The changes signal little more than a can keep the focus of the populace away ways be ineffective in achieving our aims shaped for us by the state.

change of direction by the Russian Com- from the real problems at home. In addi- and that we will always provide an outlet

taken place, we should also be aware that

for NATO and the Warsaw Pact. It is very peace movement to think (voting in Brazil is compulsory); making wall-

however it is the apparent and hopeful (and rejoice) that the barriers posters and taking part in academic contests.

for world peace not only to the world lead-

munist Party. Gorbachev is facing politition Bush gets the bonus that he can justify

cal and economic crises at home and can a huge standing army by invading Panama

that, in the long term, perestroika and the populace do not recognise that the

eastern bloc so that Gorbachev can con- control as well as a covert means of prop-

centrate on internal problems. As a con- ping up corrupt regimes all over the world

ern europe has only happened because the Many western and eastern leaders have

an extra degree of freedom which has wary of this situation, we should be aware

been imposed by an imperialist state, and of the degree of manipulation which has

truth of the situation. In order to analyse are down, but while we cele-

the situation correctly we must be aware that the events were dictated by the state brate they are rebuilding

world politics which have arisen through This is the time for the peace movement

the actions of the peoples of eastern to make a lot of noise, for us to appeal

invested in the stability of the pre-1989 state the peace movement also has the

situation to permit too much change but power to control, we control the thoughts

are quite happy to allow 'the perception of those who look to us and not the state

of freedom running wild'. Both East and for guidance. We must be careful in the

West are dependent on the state of readi- use of this power, careful that we do not

The case is that all states have too much ers but to the people. As an arm of the

clusion the democracy movement in east- and South America in particular.

no longer afford to finance or support the to persecute one man.

MEETINGS

London Anarchist Forum Fridays at 8pm at Mary Ward Centre

42 Queen Square, London WC1. 26th January 1990 'The Timeless Henry Thoreau Way: the ideas of Christopher Civil Disobedience £3.25 Alexander, architect and planner

(speaker Brian Richardson). 2nd February 1990 Open discussion 9th February 1990 Robbing the Grave of God'

(speaker Peter Lumsden).

Anarchist-Communist Federation (London)

Discussion meeting What is Anarchist-Communism 8pm Thursday Feb 1st, Marchmon Community Centre, Marchmont Street. London WCI (nearest tube Russell

Square) Public meeting The collapse of State

'Communism' the Anarchist-Communist

alternative 7.30pm Wednesday Feb 28, Conway Hall Red Lion Square, London WC1 (nearest tube Holborn)

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welcomed by the people.

change

will or ability to adapt to rapid

In terms of global politics the moves

towards democracy in eastern europe

herald the end of the cold war and, there-

easy to make this sort of glib judgement,

type of organised authority, either covert

and that our perceptions of them are also them

dictated by the state. The state (i.e. any

tain, the US and the Soviet Union could

and massive standing armies. In addition,

(by propaganda — subtle or not) to focus

their attention and frustration on the

Political Commentary

struggle of 1936-39.

-

9

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and then turn against the state unless the elsewhere in the world — eds.

down we should take their struggle as an (Mutual Support Group). example and remember that if the state ties of the Rio groups in the years 1988-89: Although we are tolerated by the present poligives you a freedom you should use it to - 1st May 1988: Taking part in the 1st May tical conjucture, the social and economic chaos your advantage and take that liberty to actions; being present at the Quinta da Boa in which we live makes it highly possible that one step further than the state wishes. Vista (Boa Vista Park) meeting, sticking bills a period of perturbation and instability may throughout the city and handing out manifests, succeed in the near future, something quite newspapers, etc. - October/November 1988; Campaign for the many of us will need international solidarity

vote shown by the electoral soundings, our campaign gained the headlines of the newspapers, unleashing a strong reaction from the left wing parties and the media. The final outor overt) has many vested interests in the The state is permitting the peace move- come of the elections has a 24.4% of null and stable order of things and does not have ment to think (and rejoice) that the bar- blank votes. - Spring 1988: The first issue of Utopia was the will or ability to adapt to rapid change riers to peace are down, but while we celepublished. Utopia is a magazine which has the especially when that change was not initi- brate they are rebuilding them. Our freepurpose of being a medium where ideas may ated (in detail) by itself. With this in mind dom is to celebrate and think that we have be made public, reconsidered and discussed in it is easier to understand both the western achieved something. The state is letting a libertarian way. and Soviet approaches to the changes in us do this while they regain full control.

ness for war for economic reasons, Brinot survive economically (barring long We would agree with the writer about the US and term planning) without the arms industry Britain. But surely the initiatives taken by the Russian political leaders to reduce their military forces without the manipulation of the people even unilaterally is in order to improve their economic situation and their ability to increase the production of consumer goods, housing etc. in the hope of appeasing their grumbling citizens. The only opposi-'enemy' without, the people would soon tion they might meet is from the military leaders but perceive the real problems with the state they could be offered top jobs in industry as is done

due to the actions of the people. In the way (eg. trades unions or the peace movement had the freedom that the state has granted to us West we have been all too ready to accept movement). answer we would have no weapons any- we will never be effective. The events in this as a good thing, as a step towards An example of this is the way that more. Currently the peace movement eastern europe have given us a handhold freedom and human rights in these coun- George Bush's foreign policy has changed contains a particular class of person and on the possibility of real freedom. It is up tries. Superficially this is true but when recently. No longer are the communists draws on that class for new recruits. This to us to take that opportunity if we are we examine the internal situations of Hun- the major threat (excepting Nicaragua) class is the class of the well educated and serious about an end to war and creating gary, East Germany, Poland and Roma- and the focus has changed to the internal the comfortable, for if there is no struggle an age of world peace. However, if we nia we find that little has changed apart drug problem and how to externalise that in our lives we must create that struggle wish to remain the tools of the state we from the bosses having different names, to other countries. Instead of focussing on to be whole. To appeal to all people we should just carry on as we are. and being granted power by different the points of entry, Bush is concentrating must be able to make the connection be- To conclude, the only freedom which his efforts, and the minds of the American tween nuclear weapons and their lives. All we have is the ability to think freely should The 'victories' of the 'democracy' people, on the drug producing areas of the intellectual arguments against war and we wish it. Throughout our lives we are movement in East Germany were hailed countries such as Colombia, and key fi- the war machine are useless if they are manipulated by the state and restricted in as great advances and the removal of the gures such as Manuel Noriega. This move not relevant to our lives. The peace move- our thoughts and actions, when the state Berlin Wall (as a barrier to world peace) allows the US people to fight (under state ment has the ability to capture the imagi- permits us an extra degree of freedom we was celebrated publicly around the world. control) an enemy within in a very out- nation of the people and manipulate them grasp it gleefully like a child with a new It now seems that little has changed in going way. There appears to be this identito demand an end to war and the begintous toy and call it freedom. True freedom and East Germany itself and that the Berlin ty crisis now that nuclear weapons are no ning of world peace. The state has given the freedoms that the state grants us are Wall might as well be standing for all the longer needed, and America must appear us this opportunity, if we want it. The two entirely different things. We should difference it has made to western foreign strong in a John Wayne/Hollywood man- challenge then is do we really want world be aware that the freedom movement in policy. Change has been welcomed by the ner. It doesn't matter how many interna- peace and are we prepared to work for it. eastern europe is merely the exchange of people but it has not been welcomed by tional laws are broken, or whether human The state only allows the peace movement one type of tyranny for another, and that the politicians especially those in the west. rights are violated, so long as the state to exist because it knows that we will al- our views on the situation are being

FREE EUROPE? FREE WORLD?

THE last few months of 1989 have been state permitted them the freedom to focus oppress people in the manner that we so for certain types of people who, if they times of considerable change in Eastern on an alternative enemy within (eg. dislike. Europe. We have seen the fall of a number McCarthyism, racism), or gives the liof traditional hardline communist regimes mited freedom to protest in a controlled popular appeal? This is a difficult ques- long as we act within the confines of the

eastern bloc buffer states. It could be said The degree of state control is such that Anarchism in Rio de Janeiro

glasnost are simply policies aimed at re- hard drug problem in the US was primari- The anarchist movement in Rio de Janeiro since _ 20th, 21st and 22nd April 1989: The first ducing the burden placed on the Soviet ly created by the state (through the CIA) the end of the military dictatorship meeting of libertarian students took place in economy by its imperial obligations to the in the 1960s and '70s as a means of citizen from a correspondent the headquarters of the União Nacional dos Estudantes (National Student Union) and

publicity, handing out pamphlets, making

Having met a favourable reception from the

population and having been pointed out as one

of the reasons for the high tendency to the null

With people power expressing itself

in Eastern Europe, issue number 8

of The Raven is of special interest. It

deals with the general subject of

revolution both from a theoretical

standpoint with a debate between

Herbert Read and a Bulgarian com-

rade way back in 1938, and the reality

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by Spanish participants in the Spanish

