

42 Queen Square, London WC1.

EXTENDED PROGRAMME 1990 11th May - "Gender, Race, Handicap. Class? A Critical Look at Equal Opportunities" (speaker: Peter Neville) 25th May - open discussion 1st June - subject to be announced (speaker: Katy

8th June - to be arranged

15th June - to be arranged

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22nd June - "Freespace - Anarchist Alternatives in Town Planning" (speaker: Andrew (amton) 29th June open discussion and plans for

- The Inadequacy of Mindles 6th July

Ecology" (speaker: Dave Dane) SUMMER VACATION 28th September - "Why Revolution:

Occur" (speaker: Dave Wedgewood) 7th October - open discussion

Further meetings are now being arranged for the coming academic year, the term dates of which are Fridays 28th September to 14th December 1990, 11th january to 22nd March 1991 and 19th April to 31st May 1991, all at 8pm to 10pm. And in 1991 we hope to con- SUPPORT THE 341! tinue from 7th June to 14th July either at the same time or the earlier time of 6pm to 8pm from 7th June to 14th July (if other classes use the centre from 8pm to 10pm we can, if we are the only group we switch to 6pm to people fighting back on March 31st, give gener-8pm for this month). Anyone interested in leading a discussion (including visiting international contributors) to contact Dave EDane or Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham

Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW.

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Freedom Press telephone number will be 071-247 9249

Would you be willing to restart regular meetings at Speakers' Corner? John Rety will kick off on Sunday 6th May at 11.00am reading from his Song of Anarchy. Does

anybody (ex-LAG) know where the platform is?

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Peter Neville for Anarchist Forum



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INTERNATIONAL PAGE **RUSSIAN ANARCHO-SYNDICALISTS** Second Congress

quickly, but KAS has now only one body, which a political method, Moscow organisation in its decfirst year of existence for KAS (by this name it has KAS - have they plans to use KAS as a tool in prepexisted since January 1989, but its prehistory began aration to the violent revolution? communist monopoly on power.

cause this tradition can lead to a Moscow hege- In his speech D. Ivania criticised very hard Mos-

The idea of the organisers was to begin from ana- support this accusation. lysis of current situation in USSR, but conflict with In his answer one of Moscow representatives A. half-anarchistic newspaper appeared article of an- whole. archo-communist V. Strelcovsky, member of KAS, But the real explosion was in a moment of speech

Iraqi supercon. or pulling the wool over our eves

(continued from page 1)

At first, all the papers repeated official reports of a "nuclear missile", "nuclear gun", "atomic cannon", etc., to be used against Israel. Then contradictory information was leaked by another source (thought to be the Department of Trade which allowed the deal, now eager to deny it), claiming that the alleged barrel was nothing more than sections of pipes for the Iraqi petro-chemical industry. This gained credence for a while when it was pointed out by the companies that the contracts were for a pipeline, of which 44 sections had already been delivered and that such a gun would be over 800ft long, putting it in the realms of H. G. Wells' science fiction stories. But the story was changed again when it was realised that the contract for the pipes was placed through the Space Research Corporation in Belgium, a company owned by Dr Gerald Bull, a Canadian long-range artillery expert known to be working on a satellitelaunching system using land-based rather than rocket technology. (Dr Bull was killed on 22nd March by a professional assassin, and his company has now closed down.)

But the "supergun" stories continue to appear in the press, despite the fact that no such gun has ever been built and that, in fact, as The Independent pointed out (20th April) the 52 sections of pipe are neither a pipe nor a gun, but three experimental ballistics test-beds or pressure chambers, one with a 60ft "barrel" and two with 487ft "barrels" for use in firing dummy projectiles from one fixed position to another in order to learn more about the ballistics of high-speed projectiles. The smaller of the barrels is already in operation in Northern Iraq; parts for the two big test-beds have been seized by the authorities in various countries. They cannot be used either to fire shells or launch missiles, but form part of what Dr Bull called Project Babylon, his dream of a massive satellite- launching tube which

Traordinary Congress of KAS was held in than anarcho-syndicalists and that way of anarchy Moscow on 24th-25th March 1990. Why extra- is paramilitary (!) fight and weapons revolution. Beordinary? Situations in USSR are developing very cause the larger part of KAS is against violence as can establish all KAS documents: Congress. The laration asked anarcho-communists - members of

in 1982-86) gave us new experience for correcting In his speech leader of Leningrad AKRU, memsome programme documents. It was two concrete ber of KAS D. Ivania said that he was surprised by reasons for extraordinarity - misunderstanding with Moscow declaration. Yes, he had some violent anarcho-communists and perspective of crushing of ideas, but before entering the KAS he changed his opinions. Now he is against physical violence as a Congress was opened by regards of anarchist or- political method (in Russian political culture strike ganisations from Sweden, Spain, USA and Austra- isn't violence). Then D. Ivania said that he think lia. In the beginning Moscow organisation of KAS that syndicalism is a way to anarchic communism asked not to be given the driving of Congress, be- and it is way of different left forces, not only KAS.

mony. Igor Podshivalov (Ircutsk) was elected as cow informational centre of KAS (magazine Obskichairman, A. Shubin and A. Isaev as secretaries. na - "Community"). But other organisations didn't

anarcho-communist faction began very quickly. Isaev attacked articles of anarcho-communistic This conflict has its prehistory. Now in USSR are newspaper Black Flag where all democrats named two anarchist organisations: KAS (400-500 mem- dirty pigs. Democrats are in common struggle with bers and 2-3 thousand supporters) and the anarcho- us against totalitarianism, A. Isaev said. Other Moscommunistic revolutionary union - AKRU - (near- cow representative A. Shubin wanted to stop rising ly 50 activists and nearly 100 supporters). Part of of the conflict because the answer of D. Ivania is the AKRU is now in KAS, part not. In the moment quite good and we must ask anarcho-communists of proclaiming of AKRU (January 1990) in one to stop their attacks on democratic movement as a

in which he said that AKRU is more revolutionary of Kharkov's delegate I. Rassoha, who said that on

would greatly reduce the cost of space exploration. His earlier satellite-launching long-range gun, Project Harp, proved that projectiles could be fired to a high altitude more cheaply by gun than by missile, but even Babylon is still only at the experimental stage and is just the sort of thing Iraq would need if its long-term aim is to learn enough about the subject to put a satellite into orbit at a fraction of the normal cost, as it claims. As The Independent puts it: 'The gun could not have been elevated, it could not have been traversed. If in years to come the Iragis master the art and science of high-speed that it was pointed out that the case is not as projectiles, the most that a Babylon deri- black and white as it gets painted in the Westvative weapon could deliver is a small payload - not much bigger than a box of

Of course, one might ask why Iraq wants a satellite capability, but it is interesting that as the story unfolded the Israelis put a second satellite into orbit - by rocket. It might well be that it is simply a question of prestige for a rival middle-eastern power, and of personal kudos for another loopy dictator, Saddam Hussein. However, one other aspect of this affair is still unclear: Dr Bull's maverick nature led him into all kinds of arms deals with all kinds of people, and during the Iran-Iraq war he did supply the Iraqis with not just big guns but the design for a very sophisticated self-propelled gun more powerful than a tank, about which some Western countries are known to be unhappy. So why didn't they stop that deal? Two prototypes of this 210mm gun are thought to have been built secretly in Germany and Spain, and flown to Baghdad on a Soviet transport plane a year before Bull's death. Yet no attempt seems to have been made pact of the invasion by the Livonian Order (alto seize these very real weapons, while | lied to the Teutonic Knights) who seized lands moves to stop delivery of much less lethal previously belonging to the Empire of Kiev on cargoes and arrest people for illegally im- the Baltic as part of the "Drach na Osten" in porting or exporting "arms" get high the 12th century. Slav peoples, both those that priority and heavy publicity. All of which points to a campaign of disinformation by the government and complicity by the press in trying to continue a story which has been shown to be false when there are others, more important but perhaps more unwelcome, in the . . . pipeline. Ever had the feeling you're being conned? But then, this is election time.

plan to use the sections of steel pipe to ex- and other Slav nations should consider that the port their dates by direct airmail all over products of this drive to the east and colonisthe world, thus saving a packet on ship- ing mission are an imperialist threat? ping charges.

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KAS can speak about violence only like about self- registered as a social organisation. For this purpose defence. But what is self- defence? At the end of and for task of political negotiations was estabdiscussion Congress decide to stop on formula: lished federalistic council. "Congress reject violence as a method of transformation of society". Really it is as result of com- on real potentialities of KAS. Anarcho-syndicalists growth of new parties. Many party rules of play ganise a Conference of syndicalist unions in August sometimes press on KAS. What is the place of KAS 1990. in new relations? Answer on this question led to the A few new organisations (Zitomir Donbuss, Kastrongest crisis of the Congress. First of all Con- luga, and others) join KAS in this Congress. gress decided that members of confederation must



It is alleged by people on behalf of Lithuania - including an official spokesperson of the Lithuanian Popular Front speaking on Radio 4 News - that Russia has always threatened Lithuania, and Lithuania has never been a threat to Russia. That in 1939 the Baltic states were illegally incorporated into the Soviet Union with no historical justification. It does the Lithuanian cause no good to make such claims. Lithuania and the other then miniscule Baltic statelets were initially created by the im-

were until then independent and those that belonged to one or other of the thirteen Medieval Russian states, were then and later subdued throughout Eastern Central Europe by Western Christian German peoples who claimed to be civilising barbarians, denied that Eastern Orthodox Christians were in fact christian and maintained that Slav meant slave and that all Slavs so should be. Is it any won-Stop Press: Latest news is that the Iragis der that Russians, that all orthodox churchmen

"communism" is the border between anarchist and fool. "Communism is a thing foolish and terrible, even if it is anarchistic communism". Rassoha's was voted. words about AKRU were so acute that delegation of union went out of the hall for a time. But other Kharkov delegate Zaporochets answered that all meaning of I. Rassoha. In the end of the Congress I. Rassoha stressed that he was mistaken about anarcho-communists because of activity of Strelvovsky and after struggle of Kharkov's anarchists against communist system.

