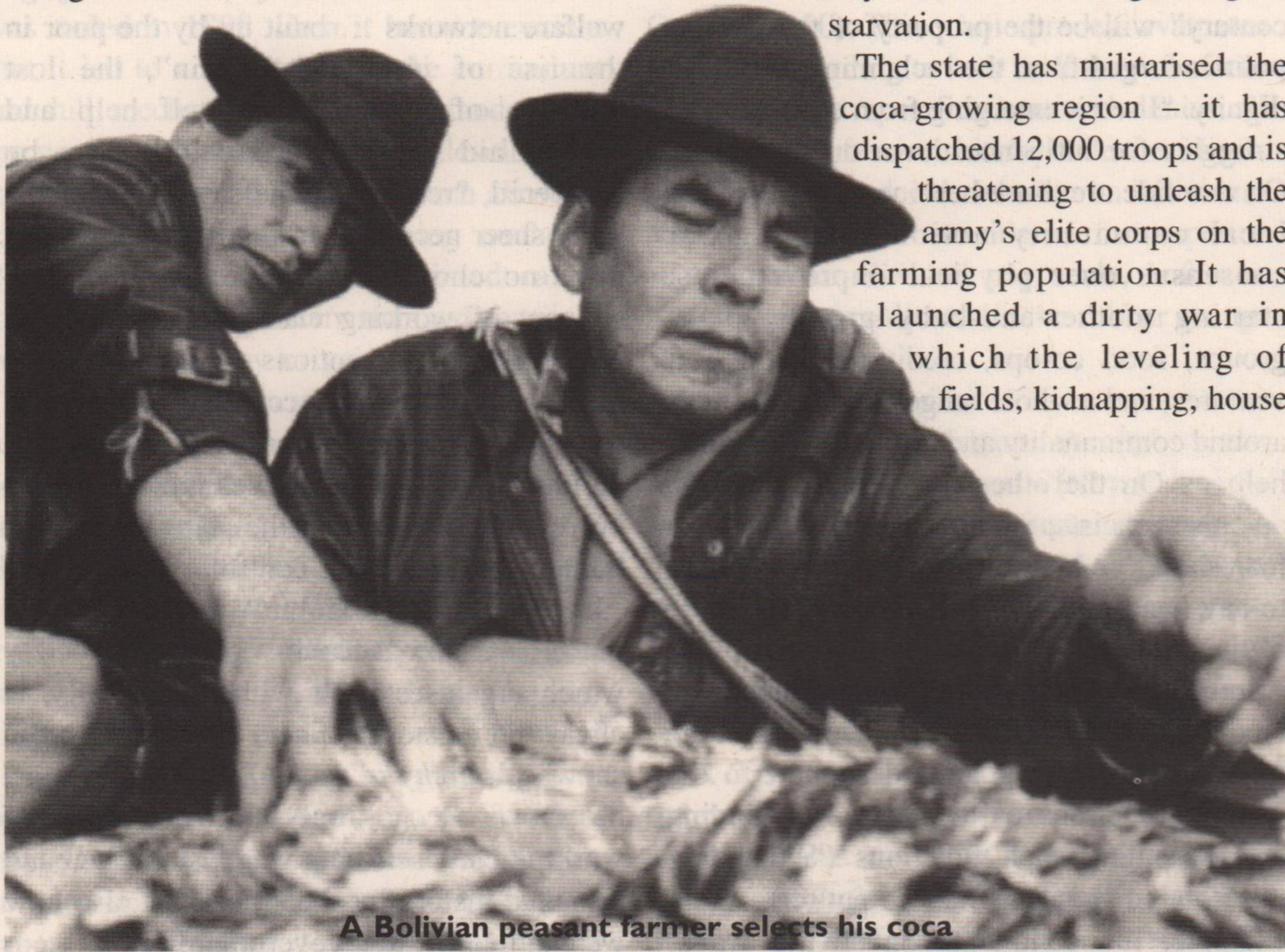
On the other hand, the absence of truly revolutionary organisations makes one fear an armed betrayal by the bureaucracies and a bloodbath.