RAVEN 8

onwards, mainly among the students. quence of the considerable increase in the In the late '60s the last support of the anarch- libertarian activities in the student communi-Soviets permitted it. This is not to say that encouraged us to be wary of the changes ist movement in Rio was extinguished by the ties, especially during the 39th Congress of the the Soviets are doing anything sinister, as in eastern europe simply because it is in military dictatorship's repression that has União Nacional dos Estudantes, in 1988 and Margaret Thatcher would like us to be- their interest to maintain the fear, to taken place in 1964 when it closed the Centro the Congress of the High School Students Metlieve, but that they are manipulating the maintain the nuclear arsenals and the war de Estudos Prof José Topolitan Association in the same year. populace by giving them sufficient liberty machine. They are trying to keep the Oiticicia Study Centre). Now, in the mid '80s - 1st May 1989: Taking part in the 1st May to choose whichever form of government situation under control, and they will do the movement has cheered up and, with a lot actions; handing out pamphlets in the Quinta

THERE has been an increasing reorganisation was assisted by about 35 representatives of

of the anarchist movement in Rio from 1985 different states. The meeting was a conse-

they wish. This is not freedom, it is merely so simply by economics. We should be of resolution and facing a great deal of obsta- da Boa Vista. cles, has been reorganising itself and becoming — Winter 1989: Publishing of the second issue more important in society. Within the student of Utopia. movement there have risen the GAJO (Grupo - August/September 1989: Organisation of Anarquista José Oiticica — José Oiticica the third series of lectures 'Anarchism Today'. the state has offered the peace movement Anarchist Group) and CAE-9 (Célula Anar- As we can see, the anarchists' voice can be a great opportunity to change the world. quista Estudantil 9 de Julho — 9 July Student heard in the city once again and our struggle The peoples of eastern europe were given Anarchist Cell) groups and several others goes on. Unfortunately this calls the attention some freedom by the state and they only which are consist mainly of high school of the repressing structure of the Brazilian The state does not have the took part of it. As eastern europe settles students such as the Grupo Apoio Mútuo state, whose activities can be noticed in the fact that letters are being violated and some Here are some of the most important activi- of them aren't even reaching their destination.

common in Latin America. If that happens, fore, the end of any form of justification The state is permitting the null vote, during the municipal elections and support in the case of exile.

January 1990 Serge Cipko Mikhail Bakunin and the National

Laslo Sekelj

Colin Ward

Somewhere

RAVEN 9

Has Anarcho-Communism a Future?

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9 STAINLESS HARDENED 1 0

The End of the 'Closed Shop'

For many years now anarchists and other militants active in union organised industries in common with the bulk of the membership of the labour and trades union movement, have tended to keep their heads down on the matter of the closed shop. In spite of holding principled objections to the violation of an individuals right not to belong to a closed shop union, workers covering the whole political spectrum have either succumbed to the democratic principle of a collective-will paramountcy in the workplace as against individual rights or, tactically justifying the closed shop as a means of influencing and controlling would-be non union scabs and back-sliders during industrial disputes.

The Factory and Beyond

Room to Roll Over The 19th century philo- asked to embrace the erect forces of Hea-

from the West German Government to The Benefits of Western Capitalism are

tidy up his grave in London's Highgate already penetrating the Iron Curtain

upkeep on his grave. The West German a £6 million contract to manufacture con-

interest in Marxism as an academic discier. Communist Vietnam is reported to be

pline in our Universities. The Red Flag practising Thatcherite monetarism and

may be smothered in shit, but our English advocating the importance of the market,

left-wing intellectuals will be able to res- while proclaiming Marxist-Leninism and

cue the theory. Indeed, the disappearance the inevitable victory of the dictatorship

of embarrassing practical examples of of the proletariat. In these unstable times

Marxism in action ought to give more doctrinal consistency must take a back

More often than not the closed shop was used to greater effect by union bureaucrats to stifle rank and file militan- for Employers (sorry) Employment, cy. With the additional aid of the deduc- announced recently that he proposed to bargaining arrangements'. tem of investment etc.

At the best, serving the narrow vested closed shop arrangements. (Incidentally interest. interests of the unions, the closd shop the same Norman Fowler has subsequent- It may well be that the final irony in the present economic and political system part of the government's politically- tary in order to be able to spend more loyal supporters of the leadership of the inspired union-bashing policy which seeks time with my family'. He otherwise supto overwhelmingly shift the balance of le- ports the abuses and vilification of gal political and economic power in favour ambulance-workers in dispute, who comof the employers and owners of industry. plain that excessive over-time worked as

Legislation enacted by the Thatcher a result of under-manning and financial government has restricted the operation cut-backs prevents them from enjoying of the closed shop, making it unlawful to normal family life.) sack an employee who was refusing to join, or remain a member of, the approp- Much Ado About? riate union. The government at that time,

union labour. ment to anyone not a member of the puting the government's claims that clo- most other industrial countries'. appropriate union.

sopher of the international working class lyite labour.'

Embassy in London explained, 'We are doms in the USSR.

- Karl Marx, looks like getting funds

all in favour of Marx being nicely buried

scope to the doctrinal theorist.

Marxist 'Libertine' dies The death occur-

of a sexual athlete.

thought him to be a boring old fart, re- wages.

— like Marxism'.

nent academic institutions have concluded companies. that the closed shop 'may in the long term rights. Norman Fowler, then Secretary of State

tion from wages of union dues a satisfac- effectively outlaw closed shops entirely, Even the government's own Monopo- prove the living standards of workers must tory financial tie-in with the employers by way of yet a sixth anti-union Bill to be lies and Mergers Commission earlier this recognise that trade unionism which was obtained providing funds for a sub- introduced since 1979, thus bringing gov- year found that neither the closed shops accepts the committal 'to maximising stantial stake in the current economic sys- ernment legislation in line with the pro- of Equity, the actors union, nor the Musi- growth in the economy and working in posed EEC social charter which prohibits cians Union operated against the public partnership with employers' becomes in-

soon became a target to be attacked as ly given up the job of Employment Secre- the matter of the closed shop is that the of society.

Labour Party and TUC have surrendered to the likes of the renegade Eric Hammond, General Secretary of the Electricians and Plumbers Union, the task of justifying union-preferential agreements, in view of his policies of single-union, noindustry, surveys conducted by two emi-strikes arrangements with multi-national

that as a whole closed shops do little or The apparent pending demise of the nothing to restrict the ability of companies closed shop and the current malaise affectto make profits or that they operate to the ing the trade-union movement generally detriment of the national economy. serves to under-line the limitations of de-Moreover in its response to the Green fensive trade unionism attacked by profit Paper on the closed shop proposals, the motivated vested interests no longer able Institute of Personal Management argue to afford luxuries such as trade union

prove better than the alternative of unreg- As commercial competition and the ulated multi-unionism and fragmented struggle for markets gets even fiercer, those who would defend, let alone imevitably an essentially functional part of

Tom Carlile

The Wisdom of Shorter Hours

With the government seeking to invoke 'You work to live, you don't live to work', ers are just seeking their rewards while presumably reluctant to otherwise deny the social charter to justify its anti-union that's what my workmates on the shop- the goings good. Shareholders have been employers the right to employ at will, and anti-strike proposals in the new Bill, floor always told me. The Financial Times on a beano for at least a decade — the failed to compel employers with a union- the leadership of the Labour Party and editor thinks otherwise; in an editorial latest figures from the London Business organised work force, to take on non- the TUC virtually fell over one another 'The Folly of Shorter Hours', he slams the School show that, after inflation, £1 put to announce their abandonment of all de- engineering workers' campaign for a shor- into shares in 1955 — with dividends rein-This legal loop-hole enabled the pre- fence of the closed shop. On the other ter working week, saying 'Now is the vested — would have been worth £10.40 entry closed shop to operate as before, in hand, support for the closed shop (and a worst possible time to put any additional by the end of 1989. that the employer was bound by agree- tighter control of union membership) may squeeze on profits', and adds this is a point In the light of this the following remarks ment with the union not to offer employ- be found coming from other quarters. Dis- that would not 'even have to be made in of a shop steward on the picket line at sed shops inhibit the economic viability of

every hour God sends? Not according to we get half the wages for longer hours. Germany is a 37-hour week.

The guerilla strikes against certain Key does not run out. companies started last Autumn, and the 37-hour week has been won at NEI-Parsons in Newcastle; Smiths Industries at Cheltenham; and Rolls-Royce in Glasgow. A large batch of smaller companies have agreed to a shorter working week without industrial action.

Nationally the action is now focused on Cemetery. Marx, in his lifetime, was countries. Soft pornography should soon the British Aerospace (BAe) plants. This funded by the textile manufacturer En- be on sale in East Germany, and the Loncompany could resist the claim more easigels; it seems only right and proper that don International Group (makers of ly, because many of its customers are vir-German capitalism shoull take care of the Durex) shares came alive amid reports of tual captives; such as the defence contracts for the Government. This month Alas, I suspect the Embassy is being Spain is not the only country to pursue overly optimistic — given the huge vested policies of Thatcherism, without Thatch-

market since the engineering unions education, fire-fighting, and other started their campaign. There have even services formerly subsidised by their been rumours of a Rights Issue by BAe, parents and neighbours. in which the company would issue more Of course, householders opposed to shares. Effectively asking the sharehol- injustice are opposed to the poll tax, but seat for governments, to the more vital ders to bail the company out of its difficul- in this they go counter to the propaganda. ties. Rights Issues are rarely popular I know one academic, a veteran, articulate among shareholders.