V. Strelcovsky prolonged attack on old KAS organisations (Moscow, Kharkov, Ircutsc) but his work in growth of socialist trade unions (Socprof) for KAS: to which KAS must join, hadn't success even 1. KAS could transform itself into a trade union; KAS decided that his purpose is to establish syndi- wide than KAS itself; of the Congress V. Strelcovsky go out of KAS.

parties, and trade union politics.

be anarcho-syndicalist. After that three delegations go out the KAS because they think that KAS must be a wide front of all anarchists. But anarcho-communists didn't go out.

After that part of delegates began a campaign for decision according to which a member of KAS can't be a member of a party. That time KAS members who work in green Party were absent, because the same time was its Congress too. The decision

When greens returned, they attacked new point of Charter because, according to their opinion, KAS now is a party - it has its political programme and other Kharkov delegation can't abet itself to is separated from other countries. The rejection of membership in two organisations is party feature. In the morning, struggle ended by formula - member of KAS can't be a member of a party the programme of which is in disagreement with programme of KAS. Now green party isn't in this disagreement.

plan to stop all activity in local Soviets and put all The question of trade unions had three solutions

among AKRU. Socprof is very reformist group and 2. KAS could organise syndicalist trade union more

calist trade unions in USSR in this year. In the end 3. KAS could enter reformist independent trade union Socprof.

The other question which was discussed at the The main supporter of third and first idea was V. Congress was changes of text of Charter. There Strelcovsky, but delegates decided that KAS isn't were three main questions which determined big so big to be a trade union and it isn't necessary to discussions - violence, common membership with enter reformist informal group, named trade union. But KAS must have official opportunities for its ac-After a little discussion all delegates agree that tivity in monoparty society. If necessary it will be

The solution about trade union politics was based can establish local organisation with union with Falling of monoparty system determines the quick other trade union independent groups and then or-

A. Shubin

ithuania Lillialia

TTThile no radical should wish to suggest to self-determination and autonomy, it is time ern media. It is worth asking what would happen if a province of a Western country made a similar attempt to secede? After all, the USA fought a civil war (and twice earlier used force) to prevent states seceding, and the Ulster troubles are largely fought because two counties and one town were coerced against the wishes of the majority of their population to stay as part of the UK rather than sharing in Ireland's Home Rule when six of the nine counties of Ulster were arbitrarily divorced from the rest of Ireland in 1922.

Lithuania - unlike the Letts, Ests, Kours,

Balts and other Baltic peoples - emerged from that Lithuania should not have the right the obscurity of being a pocket handkerchief statelet in the Middle Ages and became a significant empire. This was done at a time when the Tartars had conquered all Asia and were attacking deep into Europe, but were in the main halted by the resistance of the Russo-Slavs of Eastern Europe. (Not in the old centre of the Russian Empire, in the south where the Steppes were totally dominated by the nomads, but in the forests of the north.) Muscovy, which had shaken off the Tartar lordship, was by then the main defence. Lithuania extended south to include Kiev, conquering any remnants of six of the Russian principalities and seizing lands from two others. Moscow was weakened by its attacks on it.

Having conquered large areas of Russia and all but taken Moscow itself, Lithuania has no real right to complain of the fact that Moscow, more or less reuniting the former Russian lands, reversing the position a few centuries later (when no longer threatened by the Tartars) made Lithuania once more part of the Russian Empire.

Certainly continued maintenance of this after the revolution would have hardly accorded with Lenin's promise of self-determination for all the peoples of the Empire, but remembering that for those first few years of the Soviet Union there were powerful foreign armies as well as foreign-financed former Tsarist armies fighting within the old Empire, the lapse is understandable. As a result of this intervention the Baltic peoples were detached from the Soviet Union and somewhat arbitrarily divided into three states ruled by pro-Western (generally military, dictatorial and semidictatorial) regimes. These in the course of time became pro-Nazi regimes and though Hitler (during the Stalin-Hitler pact) was to hand them over to Stalin, there were leaders of the regimes who were to aid and abet the invasion by Hitler of the Soviet Union. Never been a threat? No historical justification, other than the Stalin-Hitler Pact? LO

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 2

HOME NEWS PAGE

A Bunch of Bankers

Cotland has a new bank called, by a stroke of Dimaginative genius, the Caledonian Bank. Fortunately the Caledonian Bank is to operate solely and other financial intermediaries redistribute infrom its headquarters in Edinburgh's St Andrew come from those in debt to those with savings and, Square, so we will be spared yet more designer more importantly, themselves. In addition, their logos and neo- modern facades in the high streets control of credit creation (i.e. their control of the much older financial body, founded in 1857 to many people, including members of the governhandle the surplus funds of those other pillars of so- ment until fairly recently, think is in the hands of ciety, solicitors. The Caledonian Bank claims that the government) gives them great economic, and market that have brought it to new life, but, doubtrectors of the bank to provide us with yet another "service". Two of the bank's directors appear in a grinning photograph in The Scotsman - balding, pinstriped and apparently toothless, the very image of respectable, secure and reliable business "Friends for Life" as another Scottish bank would have us believe. Strangely enough many people do have this image of bankers, solicitors, advocates, accountants and even politicians firmly fixed in their minds. All these "professions" are seen to embody virtues, chief of which are respectability and capability. "Aye, he must be a clever man". "Chairman, eh? He's no fool". Deference mightn't be seen as much of a factor in determining voting behaviour these days, but it certainly plays a large role in maintaining social divisions. But a quick look at our lifelong friends the bankers, is enough to dispel these



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images of respectability and ability - for the banking world is really one of the best forms of organised crime but, unlike their illegal counterparts, they aren't very capable - as the appalling World Debt Crisis shows.

Al Capone once remarked, when asked about the world of business, "Business? That's just the legitimate rackets!" A contemporary of Capone's, the Belgian fascist Degrelle, coined the neat phrase "banksters" for that particular breed of legit racketeer. Like all racketeers the bankers live off the weak, the addicted and the little man/woman. Capone-style gangsters depend on protection rackets (pay up or your shop may get burnt down), gambling debt deals (you owe us \$10,000, we'll give you a week to pay, perhaps you should sell your wife) and supplying needs (you need coke, we'll give it to you and, sorry, the price has gone up). In this way they redistributed income from the little men (and sometimes not so little - rich men some-

times get caught with their trousers down, literally) to themselves and their henchmen. Similarly banks ding toothless men. But it's an even better racket business, requiring a large amount of investment in risky capital and the operation of sometimes fatally rebellious organisations. In the world of the gangster you need plenty of money to make more money, and if you let slip you've had it; the other gangsters aren't going to bail you out. Compare this with the world of the banker, your assets are safe (the odd poll tax rioter's brick does you nothing but good, it just increases the amount of protection you can demand from the Feds), you need hardly any cash to make more, you are in fact required to hold a mandatory deposit of only half a percent of total liabilities, and if you stumble all the other banks will loan you the necessary cash, and if they haven't got enough then the Godfather (the Bank of England) will step in with some "real money". Well, it's an easy racket to be in, so how do you run your day to day operations?

All banks are intermediaries - they borrow money from those who deposit it with them, and they loan that money out to those who borrow it. The creditors receive interest for loaning the money, and the debtors pay a higher rate of interest for borrowing it. The difference forms the basis of the banker's profit. But that's just the start. Because the Godledonian Bank's case because they will be operaof England's approval) you can create money. If | nation have no right to exist. you had to rely on the amount of deposits to determine the size of loans the profits would be limited. What you need is not more backers (depositors) but more victims (borrowers), and because you are a bank you can simply hand out bits of paper which borrowers can use as money - for a price! That price is the interest rate, something that the borrower, like the coke addict or the gambler in debt, has no control over - the difference being that the bank's victim will be trying to keep a roof over his head, run his car, or even buy food. So, the bankers can increase the market almost at will and they only have to hold half a percent of their liabilities in cash. That's the funny bit. If I went around the various shops in town and tried to buy £100 worth of goods would be laughed out, but that's just what banks do. No retailer would refuse a cheque from a customer on the grounds that the bank just didn't have the cash. What enables the banks to carry out this conmentary in the financial pages of the big news- cist. They think of fascism as the enemy. papers, conversations in the shower-rooms of slick hotels. Who controls these rumours? The same ly they can occasionally be bad rumours (but never bad for all the boys) when some disgruntled finan- made Hitler the sole legislator. cier hasn't been able to shake off his hangover, or In the North Staffordshire by-election of



his PA, Miss Wonderlay, has just resisted his pawings, but even if things get really bad there's always the Godfather.

The bankers like to make out that we should have confidence in them, that they know what they're doing, yet they are all party to the biggest cock-up of Scotland. The bank itself has grown out of a money supply in the economy - something that in modern racketeering history - the World Debt Crisis. It would be funny if so many people weren't paying for it, if the world itself wasn't paying for it. Trying to extend their rackets in the 1970s, the banit has spotted gaps in the current personal finances hence political, power. Not a bad operation for bal- kers used OPEC oil profits as a basis for extending massive loans to developing countries, and by 1983 less, the present high interest rates have a little more when you consider just what all that power rests they had extended \$1,800 billion to borrowers to do with the immediate impulses of the worthy di- upon. Mob operations have always been difficult throughout the world, but mainly in Latin America. Like all responsible, capable professionals they should have done their homework about their new victims, not even the stupidest gangster is going to run a protection racket on the basis of little men who can't pay, even after they've sold their wives. The trouble was that the bankers didn't do their homework, the mere prospect of victims was enough, and they overreached themselves. By 1982 the banks were getting a little worried as countries like Mexico and Brazil, the latter with \$89 billion worth of debt and interest payments at thirteen and a half percent, were hinting that they just couldn't pay - and mightn't. Many of these countries faced current in terest charges that were over 100% higher than their annual earnings from exports, whilst many banks had loaned sums that were 200 times larger than

their capital bases. Not to worry, the world Godfather -the International Monetary Fund - stepped in, forcing the banks to loan more, reschedule debts, while forcing the debtors to deflate their already depressed, trade-based economies. Other ways were also found by governments willing to keep the banksters racket going. The Romanian Communists drastically reduced their socialist obligation to the bankers by the simple measure of starving the Romanian people (who still have debt to pay), whilst Latin American governments have attacked earnings and cut down the rainforests to pay the rescheduled debt. So, the world's little men/women have saved the big boys again. In Latin America and Romania they've starved, the environment has been smashed up that little bit more, and in places like Britain we've paid higher interest and (for those with overdrafts) more bank charges. Simple! Meanwhile, the bankers have maintained confidence in their operations, their respectability and capability, by simply not mentioning the whole problem too much. A bunch of bankers? I think not, wanking is harmless and fun - unlike banking.