Juventudes Libertarias
juventudes_libertarias@latinmail.com

Spanish fascists remember

Last week marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of Franco's death. Rallies of moist-eyed old fascists marked the event in cities round the country, watched over by gangs of police without interference.

Things turned out rather different at a counter-demo in Madrid though. After chants of 'police are fascists', around a hundred cops in riot gear waded into the crowd, leaving at least ten people in need of hospital treatment.



A Bolivian peasant farmer selects his coca

Bolivian peasants face new threat

The cocaleros peasants, their trade union organisations and the regional defence groups of Chapare are threatening to set up blockades once again along the Cochabamba-Santa Cruz highway as from November 13th. There will be protest marches prior to these actions which will raise once again the issue of land distribution in Bolivia. If the cocaleros cultivate the coca leaf it is because the international economic system offers them no alternative way of producing and selling other agricultural products. The cultivation of this plant turns out to be the only way to head off starvation in a country where 5% of the population control 90% of the arable land with the other 10% forced to allow for the survival of 95% of the population. This is the situation which has ensured that over the years thousands of families have refused to cultivate the proposed alternative crops because their own experience of trying to do so has shown them to be non-viable. The Centre for Labour Studies in Bolivia has declared that the wave of protest which is sweeping through the country is the consequence of the failure of the market economic model and its enormous social cost. And even if these people are for the most part of Indian origin it is not enough to rationalise their struggle as a local indigenous question – their culture will not feed them and their misery will persist. The agreements signed

with the government three weeks ago have disappointed the peasants. If they are launching their struggle once again despite threats of massive military intervention it is simply because their future looks bleaker than ever.

International Section of the French Speaking Anarchist Federation
www.forumsocialmundial.org.br

Zero tolerance police

British politicians have been very struck by 'zero tolerance' police strategies in the United States. Is this what they meant? Anshe Hedgepeth, aged 12, went into a metro station in Washington DC last month eating a bag of fries. Unfortunately this broke a local law against eating on station concourses, and police were quick to act. Stopped by a plainclothes cop, she was searched, arrested, handcuffed and taken to a local detention centre for fingerprinting and registration for community service. She was also interrogated about her use of drugs and alcohol (she hadn't). "We really do believe in zero tolerance" said a local police chief. Although this can't have anything to do with the story, Anshe Hedgepeth is black.

Steal something day

Last Friday was the *Adbusters Magazine* 'Buy Nothing Day', designed to prove to consumers "how empowering it is to step out of the consumption stream for even a day". Last Saturday was the rather more modest 'Steal Something Day', launched by a group of anarchists in Montreal.

This is what they said: "Unlike Buy Nothing Day, when people are asked to 'participate by not participating', Steal Something Day demands that we 'participate by participating'. Instead of downplaying or

ignoring the capitalists, CEOs, landlords, small business tyrants, bosses, PR hacks, yuppies, media lapdogs, corporate bureaucrats, politicians and cops who are primarily responsible for misery and exploitation in this world, Steal Something Day demands that we steal from them, without discrimination. If you think over-consumption is scary, wait until you hear about capitalism and imperialism."

Freedom tried to speak to some important people to get their reactions on the day, but nobody was willing to talk to us.

(continued from page 2)

workers in the union assemblies. In this they followed Bakunin's arguments that anarchist organisation "rules out any idea of dictatorship and custodial control" and it "will promote the Revolution only through the natural but never official influence of all members of the Alliance." This influence would be exerted in the union assemblies, as the union members "could only defend their rights and their autonomy in only one way: the workers called general membership meetings. Nothing arouses the antipathy of the committees more than these popular assemblies ... In these great meetings of the sections, the items on the agenda were amply discussed and the most progressive opinion prevailed ..."

The anarchist revolution would be organised in an identical fashion, and, in Bakunin's words: "must be created by the people, and supreme control must always belong to the people organised into a free federation of agricultural and industrial associations ... organised from the bottom upwards by means of revolutionary delegations ... [who] will set out to administer public services, not to rule over peoples."

