

MEETINGS

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AN INTRODUCTION TO ANARCHISM

in four seminars, led by John Griffin Tuesdays from 6pm to 8pm 22nd May to 12th June 1990

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- 2. Sociology and Social Psychology
- 3. Economics and Organisation
- 4. Anarchism in Action

Participants with little knowledge of the 22nd June - "Freespace: Anarchist Alsocial sciences need not be deterred by ternatives in Town Planning" (speaker the titles of the second and third semin- Andrew Lainton) ars - all four have a commonsense ap- 29th June - Open discussion and plans proach and use the minimum of academic for 1990-1991 jargon. There will be time for any clarifi- 6th July - "The Inadequacy of Mindles" cations that may be necessary as well as Ecology" (speaker Dave Dane) for free discussion. Course fee £16. Course code 518SS.

Enrolment times: Enrol in person (in Occur" (speaker David Wedgewood) advance if possible) from 12.30 to 2pm 7th October - Open discussion or from 5pm to 8pm, Monday to Friday. Information available at the Centre from 10am to 8.30pm or by telephone from for the coming academic year, the term POLL TAX RIOTERS' SUPPORT GROUP 10am to 10pm Monday to Friday.

The Mary Ward Centre 42 Queen Square, London WC1N 3AO Tel: 071-831 7711

From 6th May the Freedom Press telephone number will be 071-247 9249

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Anarchist Forum

Fridays at about 8pm at the Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square (via Cosmo Street off Southampton Row), London

EXTENDED PROGRAMME 1990 25th May - "Information: use or to be used to tell" (speaker Martyn Lowe) . Anarchism versus Socialism, Labour- 1st June - "Transport and People: Private, Public and Anarchist" (speaker Katy Andrews) 8th June - Open discussion

15th June - "Anarchism as a Theory of Social Order" (speaker Peter Neville)

SUMMER VACATION 28th September - "Why Revolution

Further meetings are now being arranged dates of which are Fridays from 28th September to 14th December 1990, 11th SUPPORT THE 341! January to 22nd March 1991 and 19th April to 31st may 1991, all at 8pm to 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, the Support Group are members of a we switch to 6pm to 8pm for this month). Anyone interested in leading a discussion ributors) should contact Dave Dane or ributors) should contact Dave Dane or tributors) should contact Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW. For 1990-91 some other members of the Please send money to the address below (cheques payable to the PTRSG)

forum are looking at the possibility of a day school on contemporary anarchist PTRSG. 84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET. ideas in 1991, holding a summer camp in the summer of 1991, at publishing a

newsletter, at media participation and developing a visitors bureau in London for Why not receive Freedom every fort comrades who would like overnight accommodation (offers please call Hal c/o Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, Tel: 071-247 9249 - reciprocal, of course).

Anarchist Forum SUMMER PICNIC 1990 Sunday 1st July at 2pm

The summit of Parliament Hill, Hampstead Heath, North London. Everybody welcome. bring your children, your friends, your animals, your kites. Bring food, drink and disposal bags. Leave the heath clean.

Transport: Hampstead (Northern LT line) thence south along Hampstead High Street, left along Downshire Hill and up Parliament Hill. Parking not great but not impossible. Use either side of the Heath or side roads. Bring your friendship and love. Leave your quarrels at home. Peter Neville for Anarchist Forum

10pm. And in 1991 we hope to continue from 7th June to 14th July either at the people fighting back on March 31st, give gener-

so can we, but if we are the only group number of groups, and we want to show simple solidarity with the victims of the Police Riot.

sure your solicitor is competent and sympath-etic, or we can contribute to your Fine.

LONDON E1

- It's an occupied country". - It's an occupied country". Meanwhile the United States and Britain are leading world opinion for its application of sanctions against Lithuania for unilaterally declaring its independence. Incidentally the US crusade for "Operation Promote Lib- erty" has cost the lives of 655 civilians and 2007 injured (according to Cath- olic Church sources). (continued on page 2)	d to steal Enoch Powell's old clothes and sing giving British passports to <i>any</i> Hong he desire to integrate - by supporting the where you or your parents were born.
Iore the war, to disaring the conduction lose face, he can bide his time. Norfe- ga could not for after all he was one of Bush's men, appointed by him when Bush was heading the CIA and when being involved in the drug racket was okay. He learned the hard way that there is no honour among crooks and politicians. He was driven out of his sanctuary in the Catholic headquarters by being subjected to American military band music for 24	Norman "On Yer Bike" Tebbitt tried to became the Tories' main racist, opposing Kong Chinese. Criterion had to be the de England cricket team, no matter when
be arranged for all the poor to be he arranged for all the poor to be n a left shoe with the promise that won the elections they would get right shoe (as well as his right policies). If you imagine such bribery and uption possible in any other ci- ed country, such as the United es or - perish the thought - the ed Kingdom? Well quite recently tions were held in Nicaragua - one to countries in the United States	yard". Se from the s from the s from the s presider aragua to aragua to aragua to aragua to aragime to a conce the arm had appo had appo had appo the arm frie sources of the sand frie sources frie sources of the sand frie sources of the sand frie sources in the Un na, where in the Un na, where

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Understanding workshop politics

been lucky in getting over £5 per hour for its construction workers. It shows that skilled workers still have some punch following the gruntled with the AEU union's settlement. defeat earlier this year of the craftsmen at Ford's, who were led by the EETPU.

But the Ford's debacle, in which the EETPU lost members, has not been the only upset for the union. Correspondence, dated last October, from the union's national secretary Roy Sanderson, suggests that the love affair between News International at Wapping and the EETPU is on the rocks. Readers may recall that the union bussed-in scab labour at Wapping during a dispute of 5,500 print workers and broke the strike.

Now Sanderson complains that despite seekcould change unless the union gets some check on managerial power.

Has the union just learned the facts of life? After all the sweetheart deals and applications to join the bosses' Confederation of British Industry, not to mention the strike-breaking, why should the EETPU now start getting squeamish about managerial power and its abuse?

The trade union politics which drive the EETPU are now explained by the simple reference to left and right wing politics, or even militant and reformist. All that is just varnish! The union will adopt different tactics in the different industries and factories in which it force, such as in the construction industry or electrical power distribution or even at Wapping, I would expect the EETPU to drive a hard bargain. At Ford's, at the start of the year,

The electricians' union, the EETPU, has the union took a more militant stand than the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) in a bid to win over the craftsmen who were dis-There the EETPU lost members because the strike collapsed.

> This kind of politics has little to do with state politics, and even less with the snotty-nosed sectarian politics of the left - it is the politics of the shopfloor. As such it is concerned with members, power and influence in the workshops, building sites and factories. When, as is often the case in engineering, the EETPU is one of the weakest unions in terms of members it adopts softer tactics.

When I was an EETPU shop steward in engineering in 1981 I was aware of the fear, boring the help of ACAS, there has not been much dering on panic, of the electrical union offiresponse from the Wapping management to cials - that the AEU majority union would find the union's demand for recognition. He adds some way of excluding the EETPU from facthat "at the moment salaries and other benefits tory committees or other joint negotiating are at reasonable levels", but suggests this bodies, which would undermine the status of the union. So, in competition with the bigger engineering unions for members and influence, the EETPU would seek allies elsewhere - among the bosses and officials of the Engineering Employers' Federation. Thus where the union is weak it will adopt a softlysoftly approach, but where it is stronger or where it is expedient it will be militant.

All this takes place in the context of production politics, which will vary from industry to industry and from factory to factory. No general rule will explain this. The only way forward is to see the factory as a regime - with its own rules and rulers, its own police, its own hierarchical system, values and customs. Only has members. Where it dominates the work- then can we consider the different competing elements - the managers, the owners, the unions - together with the other tribal units the trade groups, the skill levels and so on. **Brian Bamford**

You have to change your perception if you want to recognise the real criminals. The Tory government and its policy of denationalising everything in sight and then selling it back to those who can afford the shares is a thief. This blunt fact vanishes in the welter of brainwashing caused by multi-million pound advertising campaigns to sell the shares. We are batted over the head with - in the case of water a prospectus the size of a telephone directory. We completely forget that the shyster who rips the suit off our backs and then offers to sell it back to us, minus the fly buttons, is no more than a con artist. We are offered water and other shares with the promise that increased efficiency will result. Nobody has yet told us in any detail what the increased efficiency will amount to.