Mack the Knife

red last month of the self-styled leader of In Thatcherism's native land alert readers the British working class — Gerry Healy. will have spotted some loss of political Outside the sweatshops of the Royal coherence in the attitude of the govern-Shakespeare Company not many workers ment to 'wage inflation'. This month knew of him, but he got several eminent we've had John Major lecturing the bosses obituaries including one from Vanessa on how to agree terms with their work-Redgrave who said she owed it all to Ger- forces. An odd approach for an adminis- turn sour in 1990, but the shopfloor work- propaganda to be for it. ry — her transformation into a 'political tration committed to non-intervention, woman and an artist'. Those of us who and letting the 'free market' determine

life Comrade Healy gained the reputation ist, wrote that the slightest indication that year, including perks. the government was prepared to let sterl-Brian Behan (the playwright and ex- ing fall freely would have taken pay rises Health Authority Bosses have shown great in 432 million extra transactions a year. syndicalist Irish navvy) writing an obitu- into double figures. This month, Ford foresight in getting the High Court to slap If most poll tax payments are made by ary in The Independent described him offered their workers a 10.2% rise to an injunction on ambulance crews in Ox- cheque they do not know how they will well: 'Gerry Healy was a small man. He avoid a national strike. It was rejected, fordshire, to prevent them organising an cope. Look out for vast advertising was bald with the little sore eyes of a new- and some Ford workers are now on unoffi- alternative emergency service for the pub- campaigns urging people to pay poll tax born pig. Yet he was expelled as leader cial strike. It's not weakness of sterling lic. The setting up of emergency services, by direct debit — and hope that they fail, of the 4th International for the crime of which worries these workers, so controlled directly by the ambulance because then the banks will advise the sexual debauchery of the whole working much as price rises, and the example set workers, is obviously a threat to the man- government that the poll tax is unworkclass, or at least a sizeable proportion of last year of many British top managers agement's right to manage. it. I understand that 76 women in all were paying themselves huge salary increases.

Eastern Promise of Thatcherism Socialist

question of staying on top.

BAe are not an overstatement: 'Com-Do the Germans really want to work pared with our counterparts in Europe, Denis MacShane of the International We want the same hours as in Europe. Metalworkers Federation in Geneva. He Management have just had a 22% pay says, the norm for aerospace workers in rise. They offered us 4.5% . . . people are bitter.' It is to be hoped that their anger

Brian Bamford

Bankers Against the Poll Tax

though the Airbus Industries consortium, Nearly all the anti-poll tax propaganda we of which BAe is a member, has threatened see, from anarchists as well as from severe financial penalties for the com- 'workerists', is of the 'can't-pay-won'tpany's failure to deliver wings for their pay' variety - not about justice and equity, but about the financial loss to non-This threat has shaken Bae shares, ratepayers, who will be asked to contriwhich have been underperforming the bute directly to the cost of street lighting,

campaigner against imprisonment and On past performance the Financial slavery (neither of which he has experi-Times editor is wrong to complain of the enced personally) who takes the view that workers squeezing profits. Dividend pay- if the only reason people have for being ments have generally been good in the last against the poll tax is that they will lose year, and share values rose by about a financially, then as a ratepayer who stands third in 1989. It may be that all this will to gain financially, he is bound by the

By the same logic, however, the bankers must be against the poll tax because they expect to lose. Research, paid for ceived a shock when in the Autumn of his Last October, Sam Brittan the econom- Lord Hanson was paid £11/2 million last jointly by the four major banks, indicates that the replacement of rates by poll tax in England and Wales will involve them

NOAM CHOMSKY in Glasgow

A two-day discussion event was held at the Peirce Institute in Glasgow on 10 and 11 January, organised and supported by Scottish Child, Edinburgh Review and Free University. The subject on the first day was 'self-determination and power', and on the second day 'common sense and freedom'. On each occasion the discussion was led off by Noam Chomsky, Professor of Linguistics and Philosophy at the Massachussets Institute of Technology and America's foremost radical thinker. Other contributors on both days included: Kathy Acker, George Davie, Alisdair Gray, Hamish Henderson, James Kelman, Jackie Kay, Tom Leonard, Mackean, Tom Raworth, Mandlencosti, Langa and Mongone Serote, and also other guest members of groups who have taken part in selfdetermined activity, writers and musicians.

An interested overseas visitor was William McKercher, Associate Professor of Political Science and History at Kings College, London University, Ontario. William McKercher is the author of the recently published book: Freedom and Authority (Black Rose Books), and is at present in Britain researching the life of Henry Seymour, pioneer anarchist, editor and pamphleteer. Any generally unknown information concerning Seymour would be welcome.

John T. Caldwell

Science, Sakharov and the Soviet State

much media space so that the lavish com- against the state is futile but we must make ments on the death of Sakharov relate sure that it is as well organised as possible. PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY 1848 more to his opposition to the Soviet State tions of the state. The name of Mordecai vided as targets. Vannunu comes to my mind. Perhaps the It would be interesting to learn of major significance of Sakharov was in pro- Sakharov's thoughts about the future viding a focus for the dissent of millions organisation of society, there is no doubt now disillusioned with the centralised that events in the near future will prove state. Recent events show that all em- to be unexpected, rapid and exciting. pires, now the Soviet and USA, crumble just as the British Empire has done. They

The Cardiff anti-Poll Tax campaign suffered a set back when Chris Peace. the Cardiff Federation's Press and Publicity officer, was knocked down and killed by a police car in the early hours of New Years Day. Chris was a leading supporter of the Militant Tendency, having been expelled from the Labour Party. He was very active in the anti-Poll Tax struggle and will be sadly missed.

Cardiff's Loss

An inquest has been held and there are hopes an inquiry will be undertaken. Chris leaves a wife and three

EVEN eminent scientists are not given contradict the view that unarmed protest of that country.'

In his work on the hydrogen bomb, than to a desire for more freedom in the Sakharov seems to have accepted the illu- To ramble is to wander in mind or world. In his struggle for the liberty of the sion of many physicists and politicians that discourse, to be desultory, incoherent or individual, Sakharov set an example for more power means greater strength. From all including scientists and others forming their point of view, the development of to wander the countryside, to walk for part of the state establishment. In his the hydrogen bomb was futile in that the memory, we should especially remember older atom bombs could already destroy the concern of these notes: the right to those who are oppressed because they civilisation especially now that all these walk without hindrance and without have spoken out against some insane ac- nuclear power stations have been pro- damage to the environment, the paths,

Poll Tax Victim

Pensioner Marjorie Buckland drowned after months of worry about how she could pay the poll tax. Her sister, Mrs Joyce Foord of Littlehampton, said Ms Buckland was convinced she could not manage to pay the charge out of her pension of less than £50 a week. Mrs Foord said, 'I do feel bitter because I know in my heart that it was worry over the poll tax that killed her'.

Fortunately, other pensioners are choosing to fight back. Worthing man, Sid Bristow, 75, a retired milkman who is confined to a wheelchair says the poll tax is putting an added strain on pensioners; yet he himself is refusing to pay it.

(source: Evening Argus 16.12.89)

Anarchist Federation, Brunswick Street, Glasgow during the 1939-45 War

Letter from Glasgow

Dear Comrade,

The proposed fortnightly FREEDOM is a good idea — especially as it is not a mere change in format, but also a change in function. I was quite satisfied with FREE-DOM as it was: an easily handled quarto containing interesting articles, usually well written. But I realise that it was an esoteric journal. It addressed the initiates. We the subscribers more or less knew the contributors by writing and repute and were receptive to their ideas either in agreement or in understanding criticism. We were a large discussion group.