After lying about the FAI, they move on to lying about anarchist theory: "Anarchists instead look to spontaneous upsurges by workers. In the struggle anarchists will declare themselves and urge the workers on. They hope this will lead to the toppling of capitalism. History is full of mass struggles which have been able to win significant gains, but which have not had a clear leadership that can carry the struggle over to victory against capitalism."

Nothing could be further from the truth. Their own article exposes their lies. They mention the CNT, which was organised in an anarchist way and in which anarchists were heavily involved.

Anarchists from Bakunin onward have all argued in favour of organising as anarchists as well as organising workers and fighting for reforms in the here and now. For Bakunin, "the natural organisation of the masses ... is organisation based on the various ways that their various types of work define their day-to-day life; it is organisation by trade association." He stressed the importance of anarchists being involved in unions as well as union struggle for reforms by direct action: "What policy should the International [Workers' Association] follow during th[e] somewhat extended time period that separates us from this terrible social revolution ... the International will give labour unrest in all countries an essentially economic character, with the aim of reducing working hours and increasing salary, by means of the association of the working masses ... It will [also] propagandise its principles ..."

Thus anarchists see the importance of workers' organisation and struggle in the here and now. Anarchists are active in industrial disputes and (as the SWP note) the anti-globalisation movement and were heavily involved in the anti-poll-tax and anti-criminal justice act struggles, for example. The role of anarchists is not to wait for 'upsurges' but rather to encourage them by spreading our ideas and encouraging workers to fight their bosses and the state. It is for this reason anarchists form groups and federations, to influence workers today rather than waiting for a 'spontaneous uprising' to occur. Moreover, it is quite ironic that the SWP say that anarchists wait for upsurges before declaring themselves to the masses. After all, that is what the SWP do. They turn up at picket lines and try and sell their paper and party to the strikers. Obviously,

(continued on page 7)

Ethnic cleansing allowed?

Dear Freedom,

Your editorial in the last issue (18th November) seems to imply that the Palestinians have more right to live in what you call Palestine than the Jews have. That's not true. The Palestinians are Arabs who invaded the area hundreds of years ago. Before that the area was known as Judaea, and the Jews owned it in biblical times. What's going on in Israel and the west bank is a tragedy but we won't understand it any better by saying that Palestinians have more right to live there than Jews.

P. Flint

Editors' note: Our correspondent seems to have completely misread the article. What we said was that "Arab resistance will continue as long as Israeli repression lasts ... We oppose the atrocities being carried out by Israeli forces".

These seem entirely reasonable opinions to us, and we'd be surprised if many of our

readers disagreed.

What we didn't say was that Palestinian Arabs have more right to live in Palestine/Judaea than Jewish people.

P. Flint is right, the territory has been invaded and re-invaded over thousands of years, and nobody has more right to live there than anybody else.

In the anarchist society we want to see, human beings would be able to go and live where they wish irrespective of where they

were born and what their background is. The question is how we move from here to there, and the answer we gave in the editorial P. Flint talks about was that a change can only come about through solidarity. Nationalism, whether pro-Palestinian or pro-Israeli, is not the answer.

And finally, just to make this absolutely clear, we did not say anything about Jewish people. The whole article was about the actions of the state of Israel. These actions are, we think, so outrageous that everyone should oppose them, whatever their ethnic background.

S26 Prisoners in Prague

Dear Comrades,

Revolutionary anarchist greetings from the Czech republic! ORA-SOLIDARITA would like to express our deepest gratitude for money contributions of anarchists and other concerned people aimed at raising legal defence funds for tortured S26 prisoners in Prague. Thanks to your contributions we are now able to provide many of the charged

anarchists and other activists with good lawyers.

But perhaps even more important were solidarity actions (embassy pickets, protest letters, emails and phone calls) you have undertaken to free those prisoners. Thanks to you and other comrades all around the world an international campaign came into existence, which forced the Czech authorities to free by this time all but two prisoners of a total number of some almost nine hundred people, among them all seven Hungarian anarchist-communists.