This is the traditional strategy in the murky world of high finance. What you have to do is simple make promises. If you want to adjust your perspective, remember what Stokely Carmichael said in

Asked if he felt it had all become a "battle of wills between himself and Paul Taylor", he replied with a girlish giggle that "that was no mous with growth. contest" Sanitation in the prison and conditions

generally had been a source of concern for Mr O'Friel, who admitted the prison had been neglected in terms of capital. However, he assured us that he was "proud to be a member of the Prison Service" and said "we will treat prisoners properly"

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Thatcher's sweetener

(continued from page 1)

Here in the cradle of civilisation and ford and even less about Haringey where, nated it as a Housing Action Area -"The Conservative Party ran a vigorous the worst housing areas in the country. tax if the Tories won control of the council' cent grants on the cost of home improve-(our italics). And in Naples Achille Lauro ments. They were able to show their gratioffered a right shoe and the Americans offered to remove sanctions in Nicaragua and Panama. Lauro and co. won, Thatcher and co. in Haringey and Bradford lost

Wandworth's success is much more sinfamilies" which was expensive has been to win the next voting jamboree. drastically cut down and new council Is there all that difference between elecso poor people must be encouraged to shoe to go with the left one if he was vichave no chance of being rehoused in the cidentally, in the case of Wandsworth, of Lambeth. Their votes move with them." tions.

A further inducement for Tory votes "is to concentrate resources in marginal democracy local elections have taken wards. There is, for instance, a road in the place and to judge by the media it resulted once- marginal Balham ward of Wandin a "sensational" victory for Mrs Thatcher sworth, where the houses fetch £250,000 . in Wandsworth and Westminster. Less a piece. At one point, under the Conserwas said by the Tory parrots about Brad- vatives, the council generously desigaccording to Alan Travis in The Guardian, scheme designed in the '70s to improve campaign offering voters £100 off the poll The inhabitants were able to enjoy 75 per tude last Thursday."

Following the "sweeteners" to the owners of stately homes and the yuppies with their half a million pound houses and swimming pools, that Tory Chairman creep Kenneth Baker is now sending out ister. Apart from subsidies provided by his Solidarity Bill. Some 300,000 such April. ("Pole-axed" in the Shorter Oxford the government and the council drawing householders who have benefited not only on reserves to keep down the poll tax to from the introduction of the poll tax but the lowest in the country (£148), the also from the dramatic reduction of top the number of prisoners held at Strangeways council by cutting out certain services di- level income tax, property tax and exrected to poorer citizens has not only Chancellor Lawson's multi billion pound made savings but has succeeded in driv- tax relief over the years to the top 10%, ing away some of its citizens. David Lip- will be sent a begging letter from Tory sey writing in The Sunday Correspondent Party headquarters drawing their atten-(6th May) points out that in Wandsworth tion to the favours they have received and individual "social work with troubled promising more if they provide the means

housing has been "abandoned". He con- tions in the Italian south forty years ago cludes: "Poor people would not vote Tory; when Achille Lauro was offering a right leave the borough. You sell off the hous- torious, with the Thatcher-Baker ing. Poor people in rotten council flats promises of "sweeteners" for victory? Inborough. So, if and when they can, they that jewel in Empress Thatcher's crown, move to less inhospitable climes - perhaps the racket has been going on since 1979 over the border to the Labour client state when the Tories first won the council elec-

HOME NEWS

A Hard Look at the **Robber State**

handsomely - do ordinary people begin to realise called philanthropy." what imprisonment can do to a person. There is now The Kinnock Caucus gas already said that denaa very uncomfortable feeling that in some cases the wrong people are doing time.

Angela Davis, the academic who acquired a terrorist label, got it right when she said: "The real criminals in this society are not all the people who populate the prisons ... but those people who have stolen the wealth of the world from the people."

Brendan's Bravado

(from our correspondent)

"Rooftop rioters don't shut Strangeways' said Brendan O'Friel, Governor of the Manchester gaol at the press conference called after the ending of the twenty-five day siege. It seems that eighteen prisoners are still being looked after by the Prison Service inside the Strangeways shell. The prison hospital is still standing, the visitors' facilities are intact, and the adjoining Crown Court is still running.

The Governor was clearly putting on a brave face, much like the General of some bombedout nation. He had a good tale to tell about the grand strategy he and his collaborators had to retake the prison in five stages: 1. contain ment, 2. counter-attack, 3. negotiation, siege, and 5. offensive, over the twenty-five

But Mr O'Friel emphasised that he was there to obey instructions from above, "even if look pole-axed at the time" - this was in response to press questioning about if he had been stopped by higher authorities from send-English Dictionary means slaughtered.)

The Governor claimed that the recent rise-in from 1,500 to 1,650 may have triggered the riot. Certainly he had heard complaints about this from the prisoners, including Paul Taylor, the prisoners' spokesman. This has led to a shift from a policy of two in a cell to three in

It is getting more difficult to understand why the Black Power: "You see, because you've been able prisons are overcrowded. In the European league to lie about terms, you've been able to call people of penal populations, Britain is at the top - and like Cecil Rhodes a philanthropist, when in fact he seems proud of it. A law-and-order Tory govern- was a murderer, a rapist, a plunderer, and a thief. ment has successfully conditioned a compliant judi- But you call Cecil Rhodes a philanthropist because ciary that putting people behind bars is good for what he did after he stole our diamonds and our them. Only when wrongly convicted people are let gold, he gave us some crumbs so that we can go to out and their palms greased - though never very school and become just like you. And that was

> tionalised industries may not be returned to public ownership if the next election gives them the key to No. 10. So sharp is the knife-edge of opinion that any threat of depriving the cloth-cap investors of their dividends could lose Labour a lot of votes. There is, after all, individual greed to be reckoned with. The position is not helped by a government which repeatedly points out the huge losses suffered by a declining coal and steel industry. No mention is made of the lack of funds for modernisation. Both Labour and Tory gangsters stood well back for years, content to let the workhorses of coal and steel plod wearily towards their own demise.

We have created an often baffling and intricate pattern which most people seem to glance at momentarily but not actually notice. Here we are in Big Rock Candy Mountain country. On the one hand people like Michael Hoffman, group chief executive of Thames Water, is paid £150,000 a year. Robert Thain, chief executive of North West Water, is pulling down £100,000 a year. John Valentine, the top man at Southern water, will be paid the same with a guaranteed minimum bonus of £15,000 a

All the water authorities say they will probably increase these salaries immediately after privatisation while also admitting that the £24 billion investment programme is not enough. As much as £885 million will be needed over a ten-year period. The background intention is to increase the price of water and go on increasing it.

All the water companies are unabashed and say that these great H₂O men are worth every penny of it. There has to be an attempt at justification and a use of what we might call the Stokely Carmichael ploy. The public is now asked to believe that all big money-making concerns are just softies at heart, doing their best to do good. British Telecom and National Westminster Bank are very generous. Each of them donated more than £11 million to charity last year. That was almost a quarter of the £91 million dished out to deserving causes by the major 400 countries. About 28 companies gave more than £1 million.

Staring into the cold eyes of the Robber States makes you break out into a cold sweat when you ask yourself what can be done about it. Bakunin and Nechayev in The Revolutionary Catechism (1869) suggested the removal or destruction of "energetic and intelligent officials" in the plan to reform society. More than a century later few of us can subscribe to terrorism, although we would often welcome removal of officials. There may be people among us who firmly believe that the liquidation of key figures would herald a cycle of change for the better. A glance at Beirut and Northern Ireland demonstrates the folly of destruction.

We have to recognise that finance itself is the true enemy. The question of whether economics is an abuse of the human condition is a large one. In 1938 ing in his men to take back the prison on 2nd | Roy Harrod reported that Maynard Keynes once said: "Economics is essentially a moral science and not a natural science; that is to say it employs introspection and judgement of value." It is hard to accept a now discredited Keynes and all he stood for, yet his opinion remains interesting, because it seems to be an option for all seasons. Britain's current political and financial immorality is nothing more than a heartless conjuring trick to persuade ordinary people that it is all for the best. We are again faced with the backfire of recession.

> It is taking a long time to discover an economic system in which the individual matters more than money. Development is not necessarily synony-

The Robber State is no newcomer. In Hapsburg Spain the government stole national and individual assets and fiddled hundreds of contracts. After a spectacular run of good luck, it went bankrupt in 1557, 1575, 1607, 1627 and 1647. Citizens departed in their thousands.

What time is the next train?