Stephen Cullen

'Whosoever looks upon liberty to lust after it has committed anarchy in his heart." EDWARD HYAMS

Should anarchists attend fascist rallies?

father has accepted you as one of the boys (in Ca- ascism is the doctrine that individuals I have no value except as contributors to a ting on a section of the street that the bigger boys particular race or nation - from which it folhave until now ignored, thereby receiving the Bank lows that people who are not of that race of

> There is no question that anarchists should do what they can to get rid of fascism. The question is, whether going to a fascist rally and having a punch-up really helps to get rid of fascism, or whether it does the opposite.

The answer varies with place and time. All states encourage patriotism, or mental confusion between one's personal achievement and the glory of one's bosses. But patriotist can be in favour of fascism or against it.

The Germany in which Hitler came to power had been defeated, then deliberately humiliated by the victors. The downcast patriots were ready for the Nazi propaganda that it was all the fault of the Jews and traitors, and that on the strength of having 50p in my piggy bank I Hitler would give them revenge. Patriots in modern Germany and France are also sulking about their defeat, and fascism has some attraction for them.

Modern British patriots, on the other hand, fidence trick, and make money out of the debtors in glory in the victory over Hitler's fascism, and the process? It's just that, the valuable financial have recently had their vicarious egos boosted commodity "confidence". And what does financial by victory in the Falkland islands against a confidence rest upon? Rumours in the City, com- military dictatorship often described as fas-

In the German election of 1933, the Nazis got more votes than any other single party, and people who stand to benefit from them. Admitted- were able to fiddle a parliamentary majority for the Bill which suspended parliament and

1990, the National Front was beaten into eighth place by the Monster Raving Loony Green Chicken party - a buffoon hoping for political success out-voted by a clown seeking publicity for his act. This is typical of recent fascist performances.

Pre-war British fascists never had much electoral success either (the largest number of votes ever cast for a fascist candidate in Britain - some 2,000 - was in 1964), but the British Union of Fascists was seen by some Conservatives as a working class alternative to socialism, and was therefore given publicity in Lord Northcliffe's Daily Mail. Since it was in the public eye, preventing it from marching through the East End of London did it some damage

The fascist parties of today, however, have no support from any media magnate. They are in dire need of publicity, and the way to damage them is to take away what publicity they have, not to turn their rallies into news items.

The marching of Bangladeshis along Brick Lane, the vigilante groups which patrol immigrant areas by night, the annual augmentation f demonstrators outside South Africa House in response to the fascist threat on Remembrance Sunday, are all at their most successful when the fascists fail to turn up. If a fight breaks out, and the fascists get a mention in the media, that is to be regretted.

It shows lack of organisation to say "We hate fascists so let's find some and belt 'em". Those who think things through say rather, "We hate fascists, so let's help 'em to lose".

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Trunk or dreaming, we each in our own fashion dredge up our fantasies from the ol' subconscious and the artist is fortunate, or otherwise, in that they can give it a permanency.

It can range from the good old hardcore pornography of the late Marquis de Sade to a desire to save the world by being crucified on a cross before an audience of weeping women - each to their own taste. Barbara Cartland gives us her world full of full-breasted virgins teasing to the altar, and Wodehouse wrote of his 1920 dream world of no General Strike and a mentally retarded aristocracy with lowbowing feudal servants to take over the running of that society.

Between the "Great" wars the middle class wrote of their fascist world in which, in prose or in person, they strutted the streets in their fascist black uniforms and they wrote and wrote of slim young men, always in full evening dress, who caught and flogged greasy and sweaty ethnic minority types seeking to kidnap Phyllis or take over the world. And we, eating our cheese sandwich at the factory bench, read and wondered which was the greater evil for those slim young men, hardened in the First World War, in full evening dress, to come to terms with. It was Edgar Wallace who, in his early days, based his thriller plots on his own desires and in the biographies and the in-depth articles on Wallace I have never found one academic who realised this. Wallace came from the working class world of brutal poverty and as a small boy served with the army in the South African War. When he had come to be established as a thriller writer, among his earliest



is an old peasant fantasy and I sat in many a pub in World War Two while American GI farm boys explained to me that Princess Elizabeth should marry a simple American GI Joe who would then incorporate Britain into the American states. Simple redbloodline politics, but Wallace's fantasy for Private Selby and himself was never realised. In 1915 Wallace, who was to stand or did stand (let the academics thumb the reference cards) as a defeated Liberal candidate for Parliament, had published The Man Who Bought London. It was a political manifesto containing the basic flaw of liberalism in that the greater evil is always accepted provided the minor evils are eliminated in that education for the slaves, better prisons, no hanging except in extreme cases, and lead-free petrol to be non-taxed. Wallace, in The Man Who Bought London, dreamed of an American multi-millionaire who literally bought all London and like Mr Pickwick bought goodies for the deserving populace - schools, homes, art galleries, Morris style Port Sunlight factories, all from the cradle to the grave 1990 Japanese style - and as a Liberal candidate for Parliament, Wallace, in good faith, offered it to the undeserving working class and they rejected it with the State acting as ersatz Mr Pickwick instead of a US oil baron. But in 1917 in a year of mass slaughter Wallace had published Just Men of Cordoba, and this was when fannovels was Private Selby. It was written in 1912 and tasy became dangerous for in but a few years the the plot, as I recall strictly from memory, was of a station bookstalls would be selling a standardised simple British private soldier who saved a mid-Eu- "thriller" of black garbed or full evening dressed ropean princess's life and she insisted that he must young men in souped up Rolls acting as judge and head the official delegation to sign "The Treaty". It executioners for that unfortunate ethnic minority



to conform. They became the blackprint for fascism. Wallace's Just Men of Cordoba masked and cloaked became an accepted murder squad, and Wallace's 1917 fantasy has come true in South America, Northern Ireland and the mindless middle class fools in France, Italy and Germany who claim the right to judge and murder to validate a garbage manifesto. Television now offers to act out our fan- reasons, those who mass murder for the pleasure of tasies and therein, as always, lies the danger for with it, and after having fondled the dead move on. Or a controlled, decent television supervision our those who, like the old American Mr Fish, murninds will not be brain-washed but we will be dered and murdered. boiled, cooked and ate the resought to accept minor evils if presented as well- mains feeling no remorse, only pleasure at past written situation comedy - "In Sickness and in meals. Health", "On the Buses", "Eastenders", "Porridge", 'Bread", funny, funny, man, is this the way the labouring class really live, man? And as always our only salvation lies in a multiplicity of programmes, good, filthy, true, lies, mindblowing, mind-deading, mental muck or brilliant, let me decide. It is but a few steps from the White Hart pub to the Whitechapel Art Gallery, free for the Town and among the guests star- scattered on the grass and his wondering wife, and within is a major exhibi- come upon the place where I made one turn down tion of the work, nay the world, of Christian Bol- an empty glass". Salute Omar. tanski. A plump and lively 46 years of age and born

Theatre **Unknown Pirandello**

Right You Are, If You Think You Are by Luigi Pirandello

performed by the "leaving students" of the Drama centre (Messrs et Mesdames Hawkins, Messimeri Glynn, McRory, Chamchoun, Dix, Rodway, Arden, Helmer, Tapsell, Nicolson, Allen, Thorsteindottir, Cox, Whitfield and Hastings. Pianist: Jennifer Clickner)

Vour reporter found himself in Kentish Town last night and was intrigued to see a poster advertising a play by Luigi Pirandello, a play hitherto unknown to him which has not been produced since 1917. He is indebted to the programme notes and also to his somewhat hazy memory of why he ever liked Pirandello's most famous play, "Six Characters in Search of an Author". He first read Pirandello when he was sixteen years old and probably mixed him with Sigmund Freud. He thought him a bit more imaginative than Molnar or Bernard Shaw, but could not find his other play "Henry IV", about a man who fantasised about being a king (don't they all) encouraged by his corrupt household, all that interesting, for in the last resort he wanted to ask the question "what are you saying, Pirandello, is it just hocus pocus to make up a clever

But this excellent production at the Drama Centre, by a very talented cast of student actors whom he would be only too pleased to get on with his own play (alas it has been travelling from one tray to another of all horrors, the BBC) has brought to his attention a play by Pirandello, which is the greatest indictment of bourgeois society that he has ever had the pleasure to witness. The programme notes indirole, unless of course he was driven insane by his own wisdom.

Here was a long play that did not seem to want to finish, and one hoped would never finish, about a made up tale of the manners of good society, their voracious appetite for gossip, and their search for truth amongst lies, fantasies and contradictions. You'll be glad to hear that your reporter sitting behind the doric columns of this converted church was beginning to believe that the revolution still has not taken place, that all the young people in the audience viewed him and other elderly people with horror, for no doubt they have mentally associated all the mental prevarications as to how the ancients of a swept away society must have behaved.

They play it as if it was Pinero, or other drawing room comedy, the women were beautiful and the men suave, sinister or stupid (how is that for alliteration). I am giving their names in full, for every

one of them is going to be a household name one day, and if not they can always say they have been praised to the skies in Freedom.

The direction was almost perfect, and the ridiculous crowd scenes and unison chanting was dear old Luigi's fault (perhaps that's why he became a cheerleader for the Duce).

I am only revealing the plot because I can't see this play being produced for another fifty years (which is a great pity because your reporter climbed out of his death bed to see it), and here it goes:

Good society is all agog because of the arrival in town of a man, his wife and the wife's mother. The



man and his wife live at one end of the town, the cate that Pirandello in his later years turned fascist, mother at the other. The mother is only allowed to but never explaining how this could have been communicate with her daughter through notes lopossible on either side, for your reporter was not wered up and down in a basket from a fourth floor aware how the man could have qualified for the balcony. The outraged bourgeoisie investigates and cannot sift the evidence. The man is saying that his wife is kept from the mother because it is his second wife and the mother's daughter died, which drove the mother insane and the second wife is pretending to be the real daughter so as not to upset the mother. The mother is saying that on the contrary, about managing people rather than using re- ists, where anything can get on the curriculum it is the man who wants her daughter's love without the hindrance a mother-in-law can afford. The wife, when she appears at the end of the play in a black veil refuses, for the love of the man and the old woman, to reveal whether she is the first or the second wife.