Thank you very much once more for your solidarity!

Some 25 people are still charged by the police and one of the Polish comrades has already been sentenced under very strange conditions to one year of imprisonment. That is why solidarity is still needed. Let's continue to support our comrades, who face severe repressions because of fighting for a better world.

Vadim Barak

International Secretary, ORA-SOLIDARITA



US Elections

Dear Editors,

The American election has been a farce from start to finish. In my younger days I used to support the Labour Party. But here and in America the money-grabbing opportunism and cynicism that we see in politicians stopped me from supporting any of them and the farce in the United States will do the same for lots of other people as well. I've just enjoyed watching them thrashing around. I look forward to reading more about it in future issues of Freedom.

Brian Hancock

(continued from page 6)

if anarchist do this, it is bad, if the SWP do it, then it is 'revolutionary'.

Therefore, rather than believing in or waiting for 'spontaneous upsurges' anarchists, like the SWP, spread their message, try and convince people to become revolutionaries. That is why there are numerous anarchist federations across the world, involved in numerous struggles and working class organisations, with magazines, papers and leaflets being produced and distributed. Anarchists stress the importance of winning people over to anarchist ideas and of giving a 'lead' in struggle rather than as a 'leadership' (which implies a hierarchical relationship between the mass of people and a group of leaders). To state otherwise, to argue we wait for spontaneous uprisings, is simply a lie.

Anarchist organisations see themselves in the role of aiders, not leaders. As Voline argued, the politically aware minority "should intervene. But, in every place and under all circumstances ... [they] should freely participate in the common work, as true collaborators, not as dictators. It is necessary that they especially create an example, and employ themselves ... without dominating, subjugating, or oppressing anyone ... Accordingly to the libertarian thesis, it is the labouring masses themselves, who, by means of the various class organisations, factory committees, industrial and agricultural unions, co-operatives, et cetera, federated ... should apply themselves everywhere, to solving the problems of waging the Revolution ... As for the 'elite' [i.e. the politically aware], their role, according to the libertarians, is to help the masses, enlighten them, teach them, give them necessary advice, impel them to take initiative, provide them with an example, and support them in their action - but not to direct them governmentally."

Sadly, Leninists like the SWP confuse giving a lead with taking power themselves. They seek to take over positions of responsibility in a movement and turn them into positions of power which they can use to tell the others what to do. Instead of being the servants of the organisation, they become its masters. For this reason anarchist organisations try to influence movements from below, in the mass assemblies which make it up, rather than seek power.

After creating a straw man about anarchist theory, they draw some thoughts from it: "When struggles have not spontaneously broken capitalism, anarchists have tended to end up blaming workers for being insufficiently revolutionary. So nineteenth century French anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon started off talking of his 'love of the people' but ended up saying he 'despised' humanity because they had not overthrown capitalism."

Strange that they picked Proudhon as he was not a revolutionary anarchist. Rather he favoured the reform of capitalism via mutual credit and workers' co-operatives and rejected the idea of revolution (spontaneous or not). Anyone with even a limited knowledge of Proudhon's work would know this. In addition, Proudhon's last book (*The Political Capacity of the Working Classes*) was an attempt to influence the workers' movement towards his ideas of mutualism and federalism. Hardly to be expected from someone who 'despised' humanity for not overthrowing capitalism. As examples go, the SWP is clearly clutching at straws.

The SWP then move onto an even greater factual error. They claim that the "biggest anarchist groups today, the 'autonomists' in Europe, treat workers who have not fully broken with capitalist ideas as an enemy rather than a potential ally." Unfortunately for them, the 'autonomists' are not generally anarchists.

Rather they are non-Leninist Marxists whose ideas (and name) originally came from the Marxist left in Italy during the 1960s. It is also probable that the various European anarchist federations (such as the French and Italian) and anarcho-syndicalist unions are bigger than the autonomists. Moreover, without any examples of the groups meant it is hard to evaluate the accuracy of the SWP's claims. Suffice it to say, the leading theorists of 'autonomism' such as Tony Negri and Harry Cleaver do not express the opinions the SWP claim 'autonomists' have.