The idea of the fortnightly is not to extend this but to amend it. I think that it is worth consideration. The fortnightly This means that while you hope to attract their thankless task. There are no factory gates and no sense floating in our heads. The Glasgow would be self-defeating. of 'working-class' identity among the Anarchists operate in the form of a 'Free The knock-on effect of Gorbachev's and bring about a revival of humanism. passers-by. Distribution is therefore a University Group' discussing a wide range reforms has resulted in a chilling revela- There is a long struggle ahead and the major problem.

will go beyond the circle and endeavour mother-in-law has arrived are no good. Changed. The 'Variant Group' express the voice of revolution, stifled so long, would

to reach the outer edges where interest is You need religious devotion. The edi- voice of dissent in the form of radical art. make itself heard. But that has not happened. slightest and more in need of cultivation. torial board must not tire nor waver in They are also putting forward the message We have had an upsurge of reaction. The in the form of videos. The Clydeside Press call for freedom has been for a more resubscribers the focus of your activity will The next point is: are the potential is also working at full pressure of activity. fined authority. All the old bourgeois always be reaching out further afield. The customers there to attract? Speaking from There is a lot going on, particularly as the shibboleths have been revived: nationaldifficulty there is organising the right kind the Glasgow end the answer is 'no'. The mass power of the industrial proletariat is ism, parliamentarism, social democracy of distribution. I know that you are aware proletarian fervour has gone. I attended no more. Any regret at that must be and religion. Religion with all its ritualistic of this — you tackle the problem in the a John Maclean memorial meeting some mitigated by the reflection that the mass paraphenalia and mind-bending degenerleading article. The ideal situation would weeks ago — there were four in the audi- power of the workers was stirred only on acy is first in the field. It will crush (if it be the availability of the paper on news- ence, plus the chairman and the secretary. matters of wage bargaining and working can) not only the ideals of anarchism but, stands for the attraction of the casual read- Not even the speakers turned up — I amelioration. There are many avenues going back even further, will uproot the er. As that cannot be, the next best thing understand there should have been three. where the fortnightly might enter and early ideals of the bourgeoisie itself, for is the street sales by voluntary workers — Those of us present were all vintage types cover common ground, Its material would it will destroy the rationalism of the and this seems to be a thing of the past. with 'working-class solidarity' concepts have to have a wide appeal. Sectarianism Enlightenment. It will not succeed, for its

of subjects, some of which would sound tion to folk who had a profound faith in ammunition should be manufactured now You are aware of this and the other strangely irrelevant in the old meeting the innate wisdom of the 'common — in the sense of cultivating ideals of problems which occur to me: cash-flow halls. The audiences (the couple of times people'. I (being one of the naive) thought genuine freedom — and recruitment to increase — more in for more to go out — I was there) were mostly young people — that once the oppression of Leninist com- the Cause (capital letter, only to be explithe required increase in voluntary helpers high school, undergrads or self-educating. munism had been removed the inner urges cit) be fostered. Hence the need the new and the greater urgency for their dedica- Good that they should gather together. of the people would burst forth like pent- function of FREEDOM. tion. Folk who may help if there is nothing What I am saying is that the climate has up lava bursting the crust of authority (the on the telly or who can't help because the changed—or the actors on the scene have prime corrupter of human virtue), and the

Rambling Notes

"No man made the land, it is the original inheritance of the whole species . . . The land of every country belongs to the people

J. S. MILL

delerious, but also to go as fancy leads, pleasure. It is the latter meaning which is bridleways and open spaces of the land.

There is a long tradition of demanding access to the countryside. For many workers in the grim mill towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire in the first half of this century, the thought of escape to the open space of the Pennines at the weekend was the only way to get through Monday to Friday. But the modern movement really began on a day in 1932 when the hundreds who walked on to the moors of the Peak District of Derbyshire were met with violence by the police, many were arrested and some were sentenced to prison for what became known as the mass trespasses of Kinder Scout. The fight to maintain and extend this right to the recreational access has continued, a right which does not conflict with the other more serious uses of the land. This may not be even a minor result, but it is a determination not to allow landowners to obstruct the paths used by walkers. Ramblers may not have the reputation for militancy often associated with the occupants of a London squat or workers on a motor assembly line, yet private enterprise, landowners and state bureaucrats frequently conspire separately or together to attack their

Although ancient rights of way are enshrined in Acts of Parliament, they exist today only because people have been prepared to defy the landowners to establish their right to walk. Armed with just sticks and secateurs, small groups each weekend tramp these paths for pleasure and the enjoyment of the countryside, but prepared to cut barbed wire, remove deliberate obstructions, confront the occasional angry landowner with courtesy and reasonableness, determined to keep

the paths free. Public rights of way are often a nuisance to the modern industrial farmer who chooses to destroy hedges, cut down trees and block tracks in the interests of the increased profits obtainable from largescale, heavily fertilised, monoculture farming. This regular column will deal with such problems as seen by a city dweller who likes to escape from the noise

and pollution of the town to the noise and

pollution of the country.

arrogance will generate its own reaction

Fraternally, J. T. Caldwell

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There's More Government Slush About These Days

declined'.

a programme to the matter.

probably believe that such public debate prog- restless the Press was becoming. ing tendency of government departments to the unlikely event of either pregnancy or

GAGGED government is common enough. steadfast refusal to supply ministers or govern- The DHSS decreed that the minister should | By contrast to all the sad stories of

a formula announcement is made: 'We asked humoured Yorkshireman joined the Thatcher to comment on the fact that more money had New Zealand judge early in 1989, the

The idea of any government department grise of Downing Street. claimed benefits fund. the proposed question governs the degree of newspaper interviewers off the cuff. He and to this part of a dying century.

rammes as 'Any Questions' fully provide One example was the DHSS minister who shun accountability. There has been a growth mortal illness. enough outlets for dealing with contentions agreed to a filmed interview in which he would in the number of inter-party government and The husband of one terrorist, Dominique Boxing blindfold is a well-known game in to publicise a range of largely unclaimed be- cial finagling and other devious matters. A lot her in Hao, and a few weeks later she was the Press business. All you have to do is flaunt nefits. As much as £1 billion quietly filtered of these committees are now being televised. repatriated on account of her pregnancy. a story without bothering to seek a government into DHSS contingency funds when it could It would not be surprising if the government Her accomplice Alain Mafart was by this viewpoint. Within 24 hours the Whitehall have been paid out to people had they been were to restrict media coverage. Committees time suffering from acute kidney failure, worms will fly out of the woodwork with a fully acquainted of their lawful entitlements. are the only remaining outlets for getting and was sent home to die. Prieur was counterblast in the form of a denial. If you People simply did not know that they could answers to difficult questions. Yet there is still promoted to the rank of Commander and happen to be a newspaper editor, this is all to get these benefits. There was nobody to help a feeling that the whole affair is carefully stage is now on maternity leave. a stroll down Whitehall and lobbing stones woman was 20 years behind the system. Her many others, and there will be more. Cyr military staff college. through windows and awaiting the predictable parents had never been told by the DHSS that they were entitled to extra money running at The real question right now is whether the £20 a week, a total in all of £9,600.

Saboteurs Released

Things are now changing for the worse. British ment spokesmen to answer difficult questions be given prior notice of the questions. They imprisonment comes the report of the government departments are adding to the is becoming deliberate. said that the filmed interview must be transmitdeafening silence by ramming corks down the Within the circle of government information ted in its entirety. And no, he would not com- saboteurs who blew up the Greenpeace throats of official spokesmen. Refusal to sup- officers, all directives filter down from the top. ment on the individual cases. As it turned out, ship Rainbow Warrior, killing one, in ply a spokesman for TV programmes which These days the top is Bernard Ingham, Thatch- the interview consisted of nothing more than New Zealand. publicise thorny issues is now so common that er's Press Secretary. This craggy, bluff, good- generalities and platitudes, including a refusal Shortly after their imprisonment by a

the ministry to supply a spokesman, but they circus very early on. Over the years he has been spent on advertising the water privatisabecome something more than the eminence tion campaign than was contained in the un- Zealand government that as French citizens the two should serve their sentbeing answerable to the public has become Bernard has a meeting with Chief Press It might sound predictable, just what we ences in a French prison, and it was agreed ludicrous. What is even more ludicrous is the Officers from all major government — and other gov- that they should be moved to the island idea that TV producers have failed to devote ments at least once a week. At one of these ernments. The sound of the great unwashed of Hao near the French nuclear testing get-togethers he must have laid down the rules threshing around in search of their rights is a zone to which the Rainbow Warrior had The range of subjects and the sharp end of which allowed ministers to answer TV and familiar one. It is the background soundtrack been bound. The agreement stipulated that they were not to be repatriated to refusal. Government information advisors Margaret did this because they sensed how More important to keep in mind is the grow- France for at least four years, except in

answer charges that the government was failing parliamentary committees to investigate finan- Prieur, was flown out from France to meet

the good. Instead of running for one issue, the them with the baffling forms in many cases, managed. Westland? | Colonel Mafart made a miraculous story runs for two days. It is a bit like taking and so they gave up. One Downs Syndrome was only one demonstration. There have been recovery and is now a professor at the St

About this word 'Capitalism'

TO BE CONTINUALLY RE-EVALUATED.

'Capitalism' is a case in point. It has taken such a lot of stick over the last hundred years that for some people it is no more than a term of abuse, a thought-stopper. It is time to look at it in some depth.

In the US rather than here, there has been an interesting convergence of anarchists and laissez faire devotees because they both hate the State. Clearly there is something to sort out.

'Capitalism' means a belief in capital and capital is accumulated wealth. It can be owned privately or by the State, the Church, the municipality or the corporation. It can also be owned by the collective and the cooperative. Money is its accepted liquid form and the mode of operation of money is the market. Like superstition, myth and armed force, capital is a source of

The origins of modern capital

Generally speaking we have been taught to think of capitalism as a synonym for the industrial capitalism born of steam power in the 18th century; anything before then gets dismissed as mere 'mercantile capitalism', not important. This is a serious mistake. Cattle were the original capital, i.e. capital, wealth on the hoof; then came the grain, wine and oil of settled agriculture. The subject takes us right back to the dawn of civilisation some ten thousand years ago.