Although I was not going to single out anybody, your reporter thought Matt Hawkins's author and commentator reached its heights when having run out of people to argue with, he had a good go at himself in the big gilt mirror. Bourgeois society was always very good at that.

THE ARTS

in Paris the son of parents of the Catholic and Jewish faith. Christian (or may I call you Chris?) is good solid dealers' coinage in that his is the stuff that fills TV saturated art galleries. He has turned the large rooms of the Whitechapel Art Gallery into a Disney-style charnel house or a tourist-style catacomb with the piece de resistance a wall of wire and dimmed lights giving the illusion of a better type of Satanic Mass. Bleak and bare, his walls are but small boxes with the cut-out faces of the dead on each box, and in the shadowed gallery the Town and his wife move with reverence to the upper gallery wherein one wall is covered with used clothing. Tell me that this reflects the concentration camp horror and I will share the horror, but art must be self-explanatory. Chris claims, so I am told, to be in love with death but, comrade, not from this exhibition, for in the end it is pure musty museum exhibit and in that context one must ask do the boxes contain the bones of the dead and the answer is no, it is but to amuse the Town and his wife. The Victorians loved death and they could think up no more pleasant way to spend an evening than at the bedside of an ageing parent or of a dying child bride, and the black costumes and the wreaths, dear heaven, the wreaths - but Chris is not even in love with easeful death for he seeks to play the fat boy in Pickwick's travel who sought to scare his small audience. I am honest when I say that this exhibition is dealers' coinage for I can see it filling galleries across the world's capitals and the critics will love it as they did the plastic covered bridges, heaped tyres, sheets of felt, but if it is free then enjoy it. There are those who love death in all its manifestations. Those who have dug up the dead for sexual

Protest the futility and unjustness or the meanness of dying, but leave the bones to the museum staff, bulldoze the wailing walls and leave the graveside with the band playing a march, for Omar Kyam gave the answer to Christian Boltanski's enjoyable intellectual small-time chambers of horror when he finished his Rubyat with the lines: "and as you move

Arthur Moyse

Education

money is taken in the form of taxes and rates from the pockets of everyone for the financial the real purpose of the scheme, will perpetuate the idea that it is worthwhile and valid. In fact, the greater part of the syllabuses of schools, colleges and universities cannot be properly taught, nor assessed.

When our Universities turn out cap-andgowned Physicists and Economists, each allowed to display their awesome PhD's and as well study the behaviour of donkeys. BSc's on their correspondence, all but the most world of difference between the Sciences and subjects like Economics. Yet, whilst the former is both teachable and examinable, the latter is not.

the way in which people may or may not re- ity is to be saved from self-destruction. spond to the dictates of competing mercenary Chancellors of the Exchequer must agree. Marx, forgetting that people were involved, Astrology? went so far as to attempt to make Economics instead of, as we have seen, in the cases of are the technical subjects, like Plumbing, our wonderful 'Democracy'. John Rety Surgery, Joinery and the means of communica-

VAST amounts of money are lavished upon a tion such as Languages, Typing, etc., varying process euphemistically called Education. This from the useful to the essential; all teachable and, to a degree, at least, assessable.

By contrast, Economics, Philosophy, benefit of the privileged few who, because of Psychology, History and Law, which are all connected with the manipulation of people and the ideas of conditioned minds, cannot properly be taught for the simple reason that there are no experts capable of teaching such subjects; apart from assessing memory, examination in these subjects is a waste of resources and time - if the law is an ass, one might just

There are no Philosophy experts. For all the discerning will miss the fact that there is a good they have done they might as well have written their reams of tortuous arguments in their spare time after doing an honest day's work in the fields. One recognised Philosopher employs a logic so sophisticated as to present Mathematics, Engineering, Physics and anti-Racism as a greater threat to mankind other Sciences are universally accepted disci- than Racism itself. Yet Philosophy, like lines, having a common language, which can Psychology, is a subject of the utmost importbe taught, examined and assessed with equal ance because it deals with ethics, implications precision by Chinese and Eskimos, Commun- of various actions and life itself. Philosophy, ists and Roman Catholics, Freedom Fighters therefore, along with Psychology and History, and Terrorists. Economics, on the other hand, is an essential DISCUSSION subject which is a set of predictions, insecurely based upon every Scientist should be involved in if human-

Unhappily we seem to be following in the cliques who have them in their power: it is fantastic footsteps of American Educationalsources to good advantage. While there can if the money is put on the lecture room table. be experts in the Sciences, there can be no Arthur Koestler has managed to put his para-Economic experts, as anyone listening to the normal foot in the door of a British University. contradictory pronouncements of various One can only wonder what subject Rupert Murdoch might yet sponsor for Oxford -

As things stand, our Universities do little into a Science, where States would wither away more than turn out conformist or tongue-incheek, hand-on-wallet, Smart Alecks who can Stalin and Ceausescu, expanding their own sys- be relied upon to perpetuate the system or, at tems of power. Apart from the Sciences, there least, turn a blind eye to what is going on in

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

E.F.C.

Donald Rooum

Working Women in Science Fiction

Rimrunners

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by C. J. Cherryh Popular Library/Warner Books Inc., £3.50

Thave always been an avid reader of Science Fiction. It was this that led towards a questioning of the world as it was, looking at alternative possibilities, which led towards anarchism. To under--stand the present as a precursor of change led towards the necessity of studying sociology. It always puzzles me why so few anarchists study sociology and why so few sociologists become anarchists.

I have a feeling I know the reason. Sociology, the study of society, entails the study of power and authority. Anarchists reject power and authority in the sense of not supporting it so it does not require a quantum leap for the idealist to say "I reject this so I will not consider it, maybe then it will go away". So they reject sociology. What they should be saying is "I reject it, so I will learn to understand it, so I may cope with it and defeat it". So they will study sociology. But then they are idealists. Me? I lift up stones to see what's underneath. I never leave well alone. I fly kites to see the response. To me being an anarchist sociologist means one is a social

How does this affect Science Fiction? One of the great tendencies SF has had over the years is to play the power game. The study of SF appears to be the study of an officer class: spaceship captains, princes, scientists, professors and the like, even supermen. Never the study of working people, rarely the study of women and, more importantly, (almost) never the study of working women.

It is true there are some writers that write of women: James Schmidt, Robert Heinlein (especially the later Heinlein), Frank Herbert, and even some women writers such as Zenna Henderson, Ursula Le Guin and Marion Zimmer Bradley, but these appear to write about women of the upper and middle class, not working women. C. J. Cherryh's Rimrunners is an exception. It is essentially a lower deck novel postulating a time in the future after a star war where the winners are busily engaged in a mopping-up operation whilst individual stranded crew members are looking for a ship, any ship, even *for overseas orders please add 10% for part postan opposing ship so long as they get a job, some age.

job, any job. Visualise what it must have been like Emma Goldman in Exile for a U-boat crewman in a foreign port in 1945 looking hopefully for a ship, preferably their own nationality, preferably going home, but failing that a ship with a bunk, meals, work and protection against the police, an uncertain internment or sentence in a foreign jail. This is Cherryh's scenario. Bet Yeager, an ex-marine tactical sergeant left behind and looking for a ship, any ship. I have read lots of SF space opera but few about group dynamics, about loyalty.

So you have got the job, got a ship, but whose friendships, about sexual relationships, about lest scholarly account of Emma Goldman's public very much it was about being an anarchist in an unif you say the wrong thing, like for instance quessuddenly beyond the pale, no further discussion is possible. It also tells you in graphic detail what it is like being a working woman in an uncertain world. None of this middle class sexual language crap, interrupting real debates with irrelevances, the book is about real relationships, about real people. I recommend it. What can be more damning than that. Peter Neville

Special offer of FREEDOM PRESS titles until the en of May 1990:

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Cusan George's How the Other Half Dies when it appeared D more than a decade ago was like a breath of fresh air. Well researched, written with some stridency, it exploded many of the myths about why so many people in the world die of starvation. It was not because there were too many people in the world, or because there was not enough food to go round, or because third world people lacked technological know-how. It had everything to do with an economic system in which there was an extreme mal-distribution of power, land and income and where food was seen primarily as a source of profit and a means of social and political control.

George's more recent work on the "debt crisis" carries the same stridency and verve, the same radical tone - which, though not specifically socialist, that is, explicitly anti-capitalist, nevertheless looks at the debt crisis from the perspective of the working people and the poor, and thus presents an important critique of the "international system". Debt, of course, is nothing new. It is an intrinsic aspect of the capitalist system, and throughout the world and for more than a century "debt bondage" has been an intrinsic part of the economic life of many third world people - something George does not explore. Judith Ennew has published a survey of the many forms of debt bondage that have been described from many parts of the world - Latin America, India, the Mediterranean and Middle East, Africa, as well as among share-croppers in the Southern United States. George is not concerned with debt bondage, but rather with the social and ecological effects of the debt crisis.

That debt has suddenly become an issue in world politics is because many of the large banks, over the past decade, have become too free with so-called "development" loans, and so many countries are now so heavily in debt that they are having difficulty paying back the interest. Zambia, for example, with a population of around five million people and with a per capita average income of \$470, owes \$4 billion, which represents \$600 owed by each Zambian. Servicing its debt - if it could do this - amounts to double Zambian export earnings. George however is not concerned with the problems that the banks and the IMF are experiencing: her analysis focuses on the social and ecological implications of these debts.

Her book is in three sections. The first section is on the problem generally, on the large US and European banks and how they prosper, and on the International Monetary Fund. She suggests a number of factors that have been re-



sponsible for the accumulation of debt in third world countries - unabashed consumerism on the part of the rich elite, wasteful prestige projects, the transfer of capital abroad, high military spending, and the sharp increases in oil prices and interest rates over the past decade. Banks have been all too willing to offer loans to third world countries because bank strategies have shifted. They are no longer simply concerned with offering loans against collateral, but acting as financial brokers and making profit. George stresses that bankers have a slanted view of laissez-faire economics - profits should accrue to private corporations, losses should be off-loaded to governments (i.e. taxpayers).