Bob Baxter

THE ARTS - ANARCHIST THEORY

Karl Klaus: Apocalyptic Satirist by Edward Timms

Yale University Press, London and New Haven

art strike

distributed by Institute for Research in Neoism, Géza Perneczky, Gross Witschgasse 3-5 D5000, Koln 1, West Germany

Tom Driberg by Francis Wheen Chatto £18

Ruling Passions: Autobiography of Tom Driberg Cape



Triberg, one now feels, was a creature spawned Dout of time, trapped between Restoration comedy and Jacobean tragedy, unacceptable to the liberty-curtailed socialists of St John's Wood or the fish and chip beer-belching flower of the working class in London's docklands and points East. He blotted his Labour Party membership card when, in 1977, he published his autobiography wherein for the first quarter of the book he went into clinical detail of all his homosexual performances in various public lavatories. In the beginning the book was a minor succes de scandale as a piece of tell-tale porn, but in the end pornography, like a good food guide or the Sunday Times colour supplements, bores by sheer repetition. One always hears enjoyable rumours of fun and games by our social upper strata, but on reading the book I had a genuine feeling of pity for Driberg for one felt that it was no more than a cry of desperation for from being good ol' Tom he became funny ol' Tom or that ghastly Driberg.

All the gropings in the piss pools lavatory and the mouth suckings dribble off within the book to the boring details of all the committee meetings and in the end who cares, for it was an age that produced no heroes. Laura (Riding) Jackson's "letter" concerning Robert Graves belongs to the Bloomsbury cottage industry wherein a piece of trivia is assumed to be a thing of international literary importance when one reads and realises that the "letter" is no more than a thing of snarling back-street scuttle butt. From that first book all one learns is that Evelyn Waugh's brilliant satirical juvenilia Decline and Fall was based on fact in relation to the smashing of other students' rooms. It is tragedy when one realises that in some minute way our own lives form a part of that fabric as, when within the small and

pleasant exhibition of Goya's trip into 18th century finition, "cocksucking" - on the hero of the Left Nye page 3, we gossiped of Driberg and one of the Bevan, but it is a small point, except in the valleys, younger, better- dressed critics told me how for apart from Driberg's claim that the dancer Ni-Driberg was so very rude to him and then he asked jinsky, because of his ballet training could perform me, in a soft puzzled voice, if I thought that Driberg auto-fellatio, there is little interest, political or porreally was a spy. Oh that question that forever be- nographic, in these two books, yet one knows that devils the Left, and I smiled and sipped the wine if one had to choose a companion for the evening it and asked "What information could that poor sod would be ol' Tom rather than the whey-faced critics ever give an enemy that would be worth buying?" spitting on the grave. There is a limited range of Driberg was what he was, that common figure, the one who loved to pretend that they are in possession of the "true facts" and they soak up and dribble out to the bar room companion of the hour "the real facts ol' man but keep it to yourself". In Wheen's life of Driberg one understands that Driberg knelt down in the regimental female position and performed fellatio - or to give it its correct medical de-



Karl, Gustav, Tom

[This article is taken from Jean Grave's book La Societé Mourante et l'Anarchie (Moribund Society and Anarchy) which was published in 1894. Copies were seized by the French authorities and the author sentenced to two years imprisonment. A new edition was printed in London and exported to France and the translation from which our extract is taken was made by Voltairine de Cleyre, a gifted American propagandist, and published in Chicago in 1899. The criticisms which Grave answers are still being made today and his reply is, we feel, as valid as ever - Editors

"You are too abstract!" This is an objection frequently raised against the anarchists by many people. They say that since we address ourselves to the workers we should make more fruitful propaganda if we took up less elevated subjects. But . . . it is the development of the ideas themselves which has drawn us into the treatment of questions not always within the scope of those whom we address; this is a fatality of which we submit and against which we can do nothing. To those who are just beginning to nibble the social question, our writings may often appear dry; this we do not deny. But can we alter the fact that the questions which we treat and which must be treated, are dry in themselves? Can we prevent the principles which we defend, linked together as they are, identified with every branch of human knowledge, from leading those who wish to elucidate them to study things they did not before deem necessary? And moreover, had not all this preparatory work to which they would condemn us, been already performed by our predecessors, the socialists? Do not the capitalistic classes themselves work for the demolition of their society? Are not all ambitious radicals, socialists more or less deeply dyed, bent upon demonstrating to the workers that the present society can do nothing for them; that is must be changed?

Our task

The anarchists therefore have only to analyse this enormous work, to co-ordinate it, to extract its essence. Their role is limited to proving that it is not by changing governors that the ills from which we suffer may be cured; that it is not by merely modifying the machinery of the social organism that we shall prevent it from producing those evil effects which the very bourgeoisie, desirous of getting into power, knows so well how to show up. But our task is complicated precisely



because the ideas which we advocate are abstract. If, indeed, we were willing to content ourselves with the declamations and assertions, the task would be rendered easy, both for us and for our readers. The more difficult the problems to be solved the more need there is to acquaint ourselves with arguments and logic. It is easy to say and write: "Comrades, the bosses rob us! The bourgeoisie are drunkards! Rulers are scoundrels! We must rebel, kill the capitalists, set fire to the factories!" Moreover, before anyone wrote it, the exploited had sometimes killed their exploiters, the governed had revolted, the poor had rebelled against the rich; yet the situation was in no ways altered. They had changed rulers. Since it was written, the people have likewise revolted and nothing is altered. Hence it is not a question of saying or writing that the worker is exploited; it is necessary to explain to him above all how in changing masters he does not cease to be exploited, and how, were he to put himself in his master's place, he would in turn become an exploiter, leaving behind him the exploited who would then make against him the same complaints he now makes against those he would like to have dispossessed. It is necessary to make him understand further how the capitalistic classes have interested him in the existing society, persuaded him to defend the privileges of his exploiters while he believes himself defending his own interests in an organisation which, in fact, has nothing for him but promises never to be realised.

Belief or knowledge Now, the workers have always made revolutions, but have forever allowed the benefits thereof to be juggled away, because they "did not know". The role of the propagandist, then, is to teach the workers; and to teach them one must give demonstrations to them. Assertion makes believers, but no con-

Trinity of Errors

human emotions and the poet, playwright and the author has long exhausted them and of each one of us in every city our doppelganger treads the stones, and Driberg was no more than the sad type we all know and should try to tolerate for they are of a breed that do little harm. And from the Institute for Research in Neoism appertaining to the Art Strike comes the name of ol' Gustav Metzger, and comrade twang the chords of memory for once again from among all this unreadable bumph the doppelgangers are pushed aside as Gustav once more takes the stage that he once illuminated in 1977 when Driberg published his adventures in the loos of the West. Gustav prowled the streets of London forever pack-loaded with secondhand books for sale and for his "thing" in the period of destruction/violence in art and childrens' comics his act was a single hanging sheet of thin plastic upon which he would spray an abstract of weak acid that would then dissolve the sheet of plastic and the abstract "before your very eyes". All good stuff until the Institute of Contemporary Arts moved into the act and mounted a mass London-wide destruction in art show. Gustay, for the record, stood up and denounced me as an anarchist when I publicly protested at the killing of chickens to amuse a middle class student audience and Gustav and XXXX ended up in the dock at the Old Bailey while all the creative artists packed their genius and took to the hills America and Europewise. From that came the attempt to form an Artists Union in conjunction with the TUC and while I joined I kept asking "how do you define an artist?" and no one knew and all in the little back room of the ICA and like every other attempt to chain it flopped once more from West Germany the unreadable bumph to enchain the creative spirit is demanded with Gustav's name high on the printed page. There are those whose talent lies in churning

out, literally, yards of unreadable books or vast and worthless abstract paintings with the odd painted girder thrown in and a massive hype cottage industry parasitically germinates on it. I would hope that Karl Kraus, the "Apocalyptic Satirist" of the Viennese coffee houses of the 1930s, was a man given to the profound rhubarb via the printed page and his reputation is that of a brilliant satirist. Edward Timms treads the boards as a lecturer in German at the University of Cambridge and is a Fellow of Gonville and Caius College and his 443 printed pages on Kraus support this, for every page is weighed down with facts and in the end I found the book unreadable. Kraus appeared as the coffee house intellectual who in art and politics floated from one fashionable cause to another with the result that in his mass of printed bumph he can always be found to proclaim your particular fad. The Oxford Dictionary is wrong when it described satire as ridiculing vice or folly, for there are those who have been able to satirise major works of art for the satirist mocks the audience.

It is an art form that the Americans are pre-eminent in, be it Portnoy's Complaint, Catch 22 or Vladimir Nabokov's Pale Fire, and in the translations of Kraus's pieces it appears to me to be no more than heavy-handed abuse in the style of ol' George Gale or Bernard Levin, Muggeridge or a Paul Johnson. Once again it is back to the boardroom of the Royal Academy, the weeping of Brian Sewell the Saville-rover of The Evening Standard, the white wine and the fear of the gout and the little plump German whose parents went into the concentration camp and the suave and elderly romantic Viennese lover of fine wine both waved my doubts aside claiming Kraus was a brilliant man, but when I mentioned the machine-gunning of the workers whose blocks of houses were destroyed by field artillery on 17th February 1934, they both brushed it aside saying that that was long after Kraus's time, and the pretty German girl from Hamburg laughed at us, but that Kraus's self-financed magazine Die Fackel was more intelligent than Private Eye. But all I know is this, that in Timm's 443-page book on Kraus only five lines are given to Kraus's open support of Dollfuss who ordered the machine-gunning of the Viennese workers in February of 1934 and Kraus did not die until two years later at the age of 52 years, and there are jokes that do not raise a smile. Dollfuss? The sweet and sour Viennese Nazis murdered him in July of 1934. Arthur Moyse

JEAN GRAVE Are we too abstract?