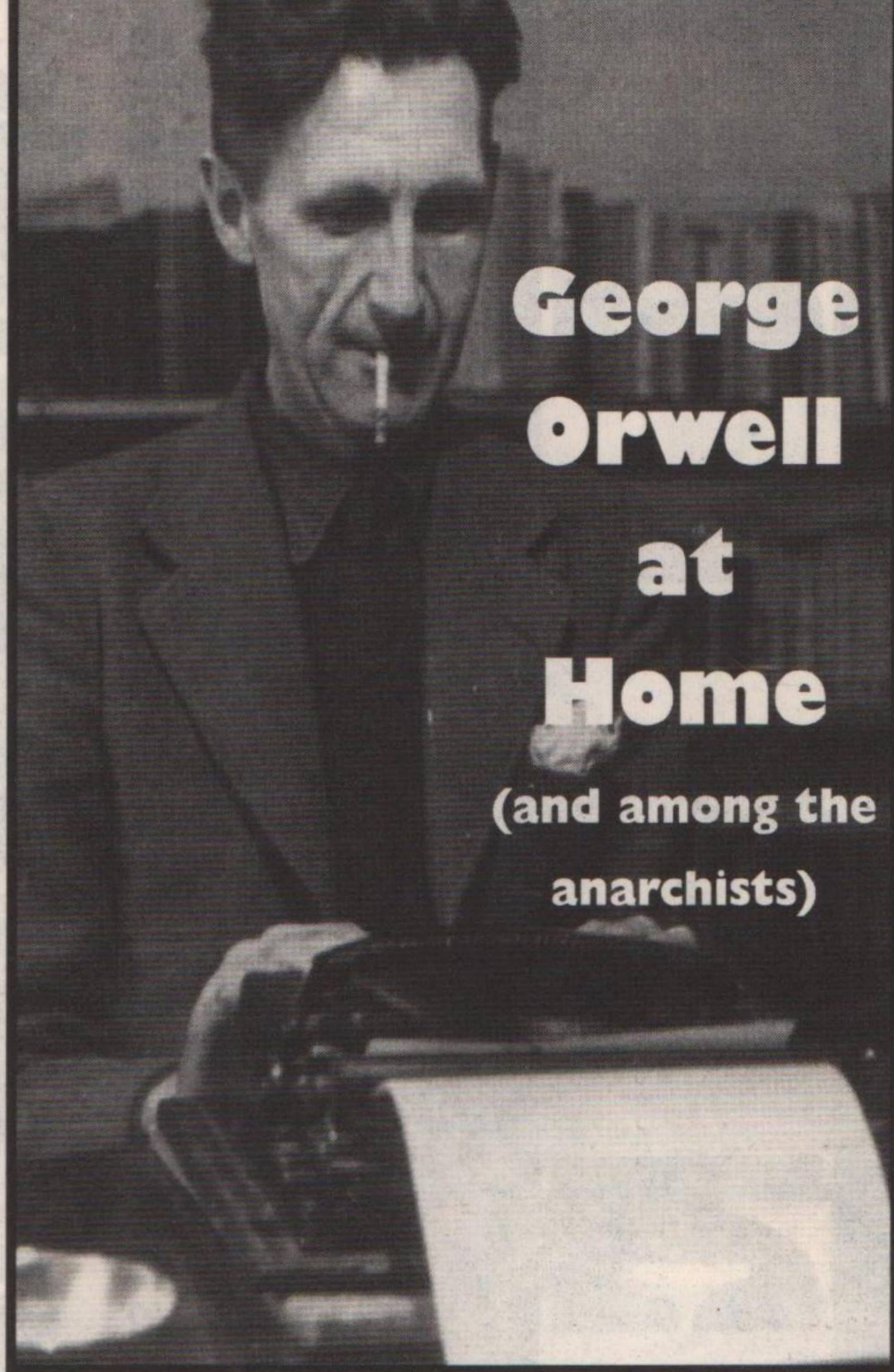
They admit that their analysis leaves much to be desired by mentioning that "many anarchists understand the way that capitalism works and organise to change the world." In other words, if an anarchist points out the flaws in their argument or a reader knows an anarchist who does not match the SWP's distorted picture, then the SWP can say that they are part of the 'many'. Extremely handy, if dishonest, comment to make.