With regard to the IMF, she regards this institution with little more than contempt - as a watchdog of the capitalist system, which though it purports to be non-political, essentially supports the status quo, and like the American Government has no qualms about supporting repressive regimes. George hints of the existence of a consortium - an informal political club of big banks, the IMF, the World Bank, and the governments of the creditor countries - but seems unable to express this in terms of a ruling class. Nor does she explicitly describe the international financial system as capitalism, which of its very nature is exploitative. She thus notes that capital inflow to Latin America between 1982 and 1985 (in terms of aid and investment) amounted to under \$38 billion, while it paid back \$144 billion in debt service. A net transfer, she concludes, from poor to rich of \$106 billion (page 63). But she neglects to mention entirely the profits from investments that also move in the same direction.

In part two, George explores the social and ecological implications of the huge debts that third world countries have incurred. She specifically examines Morocco, and the African and Latin American contexts. Given the constraints that the IMF impose on the debtor countries, the debts have serious consequences for the social well-being and health of the people, particularly the poor and low-income groups. For the IMF insist on an export-oriented model for the economy (which entails a shift away, in terms of land and

Emma Goldman in Exile

by Alice Wexler Beacon Press, \$24.95

BOOK REVIEWS

A lice Wexler has now written a two-volume bioas Emma Goldman in America in the United States and as Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life in Britain. The second volume, covering her last twenty years, was published in 1989 in the United States but hasn't yet appeared in Britain. The whole work con-

America, her campaign against the communist struggles until her death in Canada in May 1940.

The treatment of Goldman herself is impressive. It is largely based on primary sources - published isn't worth reading. writings by and about her, contemporary letters from and to her in many collections, and personal interviews with most of the survivors - and it is very full and generally reliable. There are occasional ly as necessary, but no more, which is a relief. In better, but not her message. the end this is the most convincing picture of the



Prisons and Penal Reform: some new thoughts on coping with society's offenders by Tessa Blackstone

published as Counterblast No 11 by Chatto and Windus, £2.99

ounterblasts, a series of pamphlets on current graphy of Emma Goldman. The first volume, Uissues, already includes among their writers covering her first fifty years, was published in 1984 | Fay Weldon, Paul Foot, Ruth Rendall, Colin Ward

> most compelling woman ever involved in the anarchist movement.

The treatment of Goldman's background is less ship, going where, doing what, and who are your | tains about 250,000 words - twice as much as Ri- impressive. It is largely based on secondary sourfellow crew members, what are their backgrounds? | chard Drinnon's Rebel in Paradise (1961) and ces, several of which are far from satisfactory, and But moreover there is the need to constantly be on much the same as Candace Falk's Love, Anarchy it is strongly biased towards leftist orthodoxy - thus your guard. The book is about relationships, about and Emma Goldman (1984) - and it gives the ful- Wexler criticises Goldman for being so aggressive about the communist tyranny in Russia during the power and authority relationships. It made me feel | life, though it is clumsily written and badly edited. 1920s and praises her for being so defensive about The second volume begins where the first volume the anarcho-syndicalist support of the Spanish Govcertain world. Can you even trust the anarchists, for | abruptly stopped - with Goldman's deportation ernment during the 1930s, though events surely from the United States in December 1919. It covers proved Goldman right in the former and wrong in tioning the viability of feminist doctrine, you are her two years in Russia, her restless wanderings and the latter case. Most of the other characters seem various activities in Western Europe and North very shadowy - even Alexander Berkman, who suffers his usual fate of being overshadowed by his old regime in Russia and her campaign for the anarcho- chum. The accounts of British politics during Goldsyndicalist movement in Spain, and her last man's stays in this country in the 1920s and 1930s are particularly weak, but most of the general material in the book wasn't worth writing about and

> Emma Goldman is always praised as a person and patronised as a thinker. Thus Wexler depreciates her writings and approvingly quotes a predictable verdict: "She had many faults, but she was a gaps - like her predecessors, Wexler fails to date mensch". The truth is surely that she was a worse Goldman's marriage to Jim Colton (on her 56th person and a better thinker than is suggested by her birthday, 27th June 1925). She is generally sym- reputation. She frequently seemed sentimental and pathetic to her subject (as she would need to be to simplistic in her judgements, but they generally do so much work on her), but she clearly appreci- turned out to be correct. Exactly half a century after ates and just as clearly conveys the less likeable as- her death, anarchists are still faced with tyrannies pects of her character - thus readers of Freedom will of left and right, with orthodoxies of class and sex, be interested to learn that Vernon Richards, who and with problems of how to live a decent life in a worked with her in London when he ran Spain and difficult environment. Her personal example hardthe World from 1936 to 1938, found her "vain, in- ly seems to be one we would wish to follow, but her tolerant and dictatorial". Wexler discusses her sex political ideas really do seem to be as fresh as ever. life (which continued well into her sixties) as frank- This biography helps us to understand the woman NW

> > resources, from food production) and a curtailment of public expenditure on health, education and social welfare. Moreover, large projects that are financed, like the Inga-Shaba hydro-electric scheme in Zaire are geared to the needs of mining interests, of foreign enterprises, and do not secure the energy needs of the local communities. The outcome of these IMF policies is increased unemployment, malnutrition and absolute poverty for a substantial proportion of the population of third world countries. It has also led to the "flowering" of political repression in many parts of the world. President Mobutu of Zaire, recipient of many World Bank loans, and supported by Western governments, leads what George describes as little more than "organised state banditry". But the debt crisis and the IMF emphasis on an export-oriented economy has not only led to malnutrition and deepening poverty among a large segment of the population - reflected in increased infant mortality in many third world countries - but it has also led to much environmental destruction.

> > George outlines the ecologically destructive policies that have been pursued by Brazil and Indonesia who, through the building of large dams and through resettlement programmes financed by the World Bank, have caused massive deforestation. She notes that the countries that have the most tropical forest areas - Brazil, Zaire, Peru and Indonesia - are those which are among the countries most heavily in debt. The temptation to mortgage the future is almost irresistible, she notes. But the destruction of the forests not only tramples on the rights of the tribal people living in these areas; it also has severe ecological consequences. She concludes: "The contribution of huge foreign loans to environmental plunder, widespread impoverishment and ethnocide can no longer be denied." (page 161).

> > The final section of the book is devoted to examining solutions to the debt problem. George scrutinises the IMF solution with respect to Jamaica and finds it no solution at all. Their idea of redistribution of income is to give more to the rich - as this will result in higher profits and more for investment: Already in Jamaica the top 10% of the population get 65% of the nation's income, and with an increased

and Mary Warnock, so the reader is led to expect something of substance. This number lives up to expectations. It should be in the hands of every elector, every judge who puts young mothers into prison and every Conservative or Labour Party member who mistakes "the big stick" for the magic wand of law and order. In the wake of the recent riots in so many of our prisons it is likely that the Clapham omnibus is even more full of people who air their views on crime and punishment, but now, possibly in desperation, who might listen to other voices for a change.

Crime and punishment are matters of concern only because the cost is so enormous. This simple fact has brought a startling convergence of ideas betraditional "reactionary" Right about how to reduce costs. The sad fact is that politicians of all colours have so closely identified political progress with their own ambition that they dare not tackle directly the inevitable atavism of a class-divided society that creates an education system in its own image.

The Master of Birkbeck has deftly condensed into a readable and cogent paper the squalor that characterises not only the physical state of most prisons, the brutality of the relationships in them, but the cynicism of the "thinking" that incarcerates the petty thief, the simple-minded, the deranged and the illiterate along with the drug pusher, the schizophrenic fantasist and the depressive for up to 23 hours a day in cells built for one in Victorian days but now made to hold three. Here they eat, sleep, defecate, and otherwise occupy themselves as best they may without benefit of education, counselling, training or rehabilitation for life after prison. Her opening words are: "Britain's prisons are institutions of which we should be ashamed".

The pamphlet covers the period of Thatcherism. The first half exposes the failure of the vaunted policy on law and order, despite a rise from £2 billion to £6.6 billion in spending on staff and buildings. Gimmicks like the "short, sharp shock", the Neighbourhood Watch and electronic tagging schemes are not supported by the professional bodies who have to operate them. Privatisation, where it has been tried - as at the Immigration Centre near Heathrow Airport - costs the Home Office "roughly three times what it would in a Prison Department establishment". The prison population continues to

emphasis on export-oriented agriculture (controlled by large agribusiness enterprises) the IMF policy will only entail more of the same - more debt, more poverty, more repression. In discussing Chile and Peru, she gives a short but interesting account of how people themselves - independent of the state and the formal economy - have practised "creative survival". They have scaled hitherto "unheard-of heights in the art of self-management" (page 221), she writes, in forming people's economic organisation, housing committees, consumer organisations, production workshops and the like.

George essentially sees three possible solutions to the "debt" problem. The first is to maintain the status quo, as advocated by the IMF and the US government. This she feels would be disastrous in the long run, leading to protectionism, collapsing economies and to a continuing "crisis". The second is that advocated by Fidel Castro - simply write-off the debts. This George argues is a pseudo solution and too radical. Her own solution is akin to that of the Peruvian President Alan Garcia. It is what she calls the "3-D solution" (debt, development, democracy). Third world countries will pay back the debts - but as a kind of reimbursement if they invest the money in developing projects that entail real development, and foster democratic participation. The creditors should be "willing to forgo the money owed to them on the condition it is invested in authentic, democratically managed development" (page 244). The IMF, whose policies of mal-development, whose support of repressive regimes and whose attitude (beyond the rhetoric) towards the health, education, social welfare and well-being of the majority of people has been one of indifference - all of which George critically examines - is suddenly to change its spots. The IMF is seen by George as transforming itself: it is to become an "instrument" for enlightened governments. Similarly she outlines the nature of United States hegemony, suggesting that it is at virtual war with the third world. She dubs the policy of the US "low intensity conflict" - an officially sanctioned and widely practised strategy against all movements and governments that challenge or resist the freedom of US capital to make profits. It was what Noam Chomsky called the first principle of US foreign policy - the right to rob and exploit people of the third world.

George has a vision that this is suddenly going to change. It all sounds rather "pie in the sky", and assumes that the capitalists are suddenly going to forget "profit-making" and promote inner- directed economies - with a focus on local agriculture, renewable sources of energy, primary health care,

16 10 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

rise because sentences are longer, because custodial sentences are more often given, because the delay in getting cases to court is longer so that the proportion of prisoners on remand has risen from 9% to 23% of the prison population. The racism that disfigures our society shows itself in a disproportionate 14% of men and 23% of women in prison who are black. Prison staff, on the evidence of work done Remaking Society for the Home Office, are notoriously racist. Working class crime more often receives conviction and imprisonment than middle class crime, which is more often warned or fined. In ten years offences have risen from 2.5 million to 3.9 million. So much for the government's policy on law and order.