> scious ones. At the time when, even for the most advanced socialists, authority was the basis of all organisation, there was nothing wrong in having mere believers. On the contrary, it facilitated the task of those who set themselves up as directors. One could go ahead with assertions, one was believed according to the degree of authority he had been clever enough to acquire; and as the directors did not exact of their proselytes a knowledge of why they were to act, but only to "believe" strongly enough to make them blindly obey orders, they had no need of killing themselves to furnish arguments. Believing in providential men who were to think and act for them, the mass of proselytes did not need to learn much. Had not the leaders a plan of social organisation already prepared in their heads, which they would hasten to execute once they were carried into power? To know how to fight and kill each other, that was all they asked of the common herd to know and to do. The leaders once in power, the dear people had nothing to do but wait; everything would come to them at the proper time without their troubling themselves about it.

> But anarchistic principles have come to overthrow all this. Denying the necessity of providential men, making war upon authority, and claiming for each individual the right and the duty to act under the pressure of his own impulses only, if submitting to no constraint or restriction of his autonomy; proclaiming individual initiative as the basis of all progress and of every true libertarian association, anarchism cannot content itself with making believers; it must above all aim to convince, that its converts may know what they believe, that the arguments with which they have been furnished may have struck home, that they may have weighed, discussed and considered the value of these for themselves. Hence a propaganda more difficult, more arduous, more abstract, but also more effective.

BAKUNIN &

Bakunin and the Italians by T. R. Ravindranathan

McGill-Queens University Press (1988) £35

Kropotkin and the Rise of Revolutionary Anarchism by Caroline Cahm

Cambridge University Press (1989) £35

D akunin and Kropotkin are the best-known D figures in the anarchist movement, and there are already too many books about both of them, but these two recently published academic studies contain much interesting material on relatively unfamiliar aspects of their work.

T. R. Ravindranathan, in Canada, describes the mutual impact of Bakunin on the development of the Italian left and of the Italian left on the development of Bakunin's ideas during the 1860s and 1870s. Caroline Cahm, in Britain, describes the mutual impact of Kropotkin on the development of European anarchism and of European anarchism on the development of Kropotkin's ideas during the 1870s and 1880s. Between them they cover several crucial stages in the history of the anarchist movement during the two formative decades from the mid-1860s to the mid-1870s.

Bakunin first settled in Italy in 1864 and was involved in Italian affairs until his death in 1876. He exerted a considerable influence on the Italian left, his eloquent writings and powerful personality helping to shift it first from republicanism towards socialism and then from socialism towards anarchism. At the same time, Italy exerted a considerable influence on Bakunin, the continuing tradition of the Risorgimento reinforcing his tendencies towards conspiracy and insurrection. The double result of the dialectical process was that for a time the Italian left was strongly libertarian and international anarchism was strongly conspiratorial and insurrectionary.

Most of the relevant material is available only in Italian, and Ravindranathan has done

Effective action

From the moment the individual relies solely on his own initiative, he must be enabled to exercise it effectively. That such initiative may adapt itself freely to the action of other individuals, it must be conscious, reasoned, based upon the logic of the natural order of facts. Ah, it is no small thing to overthrow a society as we talk of doing, above all when it is desired that this social upheaval shall be as universal as we wish it to be! It is clear that the people who compose this society, however cruel it may be to them, are not going to see the necessity of its overthrow as we do, all in a moment, having been accustomed to look upon it as the palladium of their safety and the means of their well-being. They know very well that this society does not furnish them with what it has promised, but they cannot understand the necessity for its total destruction. Has not everyone his little reform to propose, which is to grease the wheels and make the machine run to the satisfaction of all? They want, therefore, to know whether this upheaval will be profitable or prejudicial to them, whence arise a mass of questions leading to the discussion of every branch of human knowledge, in order to know whether they will survive in the cataclysm we would provoke. And hence the perplexity of the worker who sees unfolding before him a multitude of questions which they took good care not to teach him at school, discussions which it is very hard for him to follow, subjects which for the most part he hears treated of for the first time - questions, however, which he must study to the bottom and solve if he desires to be able to profit by this autonomy which he demands, if he does not want to use his initiative to his own detriment, and, more than all, if he wishes to get on without providential men.

When a question, however abstract it may be, presents itself to the investigations of the anarchist propagandist, he cannot make it otherwise than abstract; nor can he pass it by in silence, under the pretext that those to whom he speaks have never heard of it. To explain it in plain, clear, precise and concise language; to avoid "thousand-legged words", as one of our comrades puts it - that is words which are understood only by the initiated - to avoid burying one's thought in high-flown and redundant phraseology, or seeking after phrases and effects - this is all that can be done by those who have it at heart to propagate the principles, to spread them and make them understood among the masses. If it were necessary to evade every question which the majority of readers are not able to

BOOK REVIEWS

a great deal of work in contemporary publications and unpublished sources. The result is a text of more than 200 pages with another 100 pages of notes, telling the remarkable story from both sides in great detail within a partly chronological and a partly thematic framework. The book isn't very well written - especially by comparison with E. H. Carr's elegant but tendentious account - but it is well organised, and it provides an impressive account of aspects of Bakunin and the Italy which are little known in Britain.

KROPOTKIN

ropotkin became an anarchist during his first visit to Western Europe in 1872, and took a leading part in the movement after his return in 1876. Cahm examines his position in several leading issues - the shift from collectives to communism, the idea of propaganda by deed and the practice of acts of revolt, the shifting attitudes to the labour movement and trade unionism - and in some leading episodes - especially the London Congress of 1881 and the Lyons trial of 1883 - until he settled in Britain in 1886. Much of the relevant material is available only in French, and she has done a great deal of work in contemporary publications and unpublished sources (she seems less happy with other languages). The result is a text of nearly 300 pages with another 80 pages of notes, telling the complex story in considerable detail again within a partly chronological and a partly thematic framework.

This subject is rather more familiar, and Cahm doesn't add much beyond the documentation and confirmation of previous notions, but she does emphasise some important points - that Kropotkin derived much of his communism from others, that he was dubious about propaganda by deed even before it began to involve individual terror, and that he was always cautious about non-revolutionary trade unionism. The book is fairly well written, though not very well edited - there are too many errors in names and titles (especially in Russian) - and it fills in the relatively obscure

> understand upon first enunciation, we should be condemned to return to declamation, to the art of stringing out meaningless phrases one after the other, and saying nothing. This role is too well played by the bourgeois rhetoricians for us to attempt to supersede them in it. If the workers want to emancipate themselves they must understand that this emancipation will not come of itself; that they must obtain it, and that selfeducation is one of the forms of social struggle. The possibility and the continuance of the exploitation by the capitalistic class proceed from their ignorance. They must know how to free themselves intellectually if they wish to be able to free themselves materially. If they already recoil before the difficulties of mental emancipation, which depends solely upon their own willingness, what then will it be before the difficulties of a more active struggle in which it will be necessary to expend an altogether incommensurate force of character and amount of will! Useless and injurious as it is, the bourgeoisie has nevertheless succeeded in concentrating in the brains of a few of all the scientific knowledge necessary to the present development of humanity. If we do not want the revolution to be a step backwards, the worker must be able to intellectually replace the bourgeoisie which he wishes to overthrow; his ignorance must not be an obstacle to the development of sciences already acquired. If he does not know them thoroughly he must be able to comprehend them when he finds himself in their presence.

No short cuts

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To be sure we quite understand all this impatience; we can imagine that those who are hungry would like to see the dawning of the day when they will be able to appease their hunger; we are perfectly aware that those who submit to the yoke of authority only by suppressing their anger, are impatient to shake it off, desirous of listening to words in conformity with their condition of mind, reminding them of their hatreds, their desires, their aspirations, their thirst for justice. But, however great this impatience, however legitimate the demands and the need of realising them, the idea advances only by degrees, penetrates the mind and lodges there only when matured and elaborated.