Modern capitalism, properly so-called, began in the 12th century when the new Cistercian monks went out into the wilderness of Europe, levelled great tracts of woodland and built huge sheep farms — flocks 20,000 strong. In their train came the knights bachelor who did likewise, the spinners and weavers, the wool merchants, clothiers and tailors, the craft and merchant guilds, the chartered towns, the Wool Staple and the Hanseatic League. From the Yorkshire Dales and the Chilterns, through the Low Countries to Florence and Venice, Christendom was overtaken and conquered by the capitalism of the golden fleece. Feudalism perished because it could not cope with the new explosion of money and market values, processes and structures built round the woolsack.

Sir Thomas More denounced the all-consuming sheep but to no effect. The new landed capitalism was massively reinforced by Henry VIII who expropriated the monasteries and sold off their lands to the burgeoning gentry. England never had a 'bourgeois' revolution for that reason — the new revolutionary class of gentry and yeomen were rural, i.e. not urban, not bourgeois. It 1640s with Squire Oliver up front. They were not demo-

Capitalism today

Today the word 'capitalism', like the word 'socialism', has so many meanings that the word, by itself, is worthless. It has to be qualified. Thus we have the capitalism of small businesses, medium-sized business, big business, multi-national companies, State enterprises and services (some governed directly, others autonomous), municipal enterprises, co-operatives and freelancers. They all use money, they all work through the market, they are all capitalist. There is, as yet, no other option. The only way of getting past capitalism is to find some way of making money and the market redundant. And until we get to that point we have no option but to evaluate the form of capitalism that we already have, promoting some and demoting others in the light of the value judgement that puts people, their needs and hopes, ahead of the market imperatives.

Homo sapiens is a giving and receiving animal. For most of human history we gave and received without the use of money; and to this day our surviving humangathering economies of South America, Africa and South East Asia retain non-monetarised gift foundations. If they can do it at their level of technology how much easier ought it to be for us? We don't do it because our imagination is trapped in capitalist assumptions and we don't have the necessary alternative structures to make escape possible. There is nothing stopping us but

There is also nothing to compare with the power of custom. Its chains are between our ears. We are accustomed to the market and money. We accept supply and demand, managed or otherwise, as our price regulator. We know that it all depends upon scarcity and we accept scarcity. But what happens if we run out of scarcity? What if we have to make new unheard-of rules to cope Today the industrialised world is teetering on the

verge of surplus and the Japanese, to their unwitting credit, look as though they are going to push us over it. Under the pressures of international competition we are now set on course to produce not only more than effective demand, i.e. that which can be paid for, but more than absolute demand, i.e. total need unmediated by money. Robotics does it. It is going to happen anyway, whatever we do or fail to do. Capitalism will end not because of the old fashioned contradictions dreamt up by Karl Marx, but because it is now all set to destroy its own essential foundation — scarcity. It is rather like the present military situation — what price the Pentagon and NATO when they have no enemy? Capitalism, like was these people who led the Puritan Revolution of the militarism, will put itself out of business. The transition, however, could be messy and very hurtful to a lot of

crats; the new sovereignty they wanted was the sover- innocent people — that is the political challenge now Words can free us, words can trap us. They need eighty of landed capital and that is what they got. The in front of us. It will be nothing like as difficult as the pre-industrial towns trailed along in their wake. one they now face east of the Curtain. Ours is a comparatively privileged position and we need to make the maximum use of it.

> We had the first major surplus crisis some years ago - mountains of meat and butter and lakes of milk and wine — and immense storage costs. Our masters succeeded in persuading us that surplus was a danger, the enemy! There was no question of economic emancipation — it had to be got rid of, even destroyed. There was no way the free market could cope with it, so the politicians 'fixed' it. It will be back, but next time it will have a financial and industrial base and there will be no fixing that. In the '70s the world was awash with Euro-dollars and the present world debt situation is the result of it. Now the world is awash with yen and no one knows what that might mean, except that it is already causing alarm and despondency in the USA. The trouble, when it comes, will break from the top.

What of the future?

For over a hundred years socialists have denounced capitalism and totally failed to devise a working alternative. A 'socialist' society that retains money and the market is simply capitalist and changing the label makes not a ha'porth of difference. In the coutnries of the Soviet empire they tried to put the State in place of the market while keeping money as their means of exchange. It was neither one thing nor the other and the result was a gargantuan failed bureaucracy with nondelivery in all departments except the military one, the sole claim to great-power status. The thing has collapsed and there is a mad scramble to get back on to the market and bandwagon because it works and delivers up to a point; and they are so far away from the abolition of scarcity that that is the last thing they are going to worry about. Meanwhile our form of capitalism may well get itself a new lease of life through some kind of Marshall Plan designed to open up the devastated economies of a failed Soviet system. Scarcity is temporarily restored.

Socialism has been the non-event of the twentieth century. In its original Owenite, Fourieriste, anarchist and John Stuart Mill forms, it embodied a humane, community-based vision of the future. It was non-Statist. It failed because there was no way that handfuls of idealists could cope with the overall character of steam-driven industrial capitalism. Bentham beat them to it — easily. Also they wholly failed to face the problems of money and the market. Opting out was no answer — Leviathan ground them into the dust. Then within the very ranks of socialism the Statists — Fabians and Marxists — took over. Kropotkin, looking back over the years, identified the fatal moment. It was in 1889 when by virtue of the success of the Dock Strike,

Bring on the Nineties

usual there is a great fanfare from the resent a triumph for the average Joe or greater. These battles have also produced believe we are witnessing the end of this one shouldn't become mystical about this Consider Solidarnosc, founded in 1980, COBA's of France and Italy and the self- the American violence fetishists are now to approach a new decade with either ment of Poland. Naturally, as anarchists, the Coordinadora. Such methods, if taken possible to kill two birds with one stone? optimism or despair — and in the past it's we are opposed to governments of any up by other workers, promise a hot time Totalitarianism may be finished; Fascism the years 1930 or 1940 or 1950. Not exactly not to favor parliamentary democracy ahead. upbeat. Nor was 1980 — what a gloomy over a totalitarian state.

'popular' press and mass media. While Jane against power, greed and violence. new forms of organization such as the grotesque empire? Not to mention that simple change in numbers, it is possible suppressed in 1981 and now the govern- managed dock workers union of Spain, left without a viable enemy. Could it be been mostly despair I'm afraid. Consider kind, but you'd have to be a masochist for the bosses and bureaucrats in the years died with Franco, leaving only a small

future that year predicted with Reagan, The Polish workers' movement wasn't mentioning the Peace Movement? The though it is next to get the axe. Anarchists Thatcher and Brezhnev itching to do their that unique either. In the 1980s the fight threat of war produced some of the largest may yet dance on the grave of Marxismagainst state and corporate sponsored aus- demonstrations in history. A few Leninism. The future could bring a return But the attempts to return to the Victo- terity seemed universal. Take the year thousand demonstrators can be dismissed to the pre-1917 political situation — the rian era or 1930's Stalinism did not meet 1983 as just one example — there were as cranks or reds, but when they number area to the left of Social Democracy inhawith great success, in spite of the misery general strikes in Belgium, Holland, Chi- in the millions politicians and bureaucrats bited mainly by libertarians. So let's all they caused. This decade instead pro- le, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia and British see VOTERS and TAXPAYERS and be- pull together and try to make the '90s the duced some of the largest mass move- Columbia. It is true, like with the coal gin to shake in their boots. And don't anarchist decade! ments in history, events which allow us to miners' strike, most of these actions were think for a moment the existence of the look towards the future with, an albeit defeated, but if people had not resisted, Peace Movement didn't have an effect up-

on the Russian boss class. They would not have taken the rocky path of reform had they felt that Western Europe was mostly inhabited by Cold War fanatics.

If there was ever a cause for optimism during the coming decade, the changes in HERE we are with a new decade. As guarded, optimism. These struggles rep- our oppression would have been much the Soviet Bloc are it. Is it too much to who could talk about the '80s without cited about. 'Communism' looks as

L. Gambone St Laurent, Quebec



Labour leaders, alleged socialists, saw themselves as power-brokers within the system — the career-socialist was born. Today's Labour Party, without an idea or principle to its name, is the result. Sidney Webb and his pupil Lenin, both Statists to the core, laid socialism to rest. RIP.

From means of exchange to funny money

Given the original conditions of scarcity, usually the product of slave empires, money began as a means of exchange. Money began in a strange variety of different forms and some of them were on show at a recent exhibition at the British Museum.

It was standardised in the seventh century BC as coinage, stamped with the royal head to establish its authenticity. Money started by being a commodity in its own right, i.e. so much weight of gold, silver or copper. Now it is book entries (or tape entries) and their management has become a thing in its own right. Money is bought and sold, stocks and shares are bought and sold, one take-over bid follows another and nothing is actually happening on the ground. Finance is now largely separated from economics. So we have 'funny money' and junk bonds. The thing is fast becoming crazy, an omen of impending disaster. The warning light has shown twice already.