In the final section the pamphlet suggests possible lines for reform, of which closer adherence to the 1976 Bail Act and the acceleration of bringing cases to trial could operate forthwith. Magistrates have to be disabused of their conviction that bail is a privitween the traditional "progressive" Left and the lege rather than a right, except in cases of violence. A major step would be to formulate a coherent system of sentencing with a wide range of alternatives to prison. Young people under 18, mothers of dependent children and the mentally ill should certainly not be imprisoned. We need a Ministry of Justice to co- ordinate courts and prisons, along with a ten summary of an intellectual development that professional judiciary on the lines of the French system, with systematic extension of experience going with promotion. Above all the raising of morale for medium and long-term prisoners through programmes of education, training and rehabilitation that will change their attitudes to detention, especially if combined with a progressive system of parole. Many examples on the Continent point the way and they have proportionally fewer than half the numbers in jail.

What a brief pamphlet like this cannot do, except in passing, is to look at the relationships between the volume and types of crime and the social structures and prevailing values in the society at the time. "Those who go to prison are not a random section of the population. They are overwhelmingly young and male. They come mainly from . . . the urban poor", a finding that accords with research in psychiatry and sociology over the past century. Some of us who have spent a lifetime in state education and have had some experience on the Bench tend to form the conclusion that crime is necessary to maintain the structures and objectives of our society. Those who seek to educate the mass of our children in democratic values are having to work against the grain. Their task is as exhausting and de-

pressing as that of Sisyphus.

ing argument.

John Dewey summarised his conception of education in the words, "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all its children. Anything less is ignoble: acted upon it will destroy our democracy". But then Dewey was our greatest modern pragmatic philosopher and one who revealed most clearly the nature of community and democracy. We, on the other hand, are burdened with an elected dictatorship that has plumbed depths of greed, cynicism and insensitivity not hitherto reached in this century. Michael Duane

literacy and democratic participation in self-management schemes. She thus seems to see the problem as one of mismanagement of the "economy" or as due to the "neo-conservative entourage" around Reagan - rather than capitalism itself being the problem. And she is eurocentric in her assumption that the West has an inherent commitment to democracy - only imposing anti-democratic practises on other "subject"



The word "anarchy" was universally used in the sense of disorder and confusion; and it is to this day used in that sense by the uninformed as well as by political opponents with an interest in distorting the truth.

We will not enter into a philological discussion, since the question is historical and not philological. The common interpretation of the word recognises its true and etymological meaning; but it is a derivative of that meaning due to the prejudiced view that government was a necessary organ of social life, and that consequently a society without government would be at the mercy of disorder, and fluctuate between the unbridled arrogance of some, and the blind vengeance of others.

The existence of this prejudice and its influence on the public's definition of the word "anarchy" is easily explained. Man, like all living beings, adapts and accustoms himself to the conditions under which he lives and passes on acquired habits. Thus, having been born and bred in bondage, when the descendants of a long line of slaves started to think, they believed that slavery was an essential condition of life and freedom seemed impossible to them. Similarly, workers who for centuries were obliged, and therefore accustomed, to depend for work, that is bread, on the goodwill of the master, and to see their lives always at the mercy of the owners of the land and of capital, ended by believing that it is the master who feeds them, and ingenuously ask one how would it be possible to live if there were no masters. So, since it was thought that government was necessary and

BOOK REVIEWS

Bookchin on Remaking Society reassuring New Age pablum. The author writes

by Murray Bookchin Black Rose Books, £8.95

The word ecology is a protean multimorph whose broad back has carried many meanings. Within the scientific discipline of ecology there are wide ranging theoretical approaches. Similarly the "ecology movement" has spawned a multiplicity of competing attitudes. These range from an ever accommodating environmentalism exemplified by such groups as Pollution Probe to the revolutionary social ecology of Murray Bookchin.

Bookchin was ecologically active long before it became a trendy issue. As he says in the book's preamble, "this is a compact book that would clearly summarise my views on remaking society from an ecological viewpoint". As such it is a clearly writdates back to Our Synthetic Environment (Bookchin, 1962).

Those familiar with the author's previous writings will be grateful to find that this book is much more clearly argued and less rambling than such works as The Ecology of Freedom (1982). What is more important is that Bookchin unequivocably states his opposition to many trends with which he has been mistakenly identified. He sets forth his social ecology or "eco-anarchism" in a coherent and convinc-

This is a polemical book. Those unfamiliar with Bookchin's style are advised to look elsewhere for

with a sense of urgency, an intuition that we are at one of the decision points of history that he discusses in his book. These crossroads are where humanity makes critical choices that lead to either a freer, more benevolent world or to a more hierarchical evil society.

The current fad of "eco-mysticism" comes in for a good roasting as do anti-humanistic trends such as "deep ecology". An "eco-technocratic" managerial approach is described as the path to a slave society of the future. Bookchin also devotes space to a discussion of why previous radical movements such as socialism and Marxism are outdated.

He locates the problems of our relationship to the natural world within the problems of our relationship to each other. The idea of dominating nature arises within the context of one human dominating another. There was no mythical prehistoric social contract. People did not sit down and decide to submit to social hierarchy because it was supposedly a more efficient way to wrestle a living from a stingy nature.

Bookchin traces the history of how our unhealthy relationship to the natural world came about through the elaboration of the domination principle within human society. What is more, he shows that the solution to the ecological crisis can only come about through a libertarian restructuring of society. Neither fanciful technology and management nor even more fanciful Earth Spirit (un)consciousness is a viable path to a truly workable solution.

It is hard to summarise such a wide-ranging and deeply interconnected book in a short review. In a time when intellectual is considered almost a virtue (and an actual virtue in some circles) it is refreshing to read something that is so rationally argued and which presents a truly "alternative" viewpoint. Dr Pat Murtagh DVM



peoples. She forgets European fascism. A book thus strong in analysis, rather reformist in its solutions.

Brian Morris A Fate Worse Than Debt by Susan George, Penguin 1988. Debt Bondage: A Survey by Judith Ennew, Anti-Slavery Society 1981.

that without government there could only be disorder and confusion, it was natural and logical that anarchy, which means absence of government, should sound like absence of order.

Nor is the phenomenon without parallel in the history of words. In times and in countries where the people believed in the need for government by one man (monarchy) the word republic, which is government by many, was in fact used in the sense of disorder and confusion - and this meaning is still to be found in the popular language of almost all countries.

Change opinion, convince the public that government is not only unnecessary but extremely harmful, and then the word anarchy, just because it means absence of government, will come to mean for everybody: natural order, unity of human needs and the interests of all, complete freedom within complete solidarity.

Those who say, therefore, that the anarchists have badly chosen their name because it is wrongly interpreted by the masses and lends itself to wrong interpretations, are mistaken. The error does not come from the word but from the thing; and the difficulties anarchists face in their propaganda do not depend on the name they have taken, but on the fact that their concept clashes with all the public's long established prejudices on the function of government, or the State as it is also called.

(From Anarchy by E. Malatesta, Freedom Press, 54 pages, £1.50.)

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

The theme running through the so-called "Battle of Trafalgar" anti-poll tax demonstration riot and aftermath was that those claiming to have had some kind of strategy were not prepared to admit that by and large it had completely failed.

The classic example were the police. It is as much out of habit, as out of previous planning, that the police attack demonstrations and marches. They thought they could simply pick an easy target (as there's always some group that either stop and chant or else sit down outside Downing Street) and wade in. A number of arrests are usually enough to justify strong-arm policing and to discredit campaigns. But they didn't bargain for the mood of the 200,000plus demonstrators unwilling to have mounted and riot-clad police as well as vans, rested by the police. No doubt the anarchists was broken by a police truncheon). indiscriminately charging into them, making random arrests and dishing out beatings to whoever happened to be in the way. The police quickly lost control of a situation of their own making. People fought back and in a great many cases won.

Afterwards, despite the admission by one policewoman that "we lost it", senior police officers were careful to blame everyone except themselves; to pretend that they were in full control; and then claim that the riot was plotted by a tiny minority. Come Thursday and the tune was quietly changed. They were forced to admit there was no evidence of a plot. What they couldn't bring themselves to admit was that it was a spontaneous response to a police attack, in the context of years of attacks, the poll tax being only the latest.

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The Tories were even more pathetic. They were taken aback by the size and scope of the demonstration and clung to any explanation they could muster - anything to divert attention away from their hated tax. To try and blame Kinnock for the riot on the tenuous link between a handful of MPs breaking the law by not paying, and demonstrators breaking the law by resisting police violence is not only wrong, it is gross incompetence even by this government's pathetic standards. Thatcher has yet to realise that Kinnock has been one of her biggest allies on the subject of non- pay- people were angry and willing to fight over in the pocket. ment. His message is the same as hers - pay it!

government's flagship

and then smashing it and the government's policies, Labour did what it always does - grovel before the Tories, the police, the courts and the media. Deputy Labour leader Roy Hattersley blamed the SWP and anarchists and warned that they would be arrested for the violent crime of carrying a black flag are included in this! The so-called left of the Labour some members said they were prepared to away. offer their services as police informants. How ironic after they themselves were witchhunted in the Labour Party!

wondering just what mandate these people have from a grassroots campaign to go around launching attacks on other groups and to condemn those prepared to defend the march.

Eventually the media found their scapegoat. Class War and a number of other (sometimes non-existent) anarchist groups were said to have organised a quarter of a million demonstrators to riot. How absurd! No group was even capable of planning and organising such a huge response.

this tax and are not prepared to allow their ac-Instead of stepping aside from the accusation tion against it to be broken up by the police.