The idea of free individual initiative once being established, people should be enabled (we cannot repeat it too often) to learn how to reason and to combine their initiative. If they have not the will to deliver themselves from their own ignorance, how will they be able to make others understand when

gap between Kropotkin's early work in Russia and later work in Britain. The only obvious objections are the curious title (Kropotkin became involved in revolutionary anarchism after it had risen) and the usual exaggeration of his withdrawal from the movement when he settled in Britain (he actually remained active for several more years).

Both books are very expensive, though well produced, and neither is illustrated. Both contain the usual amount of rather tedious general description and discussion which is obligatory in university theses, and Cahm in particular jumps backwards and forwards in a rather confusing way. But both books are genuinely valuable contributions to the knowledge and understanding of anarchist history, and will become essential items in the English-language coverage of this still neglected subject.

Classic of Revolutionary Syndicalism

We Shall Bring About the Revolution: Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth by Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget Pluto Press, £8.95

This is another addition to the Libertarian Critique series of paperback editions of anarchist texts which have not already been reprinted in cheap form.

In 1909 - at the height of the French syndicalist movement - Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget, two of its leading figures, wrote Comment Nous Ferons la Revolution, an account of an imaginary libertarian revolution in France. In 1913 - at the height of the British syndicalist movement - Charlotte and Fred Charles, two of its active supporters, produced an English translation under the title Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth: How We Shall Bring About the Revolution, with a foreword age. by the syndicalist leader Tom Mann and a preface by the anarchist writer Peter Kropotkin. The new

edition is a facsimile reproduction with the title reversed and with a new introduction by Geoff Brown, a former teacher who has specialised in the history of syndicalism.

The original text is a quick propagandist exercise rather than a serious political enterprise, designed to give a general idea of theoretical aims rather than a detailed guide to practical action. It is also rather flatly written, with none of the imaginative power of News from Nowhere or The Dispossessed. But it has both period charm and historical significance, and it is well worth reading. The translation is rather clumsy though quite serviceable. Mann's short foreword doesn't say much, but Kropotkin's longer preface is a thoughtful discussion of the value and limits of utopian thinking.

Brown's twenty-page introduction is useful as far as it goes, covering the movement in France and Britain, the authors and translators, and the nature of the book. It doesn't go very far in relating the book to the movement or to other books - for example, there is some comparison with very different writings by William Morris and Georges Sorel but no mention of much more similar French writings (including some by Pouget himself) - and there is no reference to recent biographical work on some of the protagonists. But this is a convenient edition of an elusive book, whose dated assumption that a libertarian society could be created and administered by trade unions is worth considering and challenging afresh.

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they themselves have not been able to learn? Let us have no fear then, of discussing the most abstract questions: each solution obtained is a step forward on the pathway of emancipation. Leaders being discarded, the knowledge hitherto in their possession must be diffused among the masses; and there is but one means of bringing it within their reach, which is that while continuing to go forward we persuade them to interest themselves in questions which interest us.

Voltairine de Cleyre

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The Polish Anarchist Federation

bureaucracy.

1988 Gdansk anarchists, also involved in the acti- tions for activists of alternative movements, etc. vities of TOTART, WiP and RSA, took the initiative of forming a special network of contacts - called ideas of a self-managed society elaborated by Ed-Anarchist Intercity (Miedzymiastowka Anarchistyczna - MA) which was to enable the distribution of papers and handbills, exchange of information and ideas. In future, the MA was to be transformed into a federation. This took place during the anarchist conference of June 1989. Although the MA generally integrated groups and individuals identifying themselves with anarchism, it was strongly connected with sub- culture so people who wanted to act "more politically" decided to create a new

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ARDENED

The history of the new wave of anarchism in Po- federation to take up social and economic problems. land started with the forming of Solidarity - a In this way the Anarchist Federation (Federacja Antrade union of an anarcho-syndicalist nature. Dur- archistyczna - FA) was brought into being during den growth of feeling of freedom among those who conditionally agree to take part in creating a new ing the 1980-81 rebellion, Solidarity propagated the last national conference in November 1989. have been living under the shadow of Big Brother ideas of self-government at factories, school and in Next to the Federation, most anarchists are involved for so long inevitably brings us to the basic queslocal communities, proposed the forming of co- in other activities (sometimes not even strictly an- tion: why did it all happen? The fact that the West- conomic difficulties, Solidarity offered discreted di operatives, associations and federations. Unfortu- archist ones) like WiP (Freedom and Peace), PPS- ern world has always been known for its political intermediating between Poland and foreign capital nately, today's red-taped Solidarity has nothing to RD (Polish Socialist Society - Democratic Revol- blindness and that over 40 years of communist ty- in order to attract investors. In this way the old do with the legendary trade union from the times of ution) and ecological and animal liberation move- ranny in almost half of Europe did not teach it any- PZPR apparatus takes care of Solidarity's positive great rebellion against the totalitarian state, com- ments. Anarchists organise and participate in such thing, is nothing new. But some of those who had image and, simultaneously, tends to offer a view of munist dictatorship and all-embracing corrupted initiatives as protests against the Soviet military to live behind the Iron Curtain are much more care- Solidarity as a leading force on the political scene. presence in Poland, boycotts of military schooling The next stage of anarchism in Poland is con- at high schools and universities, actions for the nected to the Alternative Society Movement (Ruch abolition of compulsory military service, actions on Spoleezenstwa Alternatywnego - RSA) which was behalf of deserters and better conditions of civil serformed by a group of anarchists from Gdansk in vice for objectors, numerous actions connected June 1983. The RSA stood in a double opposition with the protection of the natural environment, to the ruling communist party dictatorship as well against the construction of a nuclear power plant at as to the majority of oppositional forces which were Zarnowiec, against bloodsport hunting, actions proconnected with the Catholic Church and national moting self-government in schools, factories and in movements and organisations. In the summer of local communities, actions against passport restric-

What anarchists in Poland find very important are ward Abramowski (1868-1918) who is considered to be the most important Polish theorist of anarchism (he propagated the idea of mass denial of the state by means of boycotting authority and official institutions and wrenching out as many spheres of social life from under the control of the state as possible. This was to be achieved by the self-organisation of society in order to create the Commonwealth of Co-operatives).

Declaration issued after the Second National **Conference** of the **Anarchist Federation** (11th-12th November 1989)

We struggle to create an anarchist society which is based on social justice and common ownership of the means of production, a society in which absolute freedom would be limited by natural norms only, with peaceful co-existence and exclusion of exploitation being a priority. We aim to create autonomous unions, syndicates, local self-managed societies and communities forming regional and country-wide federations. This kind of social order is to be based on mass, direct and decentralised democracy where no division into ruling and ruled ones would be acceptable. This specific kind of democracy can be achieved by making the most of audio-visual media as well as by means of mass meetings, gatherings and popular congresses.

We struggle to abolish the authoritarian, consumption-oriented and repressive culture of today's society, in which the individual is but a small part of a monstrous social and economic mega-machine, while his needs and as-

pirations are inevitably reduced to consumption of goods. Anarchism also means a fundamental change in human behaviour and morality resulting in the liberation of sexual life from all kinds of limits and conventions. We reject both capitalism and bolshevik communism as these systems are based primarily on exploitation, constraint and social injustice. That is why we protest against the policy of Solidarity and the present government of T. Mazowiecki, both aiming at the restoration of capitalism in Poland. This policy is evident treason against the ideals of a self-managed commonwealth accepted in 1981 by the First National Conference of Delegates of Solidarity, and can only result in turning the country into a colony for foreign capital. We protest against re-privatisation of common property, against further division of society into the very rich and the very poor, and also against planning and legalising of mass unemployment. We disagree with the government's project of submitting the country to the International Monetary Fund's dictatorship - as this organisation is the personification of international capitalism - and protest against the maintenance of relics of communist rule ad the price for sharing power.



NEWS FROM POLAND

hundred years would probably not be enough to rec- position which was making an alliance with the onstruct everything so quickly. But the problem is communists usurped to themselves the right to repof a different nature: the point is that conditions resent the society as a whole. The best proof for that have never been "normal" in Eastern Europe, at is that the only political force with unlimited access least after the Second World War.

ful and do not jump to conclusions so easily.

stroyka" did not come as a godsend and that not a new political situation.

Decent rapid changes in all Eastern countries position. Since the situation in Poland at the time of I may seem to be quite incredible. In fact they the "round table" negotiations was characterised by are, to some extent, as in "normal" conditions one a complete lack of democracy, the elite of the opto the mass media - mainly television - is Solidarity. Growing optimism of Western leaders and sud- Other parties or groups can share it only if they unauthoritarian system.