Since it is the case that so long as we have scarcity using the word in its old nineteenth century simple perjorative way. We shall have to put up with it and use it in a discriminating fashion so long as scarcity lasts. It is rather like Parliament, Westminster model. So long as the nation-state lasts, regional parliaments are not on the agenda and war is not yet seen to be out-of-date, safely leave parliamentary activity to those who believe substances such as alcohol and tobacco. in it. To some extent we can also abstain from money and the market and so lay some early foundations of DRUNKENNESS, n. A temporary but popular cure for the gift economy to come. Lots of people do it. It simply Catholicism. means setting up one's working life so that free time is maximised and put to suitable good use. In order to get by one needs to partly play the system in order to work for its alternative.

If surplus is the knell of capitalism what kind of time scale is involved? All that one can attempt is an informed as they are. guess. The next ten years promise to be extraordinary in productive terms. Some time between the year 2000 and the year 2025 scarcity, money and the market will die natural deaths. As yet we lack the vocabulary needed to discuss what will happen then. But at least we can do some work on the vocabulary we use today.

Chaz Bufe's American HERETIC'S DICTIONARY

AMBITION, n. The desire to tread on others.

ARTIST, n. One to whom it is unwise to lend money.

ASSHOLE, n. The most beloved word in American English. Often used by both sides in an argument, generally accurately.

ing the words, 'I pledge allegiance . . .', who is always eager slavery in order to protect it. to force others to do the same.

CAT, n. A small furry animal with human servants.

CATHOLICISM, n. A popular form of self-degradation involving ritual cannibalism.

CULT, n. 1) An unsuccessful religion; 2) A pejorative term lawfully suppressed. employed by members of religious bodies to refer to other religious bodies.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, n. A theological term. It is paralleled by the Catholic belief in transubstantiation. Both are contrary to everyday experience, and both ant of those able to draw obvious conclusions from observed we shall have capitalism we do ourselves no service by are physically impossible. They are as unthinkable as an incorfacts. In herds, fundamentalists are about as useful to society ruptible congressman.

> DRAFT, n. Conscription. A form of slavery much beloved by freedom loving Americans.

DRUGS, n. 1) Substances which perform the same functions as religion, but with worse physical side effects; 2) The cause then abstention is the best we can do. We can quite of all societal problems. Not to be confused with harmless

EXISTING SOCIALISM, n. A euphemism for 'capitalism'.

feeling of superiority over those so unfortunate as to see things

FAMILY, n. A traditional means of passing on neuroses from generation to generation.

FOOTBALL, n. 1) A popular form of human sacrifice; 2) A male religious ritual.

FREE ENTERPRISE, n. A system in which a few are born owning billions, most are born owning nothing, and all compete to accumulate wealth. If those born with nothing fail, it is due to their personality defects.

FREEDOM, n. 1) In the United States, the ability to choose one's masters every two years; 2) A substance so precious BOOTLICKER, n. An upstanding citizen often found mouth- that governments routinely coerce young men into military

> FREEDOM OF SPEECH, n. The inalienable right to agree with the powers that be on any and every subject. Also, the inalienable right to disagree — as long as it isn't exercised before an audience of more than 20 people. When exercised before a larger audience, or when it appears to have an effect on listeners, it becomes 'license' or 'sedition' and is, of course,

FUNDAMENTALIST, n. One in whom something is fundamentally wrong, most commonly lack of reasoning ability and vicious intolerance toward those who do not share the fundamentalist's delusions. Fundamentalists are especially intoleras roving bands of baboons brandishing machetes. See also Slack-Jawed Drooling Idiot.

GOVERNMENT, n. Organized extortion, coercion, and violence, the purpose of which is to protect us from unorganized extortion, coercion and violence.

HOCKEY, n. A popular form of violence occasionally interrupted by play.

ILLITERATE, n. In many parts of the United States, a synonym for 'High School Graduate'.

JESUS CHRIST, int. 1) A common exclamation indicating surprise or bewilderment; 2) n. A popular fictional character. FAITH, n. An attitude of desperation. An attempt to make Over the years controversy has arisen over his middle name, the intolerable tolerable. When achieved, it gives a satisfying and even over his middle initial. Some have held that his proper name is Jesus H. Christ, with the 'H' presumably standing for 'Hubert'. This is incorrect. The true name is Jesus F. Christ, but the vulgar presumption that the 'F' stands for 'Fucking' is not only distasteful, but is simply wrong. The

actual appellation of this unique character is: Jesus Festering

(continued)

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The real reasons why America decided to that Chomsky rescues from the flood of Orwellian

The Culture of Terrorism by Noam Chomsky

crowding the diary.

RAVEN 8

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Nicaragua, El Salvador, etc., etc.

US sees direct and indirect intervention in the and became an all American hero, while for needs. politics of its 'own backyard' as an inalienable the boys at the top, it's business as usual. Yet One of the reasons for the US December and Cambodia through to El Salvador and right, made plain by the Monroe doctrine. the US government acts as if it had proven in invasion was stated to be the need to uphold Nicaragua, amongst others. The novel aspect The reasons given to justify 'Operation Just court that Noriega was the lynch-pin of a the integrity of the Panama Canal Treaties, of Chomsky's book is his consideration of the Cause', a typically Orwellian title, were that massive drugs operation, invading a country, which Noriega's increasingly nationalist stance domestic consequences of US foreign policy Noriega was a tyrant, had ignored the demo- killing its inhabitants and toppling its govern- threatened. The Panama Canal links the US — the need, and attainment, to make the cratic wishes of the Panamanian people and ment in an attempt to bring to trial its leader. Pacific and Atlantic fleets, and is therefore of modes of cultural reproduction subservient to was an indicted drugs runner. The first two While the Soviet hold on Eastern Europe tremendous strategic importance. Noriega the needs of US government policy. no-one would argue against, but the American lessens, this American action only emphasises therefore had to be removed — the drugs and By concentrating on the US media's claims to be acting to restore democracy to that the age of empire has yet to pass — the democracy issue provided a convenient smoke- response to the government's Nicaraguan

get 'tough' with Noriega have nothing really 'truths' that drown rational and objective to do with the drugs issue. If Noriega was a discussion of the objectives and consequences major drugs baron then Bush would have of that foreign policy - both at home and known this when he visited Noriega as vice- abroad. Chomsky sees the objectives being to president, to give him America's blessing. protect the 'Fifth Freedom' - the freedom to highest order — try talking of America's America was content to let Noriega lord it over rob and exploit the resources and populations 'democratic mission' to the people of Chile, his people as long as he played along to the of those countries that come under US American tune. It was when Noriega became influence, direct and indirect. The conse-That Noriega is a drugs baron is probably a liability to US foreign policy needs, and he quences are a truly savage State terrorism that true also, but this has not been proven in a US himself began to question the role the Americans murders and represses the indigenous popula-This is one book that helps us understand the court. What has been proven by the American had prescribed for himself and Panama, that tions, allowing local elite groups to lord it over recent events in Panama, that places the American legal system is that the CIA are drug runners. America decided that what Panama needed them while protecting US interests. invasion in the historical context of US involve- yet no 'tough' action has been taken against was a 'democratic' government, but only one _To demonstrate his thesis Chomsky roams ment in Central and Southern America. The these criminals — Ollie North carried the can that would subscribe to US foreign policy the continents laying bare the historical record of US foreign policy, from Vietnam, Laos

of Central and Southern America.

Central America smell of hypocrisy of the Americans continue to lord it over the peoples screen behind which to hide the reality.

DIVAS: Britain's only Anarchist Dance Company

them into this dilemma.

'We never get invited to Number Ten', admits Liz Aggiss. 'We've never met the Education Minister or Thatcher. What they symbolise is a sickening sort of hidden repression — and some of it is not exactly hidden. We have moved into the position of becoming This book has a relevance to British readers anarchists in the arts as a practical and positive revolt against what is happening not only here in Brighton but also throughout the country.

fled towards more welcoming fields.

as sensible as trying to run a car on golden

Caught up in the current maelstrom of applied politics, Divas - now in strong demand in France, Germany, Holland and other countries, including TV's Channel 4 might well reach a point where they have to media played in restricting the scope of the make a decision whether to stay inside a constricting polytechnic system, or finally cock-a- questioning the efficiency of the operation, but snook at the very structure which gave them opportunities for development and then thrust

Significantly, the recently premiered Divas production 'Klaus and Dorothy' depicts the effects of money on genius. In the final scene, after money has been poured into the development of a composer, it is found that genius has

Eddie May

abstracted from cheapjack house clearances. Now she is closely allied to Carousel, a creative and evenings full of fun-searching youth arts programme for people who have special pounding the pavements, also houses the only needs, including those with learning difficuldance company in the country to operate from ties. a foundation of practical anarchism. 'We designed and choreographed the show, Divas - one of three of the most noteworthy Banda Banda, in the realisation that people

Brighton, home of happyland fantasy, rampag- Polytechnic, she first attracted attention with

ing shoppers, fish and chips, antiques 'Grotesque Dancer'. That was three years ago.

innovative companies in Britain — has per- with learning difficulties could benefit from an formed throughout the continent and toured extension of their lives', she explains. 'When this country. In the view of leading critics, they we liberated them into this new world, we gave are 'unmissable' as they slash and hack at them the satisfaction of being in public perestablished dance conventions in order to formance which combine dance, movement, create something entirely new. The Observer music and visual imagery'. The true accom- on anyone else. called them 'the hottest thing on the new dance plishment lay in training fourteen people, ten Making something new in modern dance is Already, Banda Banda has been seen by difficult. Convention is rampant, criticism can audiences not only in Brighton but also at the be damning. But Divas have now managed to Institute of Contemporary Arts, London.

tear aside the shrouds of tradition to such an While other companies yearn for the extent that bookings for the next year are sponsorship of banks, oil conglomerates and and therefore the state really amounts to constitution, contract, or agreement that insurance companies, Divas repeatedly turns The eight-woman company was formed in away from such blandishments.

dominated by Merce Cunningham. Scottish- composes, orchestrates and performs the afraid is not free. born Billy Cowie is her fellow artistic director, music for Divas and Banda Banda producwell-known for incidental music on TV, and tions, also collaborates on the choreography. Here's what anarchists believe: as an organist. Returning from America, she He views sponsorship as the new weeping Government is an unnecessary evil. Hu- All governments survive on theft and exbrought with her a fierce determination to pre- leprosy in the growth of the performing arts. sent dance in a new way, training non-dancers 'By the time we get to the end of this year', rather than using orthodox ballet students. he says, 'every violin and other instrument in can cooperate on a basis of mutual trust command obedience under threats. As senior lecturer in the subject at Brighton every symphony orchestra will probably be and helpfulness. somebody's soup. People in dance companies messages about somebody's flatulence tablets.