The SWP continue by arguing that our "rejection of centralisation means that at critical moments their intervention in the struggle is fatally flawed." This is ironic. Given that their example of the benefits of centralisation showed the flaws in that method of organising, their conclusion seems without basis. Moreover, as argued above, centralisation is the key means by which minorities govern majorities. It is a tool used to impose minority rule and is not designed for other uses. But, then again, the SWP do aim for minority rule - the rule of the 'revolutionary' party over the masses. As they argue: "The working class needs what anarchism rejects - a clear and determined revolutionary party which can lead the working class as a whole, and is not afraid to overthrow capitalism and set up a workers' state."

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Yes, indeed. The examples of the current anti-capitalist movement, the poll tax revolt and the 1917 February Russian revolution indicate well that a revolutionary party works. If such a party had led the working class in each of these events, they would not have occurred. The workers would have done nothing, as the Bolsheviks desired. People would have paid their poll tax waiting for the trade union bureaucrats to act. The anti-globalisation demonstrations would not have happened as the 'vanguard' party did not recognise their importance.

Given that the Russian Revolution quickly resulted in the marginalisation of the workers' councils by the centralised, "clear and determined" Bolsheviks who turned them into rubber stamps of their government, it suggests that the politics of the SWP leave much to be desired. This, we suggest, provides the explanation of why they have spent so much time re-writing history to smear anarchism. Not being able to discuss our ideas honestly - for that would expose the authoritarian ideas of Bolshevism - the SWP invent a straw man they call anarchism and beat him to death. Unfortunately for them, anarchists are still around and can expose their lies for what they are.

One last point, the SWP claim they are for 'socialism from below'. Unfortunately for them, Lenin argued that "the principle, 'only from below' is an anarchist principle." For real 'socialism from below' find out about anarchism.

Iain McKay

For more on anarchism and Marxism visit: <http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/1931/append3.html>

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— MEETINGS FOR 2000 —

1st December Anarchism and Feminism (symposium led by Jocelyn Chaplin)

8th December Class Struggle: What is it? Does it exist? (open debate)

15th December Anti-Xmas Party – please bring food/drink to share

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. For more information see: LAF@anarchic.co.uk or www.trak.to/LAF

Steve Ash
for London Anarchist Forum

Human Rights

we're planning this as our theme for
**International
Labour Day
(Mayday) 2001**

We are planning and organising events for the day now, and we'd welcome suggestions, help, comments and co-operation from your group. Perhaps you would like to get involved.

What do you and your members think.

Contact us at:

Lancaster & Morecambe Trade Union
Council, 178a Lancaster Road, Morecambe
Tel/Fax: 01524 413600

MA'M

(Movement Against the Monarchy)

Are holding a social at the
Summit Estate Community Centre
Stamford Hill, North London
Saturday 16th December at 8pm

Freedom Press Bookshop

**Christmas
Party**

will be on

**Saturday
16th December**

from 12 noon to 5pm

old and new friends welcome

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**Saturday 16th December
10am to 5.30pm**

If you want to attend please come along with a clear idea of your proposal for Mayday 2001. If you need a crèche place (babies to eight years old), 9-15 year olds self-managed youth space or accommodation, let us know before you come. If you cannot attend please send in clear ideas ASAP and a hard copy by post if you are not using e-mail. It is advised, if using e-mail, to obtain a 'hushmail' e-mail account from www.hushmail.com. E-mails sent between hushmail e-mail account holders are immediately encrypted and therefore much harder to monitor.

Contact us at:

BM Mayday, London, WC1N 3XX or
mayday2001@hushmail.com

For more info please also check out
http://www.freespeech.org/mayday2k

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