As the old regime was unable to overcome the In fact all decisions are still dependent on the old What seems pretty incomprehensible for the regime. In exchange Solidarity offers credibility to West, and what is quite clear for us, is that "pierie- the old oligarchy and some help in adapting it to the

(from our Warsaw correspondent) — Eastern Europe: Real **Revolution?**

single tyrant gives away his power for nothing. a mother of invention and the old methods of the all the same.

regime agreed during the "round table" negotiations to introduce some adaptation, which is hoped to make the old bosses feel secure and help in retaining power. This necessity effected in changing the worn out communist mask of the Polish United tions, the government does not bother itself with Workers Party (PZPR) into a new, social-democratic one. In fact nothing has changed, of course, and the communists are still keeping a tight hold on think. key institutions like the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Defence and all local authorities around

the country. The necessity of an alliance with Jaruzelski's gang was motivated by Walesa and his people in terms of reasons of State and geopolitical conditions. In fact, communist governments used to justify the state of war in 1981 exactly the same way. As the hopeless situation of economy in Poland threatened communists with the danger of facing a mass explosion of anger, the government was nion. forced to seek some form of agreement with the op-

Because the Soviet economy is no longer strong "Pieriestroyka" (and it is obvious for us) which had enough to rely on it, our authorities, already driven wrought modernisation of the Soviet state - and the to despair, are feverishly seeking allies among whole Eastern bloc as well - was a necessary con- Western capitalists. The enormous indebtedness of dition which had to be fulfilled in order to retain the Poland and the old fashioned economy makes a powerful international position of the Soviet Union. good prospect for those who are interested in mak-The only purpose of "pieriestroyka" is to strengthen ing a quick buck with no questions asked. Sooner the already existing system. Although the methods or later foreign capitalists will take complete conwhich are being used are quite new, but the need is trol of Polish industry and will start to impose their conditions and settle their own rules. Accepting cre-Stalinist era are no longer effective. There are many dits, so eagerly granted by the West, can only result ways of keeping the power, but it is enough to give in the further economic dependence of the country two examples - Poland and Romania - as in general and finally will effect in total political incapacitathe ever-known mechanism of political mockery is tion. Joining the international capitalist market will at once put Poland among the Third World coun-The alliance of the opposition and the communist tries. The majority of our society finds it most difficult to make ends meet as most of the earnings are in Poland is based mainly on the approval for the spent on food, which is terribly expensive (that's pro-capitalist course of the Polish economy. The the very first achievement of Mazowiecki's "marimmediate effect of this pact is that the old crew's ket economy"). That's why the so-called middle domination got some new camouflage in exchange class, which is so important in developed capitalist for giving Solidarity an entrance to sharing power. countries, can never appear here, although our gov-Solidarity as a trade union is no longer an organisa- ernment has already based its vision of economic tion fighting for working class rights for it became development on this non-existent class. These proan instrument of authority. This conception aims at cesses can cause poverty only (anyway, it has transforming free trade union into a mechanism for reached measures unknown even under communist transmitting orders from the authority to the people. rule) and will surely effect in both mass unemploy-As the previously used way of exercising power be- ment and the growth of anger among the working came useless, it was necessary for the old oligarchy class people. No doubt, these will soon become the greatest problems in Poland and the question of class war will be back here again.

> Of course, according to the best totalitarian tradiasking for people's permission to do this or do that and nobody gives a damn about what the people

> The situation in Romania, although it may seem to be completely different, is in fact another example of what the authority is able to do and how nicely it can camouflage its intentions in order to retain power.

As a matter of fact, nobody has tried to analyse back-stage arrangements in the communist apparatus of Causescu - the whole world was paralysed by what had happened in Romania. Now, when the fight is over, we can try to have a more frigid opi-

(continued on page 6)

AND THE USSR

The Israeli government recently slapped military censorship on the reporting of figures, estimates and routes of Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel. This article therefore would not be able to appear in Israel.

More than a million of the slightly more than two and a half million strong Soviet Jewish community are already reliably believed to have applied for exit visas to emigrate to Israel, with over 15,000 already holding exit visas and awaiting transport out of the censorship). The main motivation to leave appears doms of the First World, and few seem to be moti- after decades of state suppression. molehill as far as the threats of pogroms are convated primarily by an Jewish beliefs let alone Zionist ideology. But a further impetus to leave has now been added. There are increasing fears in the USSR of an imminent wave of pogroms aimed at various minority nationalities, mainly Jews, stirred up by neo-fascist elements, such as the Russian nationalist organisation Pamyat (Memory).

Pamyat is probably the best known of the unofficial organisations which began to form in the USSR in the early 1980s even before Glasnost became fashionable. At first, such associations were mainly charitable, concerned with issues such as alcoholism or the welfare of veterans of the Afghanistan nised immediately by the Soviet Union), Stalin re- given credence to reports of resurgent antisemitic taliated by closing all Jewish museums, theatres and cultural centres, and there were widespread purges of Jews in public life.

underground and re-emerged during 1987 as antisemitic as before. During 1988, all sorts of unoffi-

Pogrom fears grow in USSR

antisemitic statements, calling for a ban on Jews in Jews, Armenians and other minorities. The KGB government and claiming that advocates of peres- and Ministry of the Interior are taking the panic seri-USSR, and another 250,000 expected to receive do- troika were "Jews and Masons" conspiring to de- ously enough to have offered "guarantees of proteccumentation to leave during 1990 (KGB figures, liver the USSR into the hands of "international tion" to ethnic minorities. The promise does not appublished both in the USSR and in Israel before Zionism". Many believed that the fact the police pear to have had much effect though, and the panic allowed Pamyat to hold public meetings at all im- is continuing. to be what the British government would probably plied state support from "higher up". Whatever the However, it has been suggested even within the call "economic migration", but many would-be truth of this, antisemitism, along with other nation- Israeli government itself that certain Jewish interemigrants simply seek the greater personal free- alist evils, has certainly re-emerged in the USSR ests are indeed trying to make a mountain out of a

The situation in Nagorny Karabakh and Baku has done nothing to quell general fears of increasing nationalist tension in the crumbling Russian empire. Jews in particular throughout the USSR have been panicking for several weeks, as threats, antisemitic graffiti and rumours of pogroms for the first week in May proliferated, especially in major cities. Local and even national newspapers have run letters and articles blaming Jews for the failures of Soviet state socialism. As early as summer 1988, antisemitic speeches had emerged from their crucibles in literary and debating clubs, such as Moscow's Pamyat-dominated "Fate of Man" circle (New York war. Pamyat began its rise to prominence in 1985, Review of Books, 30th March 1989) and were being as a "patriotic" organisation concerned with pro- made openly. Computer printouts in Russian of the moting Russian cultural heritage (not a popular sub- infamous nineteenth century antisemitic forgery ject in the neo-Russian republics and autonomous "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" were not only regions). It soon became more politicised and de- being sold clandestinely but were on public display veloped an unpleasant antisemitic wing under at mass meetings (Detente, no. 16, page 26). Words Alexander Kazantsov. Antisemitism is unfortu- are already being translated into action. In February nately deep-rooted in Russian culture and has not this year, the Moscow newspaper Trud reported an been entirely absent from the history of the USSR. outbreak of antisemitic violence in Kharkov Under Stalin particularly, although called "anti- (Ukraine) in which a mob broke into several homes Zionism", antisemitism became a means for mass and beat people up, apparently for the sole reason persecution of the Jewish community. In 1948, that they were Jewish. Similar incidents and threats when the State of Israel was declared (and recog- elsewhere have further inflamed the situation and attacks on Eastern Europe generally.

The USSR government certainly appears to be taking the domestic situation seriously. On the 20th At first Pamyat was ignored by the authorities, but February Pravda ran a press release, issued by the in the winter of 1986 it was suppressed. Despite the state newsagency TASS, entitled "Do not Inflame arrest of its leadership, the group continued to exist Nationalist Dissension", which managed both to condemn anti-Jewish intolerance and at the same time blame Zionists for spreading false rumours in cial organisations, charitable and political, in- order to inflame racial hatred. The article in Pravcreased in number and membership. By the winter da also mentioned the existence of an "Anti-Zionof '88 Pamyat was strong enough for party apparat- ist Committee" which seems to be not so much antichiks to have to manipulate local elections in order Zionist as antisemitic, and admitted that there were

Eastern Europe: Real Revolution?

(continued from page 5)

What can be easily noticed is that the new Romanian authorities are dominated by ex-communists from the old regime or, at least, by those who were not directly involved in Causescu's mafia but who were still doing well at that time. And in Romania "doing well" obviously meant to collaborate with the oppressors. How did it happen that those people are back there again? Why did they give up all the profits they used to have just because they were lucky enough to belong to the communist elite?