That sort of patronage is not for us.' to draw both Liz Aggiss and Billy Cowie into Government will be abolished when its is opposed to the free exercise of our abilthe new commercialism which is now inflaming subjects cease to grant it legitimacy. Gov- ity to think, act and cooperate. the cash tills at Brighton Polytechnic. Like ernment cannot exist without the tacit other educational institutions throughout the consent of the populace. This consent is Whenever government is established, it country, it is being shouldered into a trading maintained by keeping people in ignor- causes more harm than it forestalls. position in which it is forced to make money ance of their real power. Voting is not an All governments enlarge upon and exin order to qualify for government funds. More expression of power, but an admission of tend their powers; under government, the staff, some of whom now feel that their hard- wise than reaffirm the government's supwon personal development is severely posed legitimacy. endangered. One head of department said that a cash-driven system of education is just about L

IT'S not a form of statism. Anarchists Every person must have the right to make don't want to impose their value-system all decisions about his or her own life. All

scare you into obeying him—is the terror-cipants. an institution of terror.

man beings, when accustomed to taking tortions, called taxation. All governments responsibility for their own behaviour, force their decrees on the people, and

It seems likely that attempts may be made therefore to its amassed power.

much more—is expected from the teaching powerlessness, since it cannot do other-rights of individuals constantly diminish.

moralistic meddling in the private affairs of freely-acting persons is unjustified. Beof whom had severe learning difficulties. It's not terrorism. The agent of the gov- havior which does not affect uninvolved ernment — the cop who wears a gun to persons is nobody's business but the parti-

It is this reality of American foreign policy

policy, Chomsky demonstrates how sub-

servient and useful it is to the American

government. Respected 'liberal' newspapers

like the New York Times, the Wall Street

Journal and the Washington Post not only back

the 'hidden agenda' (the 'Fifth Freedom') of

US foreign policy, but also help to mystify it

by leading false trails by insisting on America's

'democratic mission' and neglecting to publish

facts and stories that contradict the official

version. One example is the 'slowness' of the

American media to break the 'Contragate'

story — any correspondent worth their salt

knew the ABC of the story long before it

broke, but none of the major papers would

touch it. Chomsky also notes the role the

Contragate hearings, limiting themselves to

That the US media is so subservient to the

dominant interests should really come as no

surprise, because as Chomsky notes, they are

themselves members of the same elite groups,

whose position depends upon their ability to

rob and deceive their own population. What

US foreign policy does abroad the elite groups

beyond that of giving us a clearer picture of

American foreign policy. The British govern-

ment backed the Panamanian invasion and so

did virtually all of the British press. Is that just

coincidence, or are we not in a similar position

too? Is our media subservient to the interests

of the British state and the ruling class interests

it protects? Ask yourself that question next

time you see or hear something about the situation

not the rationale behind it.

do back home.

in Northern Ireland!

ist. Governments threaten to punish any We are not bound by constitutions or man or woman who defies state power, agreements made by our ancestors. Any purports to bind unborn generations or in fact anyone other than the actual parties 1986 by Liz Agiss, Essex-born and a student Billy Cowie, senior music lecturer at Brigh | Anarchism never relies on fear to accom- to it, is a despicable falsehood and a previsitor to the American dance scene, which is ton Polytechnic, who with Liz Aggiss plish anything because a person who is sumptuous fraud. We are free agents liable only for such as we ourselves

The principal outrages of history have plastered with stickers vaunting the virtues of No true reform is possible that leaves gov- been committed by governments, while ernment intact. Appeals to a government every advancement of thought and betterwill be obliged to bend over to display buttock for redress of grievances, even when acted ment in the human condition has come upon, only increase the supposed legiti- about through the practices of voluntary macy of the government's acts, and add cooperation and individual initiative. The principle of government, which is force,

nationality is drawn to the article on 'Mikhail Bakunin and the National Fred Woodworth Tucson, Arizona appears in The RAVEN 9, just out. part time job. In this I am not unique. neighbours than 'Arthur Daleys'. ing Class.'

Going Green?

this society was the bank-operated the Greens. made the machine-production possi- Union (also in December Freedom!) are planned for 1990. dividual'. This fell on deaf ears at the mands are simply impossible to grant, anarchist society.

among anarchists! evolution: and I see great hope in re- (i.e. incomes) and 'devolution of cent changes - though, certainly, power and decision-making to the ism and the IWMA, on May Day, on equally great threats. The greatest lowest appropriate level' are neceshope lies in the development of the' sary for a sustainable economy, and Green Party's economic policies, in as well as currency reform, land tax, which I am taking part; and especially or Community Ground Rent, is seen What is the working class? in its long-accepted policy to intro- as a necessary reform; levied at the duce 'Basic Incomes' - their term full rate, this would remove all capital for Social Credit's 'National Di- value from land and so end land-

if/when the Greens achieve electoral distribution to the whole community success, their policies will have been the money-value of the land and father was highly skilled with a a minimal salary. watered down and rendered ineffec- natural resources. tive in the process. Powerful vested interests will be ranged against them, and encouraging this; but as JPS

Regionalism or Nationalism

As a Scottish Nationalist with strong

anarchist sympathies who has spent

almost a lifetime trying to reconcile

the two ideologies, I read with great

article on the subject in your Novem-

I am glad that Mr Dennis concludes

that anarchism does not, and should

not oppose what he calls 'the dynamic

This may be okay for Wales

(though I suspect that Plaid Cymru

its own distinctive educational and

admit, however, that I am seriously

Green Party and not, as I have done

up to now the SNP, since, unlike the

latter, the former stands for Scottish

independence outside that capitalist

club, the European Community.

— the editors.]

force of national identity . . . and at a level not far above it.

not have been convicted. I must anybody off in the process.

Dear Friends,

ber issue.

the then London Anarchist Group public awareness of the mounting that the ideas behind C. H. Douglas' ecological disasters that Capitalism

automation. I know it's a big 'IF.

Pleasures and Perils

of Self-Employment

has been the object of much debate the dole queue to become budding

media and also among anarchists. My new 'Enterprise Culture' developed

about to relate, though small are not and enterprise was something un-

part of this category per se, but are known to ordinary people before

ness which I started with the assist- veyors etc. The people who set up on

ance of the government's 'Enterprise | EAS usually choose ideas needing

Dance Tickets, Wedding Stationery the Capitalist Road beware.

The government frequently boasts of

own economic activities, which I am in the last 10 years. As if initiative

Anarchism in Dear Freedom, 35 or so years ago I was arguing in dom) the recent mushrooming of

Social Credit were worth looking at: (both Eastern and Western versions) Since the publication of a brief item pulling down a huge cross and the hoping that for readers who had that a prime cause of the sickness of is causing gives hope of success for about the creation of an anarchist caption warns the reader: 'Jesus is not yet renewed their subscription movement in Finland, we have now Returning! Get hold of your wood- for 1990 receipt of the January debt-money system, and that an age Once introduced, Basic Incomes received more detailed information. man's axe! Food prices are on the 13th issue will have acted as a of machine-production necessitated with the other reforms of the debt- An 'Anarcho-Syndicalist Alliance of increase? The activists go round dis- second reminder to do so. Subscri-'National Dividends' - payments to money system by which they would Finland' has been set up and pub- tributing fresh bread rolls with a leaf- bers to FREEDOM and/or The Raven lishes a journal Kapinatyolainen (The let which reads: 'This roll cost 50) can easily check up the state of all, as a birthright, of a share of the be funded, would make possible the Rebel Worker) of which four issues cents; in the shops it costs three times their subscriptions by referring to 'common cultural inheritance' which demands of the Polish Federative have appeared so far and six more as much. Bread making recipe over-

Douglas argued that these would act 'right to live in welfare and freedom' else, the term anarchist has always ple has compensated for their diffi- bers. Reading from the left ignore as a guarantee of 'economic democra- and a lot more; for modern Capi- been taken to be synonymous with cult geographical situation so far as the first one. The second tells you cy', giving 'the sovereignty of the in- talism in its present form, these de- terrorist. There has never been, until their neighbours are concerned. For when your FREEDOM sub expires. the last few years, a libertarian move- an anti-election campaign again a Number 66 refers to June 1989 and time, since the ideal was a moneyless despite, or because of (the cost of) ment and not more than a handful of sense of humour is required in their number 72 to December 1989 and works on anarchism have been pub- leaflets. The caption to the illustra- any numbers inbetween refer to lished in Finnish (including Daniel tion reads: 'If you leave it to the poli- July to November. If there is a third I shared that ideal, and still do; but IF the Greens manage to intro- Guerin's Anarchism). To present a ticians to take decisions for you, you number on the label it refers to how to achieve it? The debate on this, duce the reforms they are now de- more accurate image of anarchism is are only a chicken following a chicke or even the possibility of it, is endless, veloping, then there is real hope for therefore the main task of our Finnish towards any stomach. a sustainable, increasingly anarchic friends. Thus apart from the periodi- Correspondence with our Finnish out.