Coppers' Narks & Tory Propagandists

sponse to the police riot at the Lon- provocation". sinister subversive organisation being campaign! there to "orchestrate the violence".

group on the Left.

own inquiry into the "perpetrators" and anti-poll tax campaign. would hand the information over to the The position of Militant is so reactionpolice.

a Militant supporter too, told local repor- dinary people's ability even to take part ters than anarchists and sections of the in a riot without some hidden guiding SWP were responsible for starting the hand, they are also propagating the Tory riot, clearly siding with the Tory press. lie that the poll tax unrest has been caused When questioned about this statement at by "outside agitators". In doing so Milithe Cardiff Federation's conference on tant also marginalise those arrested at the 9th April 1990, he claimed he had been London demonstration. With friends like misquoted. However, events that night these, who needs enemies! demonstrated that Militant is actively propagating the lie of the Tory press and politicians.

A motion was submitted by one of the were organised by groups unknown and Memorial Band and local acts. There Green and nuclear issues, and the demise

An amendment to another part of the they didn't need them. This reaction should not come as too same motion was moved by another Mili- It was a good day for magazine sellers, tionary trash is being peddled by one defence fund be established for those tingent of anarchists present. Anti-Poll Tax Unions, informed the BBC anarchists for starting the riot and attack- crowd. news that the Federation would hold their ing stewards in an attempt to sabotage the

ary that not only are they endorsing the The secretary of the Cardiff Federation, ruling classes contemptuous view of or-

Local News

anti-poll tax organisations (including the local council) and Labour "rebels". On the question of these "rebels" on the

council, one wonders why they don't The recent press and parliamentary re- not the spontaneous reaction to police give up their party membership. Richard A narchist Book Fairs are where Stanton, one of the local councillors re-Anarchists meet and exchange don anti-poll tax demonstration dis- The secretary, supported by other Mili- fusing to support the £372 tax levied on ideas. "Anarchist Conferences" tend played the usual contempt our rulers have tant supporters, successfully had this sec- local residents, said himself than Kinto be limited to some faction or tendof their subject population. So dumb do tion of the motion deleted, stating that it nock says the poll tax won't be dismanency within the movement, and to rethey believe us to be that we are con- was an attack on the leadership if the Brit- tled before 1996 at the earliest! The inforce the wrong idea that other ansidered incapable of rioting without some ish Federation and an attempt to split the crowd made it clear that they weren't prearchists are not really anarchists at pared to wait for Labour, and indeed that together at the same job, and have ca-

much of a surprise to us. What might be tant supporter, welcoming the Feder- though Freedom was the only anarchist more surprising is that this kind of reac- ation's inquiry and proposing a legal publication on sale, despite the large con-

"non-provocateurs" arrested. During the The highlight of the afternoon was the In the aftermath of the riot, Militant debate on this successful amendment ritual burning of hundreds of poll tax bills Tendency supporter Tommy Sherridan, several Militant speakers, including their in a small bonfire. An effigy of Thatcher secretary of the All British Federation of Cardiff organiser, specifically blamed joined the bills, to the delight of the

Post-Modernism

Dear comrades, I am producing a magazine attempting to patterns as the West moves into a post-in- Hooligan Press, Northern Herald discuss the nature of the post-modern en- dustrial phase will mean more part-time, Books (a useful second-hand dealer) vironment and analyse the political and non-unionised workers and the change to and Sunrise T-Shirts. cultural responses to it. I feel that the the electronic office offering a return to change from modern to the post- modern cottage industry opens serious questions had not received enough attention from for contemporary anarcho-syndicalism. EM within the anarchist movement and that it If any comrade has anything to contrib-

local anti-poll tax groups, part of which Up to 800 people attended a march and due to migration of people and the intro- below. asked about the British Federation's rally in Brighton on Saturday 14th April duction of instantaneous electronic media plans for an inquiry and to hand the in- organised by local anti-poll tax unions. It has made the post-modern scene funformation over to the police, stating "we was a cold, wet day, but hundreds stayed damentally eclectic. Recent mass u-turns feel that this accepts the lie that the riots to listen to music by the Wat Tyler in public opinion on such subjects as the

POLL TAX - LOCAL NEWS **Poll Tax: the** is sinking!

This point was equally lost on the press who are incapable, it seems, of seeing contradictions in the rubbish splashed across the front and inside of their pages, and the comments of their own journalists who condemned the called for exemplary sentences for those ar- police (including one journalist whose arm

So where does the campaign go from here? The size and feeling of the demonstration illustrates the potential that exists to defeat the Party - Militant - couldn't be distinguished poll tax. The strategy of non-registration and from the right on this occasion. A witch-hunt non-payment is important, but alone they will of the Anti-Poll Tax Federation (APTF) was not defeat this tax. Neither too, will any promised, along with a call to expel Class pretence that some kind of insurrection on a War. They revealed their true colours when heavily fortified Downing Street will sweep it

Non-payment must be used as a way to encourage non- implementation. Local council and other related workforces (DSS, Post Of-Anarchists have always been aware that fice, etc.) must be urged to take action against Militant might capitulate at some stage of the implementation of a tax which is against their campaign but it nevertheless sticks in the class interests as workers, by boycotting poll throat. Many members of the APTF are left tax work. Council offices must be picketed. Any worker victimised or sacked over the poll tax (and this includes Class War's Andy Murphey, suspended by Hackney Council for his comments to the media) must receive our backing. Strike action must be taken in support - something it is no use calling for the TUC to do - we must do it ourselves as a class.

Bailiffs must be prevented from seizing anyone's goods from their homes. Workplaces that "arrest" the tax directly from the workers' wages must have industrial action The simple fact is that the advocates and apo- taken against them. All of this must be part of logists for the poll tax cannot politically admit building the generalised, political strike action the reality that stares them in the eyeballs - that needed to hit the bosses where it hurts most -

> Much was made of the looting that took place after the Square had been cleared. We Freedom Press

were a number of speeches by ordinary people, representatives from workplace anti nell tex creanisations (including the Book Fair in Bradford 14th April

of authoritarian socialism with the fall of the Soviet bloc, leave me optimistic for the street entrance on that side of the libertarian politics into the '90s, though I feel a proper analysis will show areas steps). Two of us - one a resident and where a lack of theory is holding back practice.

sual conversations, and are able to

The structural changes in society as it mutates into its post-modern form raise

raises important issues for discussion. ute on these or any other issues that fit The racial and cultural mixing in all broadly within the remit above I would western societies since World War Two gratefully receive them at the address

> Alan Dawson County Durham | sers.

see the similarity of their opinions. The social and organisational success, independent of any commercial success, has been noticed at book fairs in London for some years, and on 14th April this year it was noticeable in Bradford. The 1-in-12 Club is a converted textiles warehouse. The all. At a book fair people work club café was open on the second floor, a bar was open on the first floor, and the book fair was on the ground floor (though it might not have seemed like the ground floor to comrades from less hilly places, as building is down two flights of the other a native of Bradford - went from Freedom Press, and other comrades represented Class War, the Animportant questions for anarchists. The archist Workers Group, the Class-Green issues in particular raise the gues- | conflict Anarchist Federation, AK tion of whether a class or lifestyle is most Distribution, Anarchist Black Cross, useful. Also the changes in employment Phoenix Press, Elephant Editions,

It was a good job the café and bar were open upstairs because the space between the stalls could only accommodate about forty people, and there were many hundreds of visitors during the day. There was a continuous video show on the café floor, a gig in the evening, and three meetings in Apocalypse Press | the same venue on Sunday. Oh, and c/o 6 Hopetown Lane | we sold some books as well. Congra-Darlington | tulations and thanks to the organi-

Labour councils (they all eventually did set poll tax budgets) can't fight and won't fight the poll tax. With mounting pressures growing ever more greater for the government, we can begin to enjoy watching more and more the Tory rats deserting the sinking flagship. David Luton

do not believe that this will defeat the poll tax

of course, but neither is it our job to condemn

working class people expressing their anger

and hatred of the symbols of Thatcherism and

the boss class. The smashed windows in the

West End were mostly those of the rich com-

panies that have benefited from the exploita-

tion of our class. It certainly wasn't mindless

The APTF should now be organising a

defence fund for those arrested and continue

to build action against the tax. We have every

right to defend our marches and our class in

general. Those in the APTF who laboured

under illusions must be made to realise that

hooliganism.



on Education

£2.50

Freedom of the Road

Dear Freedom,

March) in praise of cars. I was equally tion for ever? dismayed that no one has attacked it in the Part of the answer is for people in de- tics. here goes.

Earth group were hypocrites because they off the roads. There would have to be a gis's declaration in Moscow of Lithuause cars on wet evenings. They were not. corresponding increase in public trans- nian independence. In time stalemate be-No one, surely, is against the use of cars port, cycling, walking, etc. in any circumstances. It's the unnecess- Another part of the answer is for third reached and the story was seemingly ary use that's the problem. If people only world countries to check population dying. used cars when it's essential, i.e. they live growth. They're not doing this any more Not to be deterred prime time news bulin remote places or they're handicapped than developed countries are cutting back | letins are now carrying news of Lithuaor they're afraid of assault on late-night on consumption. Despite this bleak pic- nian prime minister Mrs Pruskeene visittrains or it's raining cats and dogs, then ture people who are aware of the prob- ing Norway to try and secure oil supplies about 80% of cars would be off the streets lems, as Peter obviously is, should sure- because of the Moscow economic sanc-- and good riddance.

worldwide would be an impossibility and vented centuries ago. any attempt to introduce it would lead to strife. The reason is quite simply that there are not enough resources in the world for everyone who wants one to have a private car. I assume that the same high proportion of people in Asia, Latin America, etc., would take up private motoring as in Europe and North America were they to get the opportunity.

The same can be said of many of the consumer goods that are so widespread in developed Western countries. Namely

Anarchism and God

Dear Editors,

Thanks to CFL (21st April) for the mentification for a tyrant on earth is a tyrant poses of those involved. in heaven". That is a quotation from Bakunin's God and the State.

It is interesting that CFL quotes from Gallery? the book of Samuel as evidence against | I note that your report was secondpoint a king, or military ruler, instead. Sa- latter began steaming into people. muel advised against this, but acceding to popular demand appointed Saul.

his rule. Because he was the Lord's an- would welcome more details. ointed, it was a religious duty to tolerate his tyranny. Nevertheless, David led arebellion and seized the throne. David absolved himself from responsibility for the death of Saul by killing one of his own followers, and Samuel gave divine justification to David's rule by announcing that he had anointed David in private | Dear Friend, some years previously.

ern tyrants do not usually claim actual di- Gadaffy. for God).

diction. But CFL's contention, that reli- courts? to take heroin without getting sick.