The National Salvation Front, which was "spontaneously" created at the height of the street fighting in Bucharest, in fact had been formed long before troops were sent to Timisoara. The number of casualties, previously estimated at 80,000, eventually dropped to some 600. Why? Who was so particular about making people impressed by a bloodbath? The famous photograph which shocked the world, showing the body of a young woman with a baby nearby, turned out to be a hoax, as bodies had been dragged out from two different graves and had nothing in common with the famous Timisoara called. massacre. Who did it and what for? General Vlad, previously in charge of the secret police, declared that his troops joined in the "revolution" just at the beginning of the uprising. If so, why did the new authority find it so important to keep on repeating that there were still strong Securitate troops fighting back in major cities?

We will never know anything for sure, but what can now be said is that the "spontaneous revolution" was a mockery all prepared by the old oligarchy The bloodbath was to clear the hands of those who "voluntarily" joined insurgents, while Causescu's hasty execution was just for making him silent (just for any case) and was aimed at gaining a reputation Walesa. among the people.

It seems quite impossible that Causescu's machine was not good enough to measure public feelings long before the social discontent began. The whole thing was probably a well arranged trick | committees set up during recent struggles, e.g. in played by those who were still willing to keep the the Soviet mining regions of Donbass and Vorkupower, although already under a new name. The ta. Apparently SMOT was the only organisation to forthcoming elections (so-called "free" ones) are to publish the full list of demands put by striking Vorguarantee than no other party will be quick enough kuta miners in the winter of 1989-90. The political to get organised and appoint its candidates, so the content of the demands (e.g. reviewing the constitu-Front will be the only one to count (two members | tional anchoring of Communist Party domination, of the Peasants' Party have recently been murdered, or rather slaughtered, while sticking posters - they | ignored by the Soviet mass media. However, no diwere found with their tongues cut off).

thoughtfulness of changes in Eastern Europe, can struggle and SMOT's work are simply too great. As get a shock one day. A system which is fifty years old does not fall into pieces in a couple of days. Apparently many of the striking workers were SMOT is a small organisation of hard working substitutes for real things. It is not only in Poland and Romania - this mechanism is working perfectly well all over Eastern Europe, no matter what it is

What is the lesson for us, then? In fact, nothing is new. It has been proved again that the government is murderous. We should not let the big bosses fool us, as it is our life and we can change it, but only by ourselves. Nobody will do it for us and, what is more, we should not let anybody do so if we do not want to replace old masters with new ones. We should also remember that there are dozens of "leaders" saying that they have the right answers, but the only thing they are all about is riding on our backs. They are as much an obstacle to any change as the State itself. If you disagree, just turn on your television - there will always be a piece of some

Piofr. J. K. Tyminski

In mid-February I met with several members of the Soviet workers' group SMOT (the Free General Workers' Union). I spoke in detail with Vladimir Anischenko and Lev Volokhonski (hereafter VA and LV), the latter of whom has been with SMOT since its founding in 1987 in Moscow. Both have done time in Soviet labour camps for their political work and convictions.

SMOT has kept up contact with many of the strike to name but one) had been played down or outright rect help could be offered to rank-and-file strikers'

Those Western politicians who kindly believe in groups. Distances between the centres of workers' is interference by the authorities. tion of strike committee work and with the electotention. They hope there will be time for launching an independent, anti-authoritarian union. SMOT is

considered a catalyst or embryo for this step. The idea of establishing an independent union is also being pursued by the Confederation of Anar-

cho-Syndicalists (KAS). Currently, in fact, there is ative and Individual Workers. It, according to VA course, are also welcome. tual aid network for its members. It is widely spread 32, kv 73, Korzinina Olga. Tel: 439-97-48. and its presence is most noticeable in the Urals region, e.g. in Sverdlovsk.

to exclude it. Pamyat was by then making openly increasing rumours of planned pogroms against

cerned. At the end of February an Israeli government statement expressed concern about the situation in the USSR, but said the Cabinet believed reports of anti-Jewish violence were exaggerated and felt that activists campaigning on behalf of Soviet Jewry were panicking unnecessarily. Furthermore following the trouble in Kharkov, a source in the Israeli Foreign Ministry had said that the hysteria was being whipped up not by Zionists but rather by Soviet Jews who wanted to emigrate to the good life in the USA, in the belief that rumours of impending pogroms would add weight to the argument that all Soviet Jews should leave at once no matter what

their destination. Such an event would not, of course, help the demographic balance in the State of Israel, and is not what the Zionist cause is about - Zionism is concerned not merely with rescuing Jews from antisemitism but has a remedy for the problem based entirely on statehood.

Zionism and antisemitism can be seen as two sides of the same coin. In a secular age, anti-Jewish feelings are based not on religion, as in the middle ages, but on birth - an immutable attribute. Zionism originated as a nationalist movement which believed it was the condition of Jewish statelessness (or homelessness) in itself which created antisemitism, and thus sought to end antisemitism by creating for the Jewish people a nation-state like other nationstates, with all the paraphernalia which that implied. The State of Israel now exists as a Zionist state, and antisemitism still exists as its dark twin - the everpresent justification for Israel's continued existence, whether playing on the understandable fears of its Jewish inhabitants or on the guilty consciences both of Zionistic Jews outside the Land of Israel and of the Western states who turned a blind eye to the mass genocide of Jews, Gypsies and others during the war.

In mid-February, all 100 US Senators called on President (then First Secretary) Mikhail Gorbachev to expedite the commencement of direct flights between Moscow and Israel. Jews are currently flying out via Prague, and more especially through Budapest with Maley and Bucharest with Tarom. El Al (continued on page 7)

An update on SMOT (from our Moscow correspondent)

Since mid-1987 SMOT has attracted somewhat less state repression and has been able to continue its work more openly. The main thrust of SMOT's work is publishing information on independent labour and political initiatives and acting, as it were, as grease in the wheels of independent labour politics in the USSR. Promoting self-organisation and self-management are two of SMOT's main aims. The SMOT Information Agency publishes a regular "Spravochnik", a thick address book of political contacts with commentaries about the individuals and organisations listed. It's a bit like the anarchist Blacklist for the USSR. Although SMOT isn't "anarchist with a capital A", all its practical and theore tical sides strike me as thoroughly anarchist.

Our conversation touched on the epidemic of nationalism sweeping the USSR, and on the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in particular. These three states are at various stages of breaking with the USSR. VA and LV said that the workers' movement there has been badly weakened and is in for an even harder time yet. The various nationalisms have consumed much of the energy of the indigenous population, and the non-Balt population of those republics has largely been alienated by this and pushed into the arms of the Kremlin, which is keen to foster opposition to the Baltic independence movements. The Baltic communist leaders have become nationalists and this secured their positions of power. The introduction of new currencies and other moves to embrace capitalism are likely to result in further problems for working people, like high unemployment and astronomic in-

VA and LV told me that they have a poor relationship with Moscow- KAS, although relations with various KAS members in other centres are better. They expressed suspicion about the intentions of Moscow-KAS' leaders Isaev and Shubin, who pre-

(with some general comments on the current situation in the USSR)

viously, it seems, were activists in the Komsomol (the Communist Party's youth organisation). They question the "change from within" assumptions behind KAS forwarding Isaev as a candidate in the elections to the Moscow City Council. "It's better to be independent and work at a grassroots level than to let oneself into the power games of the Communist dominated parliaments", they told me.

What's more, it is strong enough to fool not only | Party members, and this has meant that demands and seemingly up to date activists not distracted by the foreign mass media but people here too. The na- were pursued within Party channels wherever elections, nationalism or the mainstream East and tions of Eastern Europe have been living in bond- possible. VA and LV are hoping that in the fore- West's Gorby-mania. Several SMOT members age for a long time and they are too quickly taking seeable future, perhaps within a year, there will be have left the USSR in recent years. One who is in widespread disillusionment with the Party orienta- regular contact with the SMOT Information Agency is: A. V. Iakorieva, Oskar-Maria-Grafral distractions currently diverting much public at- Ring 46, D-8000 München, West Germany. Tel: (089) 637-70-50.

> Like all Soviet alternative organisations, SMOT stands in need of material assistance. At present the most direly needed thing is toner for their photocopier. Rank Xerox 3100 type H toner, which is unobtainable in the USSR. This is crucial because a boom in union-forming activity, whose products SMOT's main activity is precisely publicity work to date range from the hierarchically organised and and printing. Other items of stationery, foreign curreformist union Sotsprof to the Union of Co-oper- rency and international anarchist publications, of

> and LV, is a very positive phenomenon in that it is The SMOT Information Agency can be contacted non-hierarchical, doesn't get stuck on endless dec- at the following address: USSR, 142784 Moskovlarations of principles, and has become a good mu- skaia oblast, Leninski raion, pos Moskovski dom

> > STAINLESS HARDENED

Will Firth Moscow

INTERNATIONAL

A rgentina, a country with an area of 1.2 million A square miles (3 million square kilometres) used to be known as the world's granary. Today, out of a population of about 30 million people, nearly 15 million are recognised as "lacking basic necessities". The state cynically uses this euphemism as a cloak for what is commonly known as poverty, spiritual and material misery, hunger and sickness. The capitalist economic model that President Menem calls the "popular market economy" is condemning the majority of the people, who are becoming poorer by the day, to be sacrificed for the escalating profits of agricultural-export oligopolies. Millions of women, children and old people are deprived of proper health care, education and housing. Meanwhile, the system of financial roulette is emptying the pockets of those who produce the country's wealth.