I agree with Colin Johnson's view, society (in the Anarchist's sense). cal, they have published about a comrades will be welcomed. One can (in Freedom's front-page article De- Basic to their thinking is that a fairer, dozen pamphlets and a number of write to them in English at the followcember '89), that it can only be by less unequal distribution of resources leaflets which promise well. The ing address: SAL PL7. SF 00801 Helpamphlets include texts on syndical-sinki, FINLAND. the general strike etc. while some of

IN the late 1930s my father, the At the same time, Emmanuel sole breadwinner in our family. Shinwell was earning £250 a year The danger is very real that even same time as making available for re-shillings a week for a 48-hour father) as a full-time Labour Parweek. We were not poor. My ty organiser, and thought this was responsible job. Most people There is no contradiction. My Yours sincerely earned less than three pounds a father was at the upper end of the Brian Leslie week, and state unemployment 'working class' (paid weekly at so Tunbridge Wells benefit was five shillings.

much per hour), and Shinwell was and the salaried class. But in Western Europe it has disappeared. The salaried classes scales. A bricklayer can earn

interest S. R. Dennis's thoughtful The Black Economy/Other Economy the numbers of people who have left more than a school teacher. In the nineteenth century, reamong economists, politicians, the entrepreneurs, living evidence of the flict between the oppressed working class and the 'bourgeoisie' consisting of the salaried classes and the traders. This was espe-Motivated by my dislike of a series My customers include many people cially easy for bourgeois revolutory. in Wales, but I dissent from his of less than satisfying, or purposeful who also set up in business on the tionaries like Marx and Engels suggestion that it ought to be called jobs, and having a fundamental EAS and are involved in a wide varie- who could perceive the working Charles Kerr Publishing Co we 'regionalism' rather than 'national- loathing of the '9 til 5', being told ty of useful services, painters, decora- class, from outside, as amorphous what to do etc. I have for the last 18 tors, builders, caterers, consultants, 'masses'. The slogans persist, but months been building up a small busi- chartered engineers, chartered sur- today the term 'working class' means something different from would strongly disagree!) but I would Allowance Scheme', and the finan- low levels of 'capital' to start. This is what it meant in Marx's day, or Songs Book for which we have a contend that Scotland is very cial and mental support of my part- not surprising given that people who even in the early twentieth cendefinitely a nation in its own right, ner. This has led relatives and are unemployed are not wealthy, nor tury. Trotskyists and others who and not merely a region of England. friends, aware of my anarchist opin- do banks view them as a 'good risk'. go on about class conflict are as a little longer. Like Wales, it has its own common ions, to comment that I had at last In addition they often have little busi- often students, or self-employed, heritage, history, culture and move- seen the light/gone capitalist/sold out ness experience and so, like me, or salaried staff, as were the rement for linguistic revival (in its case, etc. Far from it, I regard my current spend the first year or two learning volutionaries of the nineteenth Gaelic) but unlike Wales it also has its own distinctive educational and occupation as being wholly consistent as much what they should not do, as what they should be doing. This own distinctive educational and occupation as being wholly consistent as much what they should not do, as what they should be doing. This reliance/self management, and I now perhaps explains why so many fail. revolutionaries of the nineteenth butors to this issue of FREEDOM. legal system, under which, as you regard myself as a one person worker Another potent factor in the high century they like to think of thempoint out in another article in the co-op serving the needs of the small failure rate among EAS start ups is selves as actual members of the

same issue, the Guildford Four could business community and not ripping the fact that many are claimants un-working class. willingly pressurised onto the scheme Various attempts to delineate The work which I do is small scale by Department of Social Security the 'working class' in accordance considering voting in future for the printing - print runs of 100 to Officials eager to reduce the unem- with recent workerist usage have Tewksbury: P.S. £8; Kamakura, 10,000. I use a hand platen letterpress ployment figures. It is an unfortunate been attempted, but perhaps it and a small lithographic press to print fact that should your business fail you should be thought of rather as a Business Cards, Letterheads, Leaf- are then (as an EAS start up) in a lets, Labels, Compliment Slips, In- worse position than if you remained mystical entity, than as any class voices, Hand Bills, Small Posters, a claimant. So comrades considering of real persons. This is the only sense in which 'the working class' Yours sincerely, etc. In fact all the sort of jobs once From my own stand point I do not can be understood in the protest S.B. £10. John L. Broom known as Jobbing Printing. Like regret becoming self employed, while made by the late Nicolae Stromness many self employed people I work my position is very much 'hand to Ceausescu to the tribunal which Orkney from home using a spare bedroom as mouth', and it will be a while before sentenced him to death: a workshop. I perform all the tasks I cease being 'low paid'. I now decide

involved myself as of necessity. I am my own hours, conditions, I can have 'You are just ordinary citizens. in the subject of nationalism and person, delivery service; book- amount of work I'm doing is slowly As the President of the Republic keeper, secretary all in one! increasing. I have a new circle of con- I cannot be tried by you. I an

Donald Rooum

News from Angel Alley

the leaflets deal with national ques- This column is being written only tions as well as with day to day prob- a few days after the first issue of lems. Often the message is put over FREEDOM fortnightly was posted to with humour. The Pope announces subscribers so we are unable to his visit to Finland? One sees Anarkit report on first reactions. We are in which FREEDOM is sent. Under ble - or 'the wages of the machine'. for a 6-hour working day and the In Finland, more than anywhere The civic sense of the Finnish peoissue when your subscription runs

> In The Raven 9 we announced the publication of two new Freedom Press titles:

Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution by José Peirats

Spain and the World Selections from the fortnightly journal 1936-1939 Volume 3 of the FP Centenary series

We were hoping these volumes would be available for this month. hoarding for speculative gain, at the was earning three pounds fifteen (i.e. £50 a year more than my But unfortunately with all the other work in hand we couldn't make it. However the Peirats volume will be ready early February. And we are aiming to have the Spain and the World volume on sale by the beginning of March.

Apparently we are not alone in having to put back publication at the lower end of the 'salaried dates. Black Rose Books for whom class' (paid monthly at so much Freedom Press are European disper year). In many parts of the tributors inform us that three tiworld, still, there is a much bigger tles: Green Cities edited by David gulf between the working class Gordon, The Anarchist Papers 3 edited by D. Roussopoulos and a new edition of Kropotkin's Conquest of Bread announced for last month will not be available for at are better off on average, but least a month, and with the time it there is a big overlap between the takes for the books to reach us it will be end of March. Also we have a number of orders from readers for Bakunin on Anarchism (ed Dolvolution could be seen as a con- goff) which has been out of print for some time. We still have no date from the publisher. Another title which has been out of print for some time is Voline's Unknown Revolution. A reprint is announced

> From our friends in Chicago, have just received two new editions of classics (see advert) but we have not yet received supplies from them of Paul Lafargue's The Right to be Lazy and the IWW number of unfilled orders. We ask those customers to be patient for

> Our thanks to all those readers listed below who have added a donation when renewing their

JANUARY 1st - 13th

Freedom fortnightly fighting fund Japan: T.S. £2; London E16: R.V. £3; Bolton: D.P. £3; Valparaiso, Ind: L.O. £13; Rexdale, Ont: A.B. £250; Burghead: B.L. £2; Long Ditton: A.J. £3; London N5: G.W. £3; Pontypridd: G.N.C. £5; New York:

TOTAL £302.00

Freedom Press Overheads Fund New York: S.G. £5.50; Warham: M.T. £4; London SW12: M.P.C. £8; London SE5: R.M. £3; Valparaiso, Ind: L.O. £10; Ilford: J.H. £3; London N5: G.W. £3.50; Pontypridd: I have turned what was a hobby, tacts among a community of small only be tried by the National G.N.C. £4.60; Birmingham: Anon Question' by Serge Cipko which done on the side into effectively a business people who are more like General Assembly and the Work- £5; Bishop Auckland: D.M.H. 50p; Regina, Canada: C.T. £2. TOTAL £49.10

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