Donald Rooum

ly set an example. After all the FOE meet-Secondly, Peter is well aware of the ing, he says, was in the London suburbs News from the East is of such value that

Poll Tax Protest

Dear Comrades.

In your front page feature on the poll tax Northern Ireland riot in Trafalgar Square (7th April 1990) you said: ". . . many of the severest injuries were afflicted [sic] by people who Dear Editors, crete and other missiles".

hell were they - visitors to the National introduction of the tax?

Bakunin's maxim, because the book as a hand. I have received a second-hand rewhole is evidence in the other direction. port myself from a comrade who said he The Israelites attributed a victory over the | was one of those involved in the sit-in. Philistines to the influence of their priest According to him, the people on the scaf- Dear Editors, Samuel over God, so they made Samuel folding in Trafalgar Square were demon- When are libertarians going to emerge NVDA. It assumes that one day we shall to introduce to others. judge, or priestly ruler. Later he ap- strators who had climbed there to avoid from the ideological woodwork, say their transcend war, the State, empire and pointed his sons as judges, but the Is- the crush, gradually throughout the time piece, get themselves some structure and scarcity. raelites objected to them because they of the march. He said they only started into action?

Johnny Yen

"Justice" for Scargill

All monarchs are either divine (as in at his views on the miners' strike or Scar- wounded by its own sectarians, marks on the spot over the Green Party. As it Angel Alley this week seems to have Japan) or divinely appointed (as in Bri- gill's past therein, but at his final para- time; the peace movement, paralysed by happens there is a significant minority in concentrated on money we would tain where the Israelite anointing cere- graph suggesting that justice could and its traditional insularity, haroly knows the Green Party who are nearly ready for hasten to add that we are not in desmony is incorporated into the corona- should be found in a British court of law where to turn next.

money.

Lithuania Surely the main reason for the poll tax n Great Britain is to control the power of local government? We do not have local Dear Freedom, government in Northern Ireland as most How can anarchists in the West make up of its functions, e.g. education, social sertheir minds about the liberties of Lithuavices, health, etc., are carried out by non-Having been away for a while I've just that there are insufficient resources for nians when the information being supcaught up with my reading and was dis- everyone to live at such a consumption plied via the western media is so distorted Tories take away that which has already mayed at Peter Neville's article (10th level. Is the third world to live in depriva- and engineered to fit western ideological been removed? The eventual conse- ith this issue of Freedom we are frameworks and western cold war polifollow Great Britain introducing the poll tices to readers whose subs expire(d) issues that have come out since then. So veloped countries to voluntarily reduce For the last two months prime time tax but that the effect, i.e. centralised con- in March, April and May. The last consumption - to about that of, say, 1950. news bulletins have carried news of the trol will be as rigid in Great Britain as it batch of reminders included the first is in Northern Ireland.

Firstly, Peter believes the Friends of the This would take about 80% of private cars Lithuanian prime minister Mr Landsbertween Lithuania and Moscow was

baleful effects of mass motoring, e.g. pol- so it couldn't have been more than half a here in the West at the height of an hislution. He says he hopes a pollution-free mile from a station or bus stop. And if he torical period of change a country can vehicle can be developed. So do I. But still thinks it hypocritical to use a car have two prime ministers and also be even were this to happen, mass motoring when it's raining, umbrellas were in- seemingly affected by economic sanctions, the very things that don't work in Hywel Jones South Africa.

Master or mistress in Lithuania? CA

Poll Tax &

were neither police nor demonstrators, In Freedom (7th April) Dave Duggan restanding on the roof of a builders' hut in fers to the introduction of the poll tax here Trafalgar Square, throwing lumps of con- in Northern Ireland. The Tories have de-Freedom Press Overheads Fund nied they have any intention of introduc-This statement sound like some I've ing it and from their point of view there Teignmouth MD £6, Wolverhampton heard from dickheads in various socialist would seem to be little point. Indeed, if JL £4, Ilford MP £10, Aldershot BR parties (i.e. Hattersley, Sherridan) who one of the benefits of having troops here 50p. Total = £20.50 regard the violent action of rioters as is that the army training will equip sol-"mindless" simply because they do not diers for eventual duty in Great Britain, 1990 Total to date = £331.80 tion, but I did not originate "the best jus- know (or do not wish to know) the pur- why keep more squaddies in Northern Ireland than they have to, i.e. to control Donations for The Raven If they weren't demonstrators, who the street violence arising from the possible London RV £20.



Kropotkin said that the socialist idea were corrupt, and asked Samuel to ap- launching concrete at the police when the Our political culture in the UK is in a peaked in 1889 and has been going down temporarily paralysed condition. The ever since. The dock strike of that year Since accounts of the events of Satur- great reforming insurrections of Eastern bred delusions of careerist grandeur that all indications are that the demand day 31st March have been characterised Europe have yielded almost nothing by took over from ideas. Anarchists, having will go on increasing), and to those in Samuel anointed Saul in a public cere- by claims, counter-claims and rumours way of response over here. The poll tax thrown in their lot with socialists, sufmony, thereby giving divine authority to spread by people not actually involved, I may yet make the difference - we shall fered by association and ideological tion, we send quite a few free copies pioneering virtually stopped. To mark to comrades here and abroad for sen-The traditional Left is buried in Kin- time for a hundred years!

nock's bosom; the New Left has pro- I don't wonder that C. A. Hall in Free-

tion). But most monarches these days are in a case involving those arch enemies of The most interesting new develop- or later they will assert themselves and trary - income for Freedom for subcircumscribed by constitutions, and mod- the establishment, Scargill, the NUM and ments are among the Christians, curren- whether quit or get expelled. (Shaw said: tly discovering the anarchic substance of "Never resign, always get yourself exvinity. They claim that they are acting on Apart from this naive faith in judge, Gnosticism; and among musicians, pelled" - very good advice.) behalf of God, or on behalf of the people, jury and lawyers, what about the so- humming along new frontiers. And, of The last time the anarchists of this whose requirements they know better | called libel itself? Would it be discredit- | course, it has been from the arts and reli- country ventured into the radical main- ing that in spite of the subscription than the people themselves (the people | able to receive strike money from Gadaf- gion that much of the revolution in Eas- stream was for the brief period from 1961 rate doubling most readers renewed has recently become a fashionable name fy, whose main crime seems to be that he tern Europe has stemmed. Tory splits are to 1963 when, en bloc, they joined the their subscriptions for 1990. avoided a US/UK assassination attempt promising at a shallow level and may yet Committee of 100 and civil disobedience Of course it is possible to reject all which killed his adopted child? Or to dis- give us a new master in place of an old against the bomb. With them went Free- If the donations are slow in coming earthly bosses, and at the same time be- tribute money within the NUM to attempt mistress, for whatever that may be worth. dom and Colin Ward's Anarchy. The ef- in the same cannot be said of the lieve that there is a boss of the universe. to safeguard it against sequestration by There is such a thing as metapolitics, fect on the wider movement and public contributions for publication in Free-Religious anarchism is not a self-contra- agents of the aforementioned British i.e. politics beyond political parties and opinion was remarkable. Something like dom and The Raven. Best thanks to Westminster. Anarchist and green think- that, only more so, is called for today. all comrades and readers who are gion is harmless to political freedom, If we were to take seriously every alle- ing has been edging towards it for the past Peter Cadogan goes too far. It is like saying heroin is gation by the yellow press, etc., I fear we thirty years or so, but it is still mostly P.S. I would be interested in hosting a Don't stop, you are doing very well harmless to health, because it is possible could waste a great deal of time and ahead of us, waiting to be invented. Its small group of about half a dozen people other names are social ecology, decen- in NW London to do some more thinking and giving the editors a chance to ac-J. C. Harrison tralisation, community politics and on these lines. Tel: 01-328 3709.

6 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60⁻

READERS' LETTERS

'Everywhere the strong have made the laws and oppresed the weak; and if they have sometimes consulted the interests of society, they have always forgotten those of

humanity." TURGOT | due.

DONATIONS

30th March-19th April 1990

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting

Teignmouth MD £5, Wolverhampton JL £4, Stockholm OH £2.50.

Samizdat but still operates, like the Green the dumps. If only our voices were Party, within the spent parameters of cen- stronger we might be able to evolve new tralised party politics; the Far Left is mak- ways of thinking and a better way of living its mark over the poll tax (and deserve ing. Somebody somewhere must be con-

News from * Angel Alley

quence surely is not that Northern Ireland VV sending out green renewal noissue in March (77 on the address Robin Blackford label) so if there is no response to this second reminder we shall reluctantly, more in sorrow than in anger, feel obliged to erase them from the memory machine. We hope those of you receiving a first reminder will respond promptly and not wait for a second and final notice. If you are also a Raven subscriber the third number on the address label tells you with which issue your subscription falls

our appeal for comrades to help With Freedom circulation by placing copies with newsagents and bookshops has not met with much enthusiasm! However for the few comrades who have responded one of the questions they have asked is on what terms do we supply copies of Freedom. We will send you a supply (tell us how many copies) of each issue. You arrange to deliver to the Total = £11.50 shop(s) and collect unsold copies 1990 Total to date = £491.30 and the cash for copies sold (allowing a third off the 50p a copy). Unsold copies can be used to introduce new readers.

> Though we have gained a number of new readers this year, so far we have lost more than we have gained. We try to hold our readers but what we are even more interested in doing is to produce a paper that will introduce anarchism to non-anarchists. Comrades who "know it all" obviously don't need Freedom but Freedom needs them - their solidarity - if we are to survive financially and to produce an anarchist journal all can be proud

A part from the free copies of Freedom we have now started sending to the Eastern bloc countries (and prison or too poor to pay a subscriptimental and other reasons. We rarely hear from them, so we don't even duced Marxism Today (sans Marx) and dom (10th March) says: "We are down in know whether they welcome receiving the paper. If they do and they can afford a subscription, or a donation, it will be appreciated. If we don't even credit on that score) but its Old World sidering the first move". Right! In the receive a greetings card we will as-I was surprised at D. Rooum's letter - not political answers are pathetic; feminism, same issue Gerald Hatton puts his finger sume they are not. As the News from an extra-parliamentary breakout. Sooner perate financial straits. Quite the conscriptions from December to March was almost double last year's income for the corresponding period, indicat-

tually edit the paper.