Recently more than 200,000 Argentinians have emigrated. Some are convinced that they will find a sunnier, warmer life in the north. Others are fleeing in anticipation of a new genocidal thrust by the mili-

In fact, since April of 1987 the military, counting on the complicity of the politicians, has been targeting the civilian population. We have been experiencing an increasing militarisation of society. Once again, men in uniform are swarming out of the barracks. Cities such as Rosario are daily overrun with federal police patrols on the ground and in helicop-

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The laws granting immunity from prosecution approved by Alfonsin (who was suitably obedient in the end), the pardons granted by Menem, and the decrees legalising the intervention of the armed forces in internal conflicts, together open a sombre some distant future to fight for dignity and against

Argentina: poverty and the militarisation of society

prospect. They facilitate the use of state terrorism against popular protests and dissent by those oppostalist barbarity.

The ruling classes and their political front men which aims to create first-class and second-class who control the government are using the foreign citizens within one country. We are struggling and debt (which might as well be called the eternal debt, will continue to struggle against this attempt to imsince it is unpayable) as an excuse for continued ex- pose de facto South African apartheid in this part of ploitation. They present as indisputable the false al- the world. ternatives that public services can only be "ineffi-In our city, out of a population of nearly a million, ciently run by the state" of "efficiently run by olimore than 300,000 people are undernourished and garchies linked to multinational capital". We liberliving in miserable housing; more than 100,000 tarian socialists know that there are valid alternamen, women and children are destitute. We know tives to both. Public services can operated and manthat the abundance of the wheat fields is not reachaged by their own workers. We also assert that only ing our children's mouths because of the maniputhrough the socialisation of health care services can lation by bureaucrats, clerics, politicians and banhealth be assured for everyone. The complex prob- kers perpetuating social injustice. lem of housing can be solved through the creation Our problem has a name: capitalism. And so does of co-operatives in which members work together the solution: self-managed socialism. Only popular self-organisation, the direct democracy of councils to build and maintain their own homes. But all this and assemblies, self-managed and libertarian conwould be admittedly quite difficult under the prevailing system of capitalist exploitation and domi- federation will contribute to the liberation of all of

nation Still, we don't think that it's necessary to wait for

There was a black man in a tub

A ll six foot of him lay in the hot water and as-A sured me that he had never used soap for wash- you it works. ing himself, just ordinary clean water. Out of the If you want to slowly cook a stew, use a haybox. thirty or forty patients in the mental hospital where This is simply a box tightly stuffed with hay or I spent some of the post-war years as a psychiatric straw. Preheat the stew in a pot, put the pot in the nurse, he always smelled the sweetest. Not a hint of box, enwrap it with straw, then leave it. After a few underarm or any other odour. Soap, he told me, was hours it will be cooked to a turn. quite unnecessary. Back home in West Africa, he and his sisters and brothers simply sat in the river for ten minutes when in need of a wash. He was later discharged when the psychiatrist realised that he was not insane. He had been sent for treatment by mistake after an encounter with a demented police-

Having tried his soapless tub method, I can tell

That works too.

If it is autumn and you are clean out of tobacco, crumble the dry leaves of the beech tree and apply a match to your pipe. It makes a good smoke and you cough slightly less.

I tried that when I was broke. It relieved the nunger

Pogrom fears grow in USSR

continued from page 6)

based terrorist group. The Polish airline Lot has ing definite has been arranged at the time of writing. An agreement for direct Moscow / Tel Aviv flights to begin was reached in December 1989 between Aeroflot and El Al but has not been imlem pressure on the Soviet government being brought on behalf of the nearly three million Palesgration of Jews only.

Despite Arab feelings, however, another major country with which the State of Israel has diplomatic relations. The Egyptian ambassador to israel recently said his government only opposed the set- per day. tlement of Soviet Jews on the occupied territories. Aeroflot has recently increased its monthly scheduled flights to Cairo, including stop-overs, from eight to ten, and confirmed that a further two flights per month will be added from April. Cairo is a longestablished transit station between the USSR and its use as such. However, Egypt was recently re-ad- ation. mitted to the Arab league after eleven years, and has restored relations with all other Arab states except neighbouring Libya. The situation could therefore become an embarrassment to the Egyptian government, especially with the PLO making ever more strident calls to halt what it calls the "campaign of forced emigration to Palestine".

Within Israel, there are slightly more Arab than Jewish children under the age of eight, and this

After a suitable interval in the Westminster Cash-Comedy Show, it seemed that dodgy Nigel Lawson are constantly persuaded that while wise governflights with spare seats are making extra stops in clearly worries the government. Shamir's recent smartly lost the key. Imprisoned behind the door, both cities as well as laying on extra aircraft. On call for a "big Israel" to hold the expected influx of the get-rich-quick brigade remained uneasy until feet. If we concentrate on the little backroom busi-Friday 23rd March Malev announced it was sus- Soviet Jews seems a little premature in the light of magical Maggie came along to let everybody out pending its flights from Budapest to Tel Aviv fol- this, but so far as the Palestinian Arabs are conagain into a new world in which it would cost them lowing threats against the airline by a Lebanon- cerned it has stirred up a veritable homets' nest. Almore to live and breathe. On with the show. though only a minor problem (less than 1%) of So-Although the misgovernment tries to cool down been approached and asked to fill this gap, but noth- viet "olim" (new immigrants) have so far shown any the avarice which it ingeniously implanted in milinclination to settle in the occupied territories, the lions of minds, they realise that our basic needs of PLO announced on 20th February that such settlehousing and food will always remain much the ment (including in annexed East Jerusalem), which same. Mortgages have to be paid, food has to be put anyway contravenes the Fourth Geneva Convenon the table. Everything costs more, from postage plemented; presumably because of Arab and Mos- tion agreements dealing with occupied lands and stamps to train fares. And now comes the new govtheir inhabitants, will be regarded as an "act of war" ernment line to damn wages increases. A sort of and would result in the PLO withdrawing from guilt complex builds up. Those who desperately tinians whose exile is being perpetuated whilst the present peace initiatives, although the ban on antineed wage increases will be alienated. They are Zionist "Law of Return" in Israel allows free immi- Zionist terrorism has not been rescinded. Now that made to feel unpatriotic. yet another Israeli coalition government has col-Hit people in the pocket if you want to be effeclapsed, the situation has been plunged into further tive. On the other hand, if you want to win the next immigration route is that via Egypt, the only Arab uncertainty. Meantime, the Intifada with its tragic general election, create feelings of gratitude. loss of life continues, and Jews continue to stream Lawson was at his best when announcing tax cuts. out of the USSR and into Israel at a rate of over 400 He has done it before. Major's next budget cannot

Pogroms in the USSR against Jews or any other minority seem increasingly likely as the economic situation deteriorates, but can do nothing to advance the dubious aims of the perpetrators. Racist attacks would probably lead primarily to an immediate and forceful crackdown by the Soviet state on newly-Israel, and this represents essentially an increase in won general freedoms of expression and associ-

Even a slight picking at the scab of government strategy shows how the strings are pulled. At its most basic, it remains a carrot and stick. In refusing Ultimately, of course, the only certain protection to thaw out Child Benefit and letting it rest at £7.25 for everyone will be the end of nationalism as a dia week, the government has excused itself by saying visive force and of the use of violence in relations that it may introduce a superior method of "targetbetween communities and individuals. Until then, ing" the payout to those who most need it. Those one can only marvel at the senselessness of it all, who do not need it, will not get it. They have not and people throughout the world will continue to yet told us who these money-flush parents are. Psylive in fear. chologically, this is as diabolically clever as many Katy Andrews other official arguments. It makes us realise that Freedom Press



exploitation. That is why, as a libertarian organisation, we are participating right now alongside others Received, translated and distributed April 1990 by We are completely opposed to the social model 98103.

us who inhabit the continent of "fire and fear". While continuing to resist the authoritarian advance, and working together in solidarity, let's not

the state of the Stock Market, anarchists should be whatever method. break, the government sweats to quell our misgivings. It is a Paul Daniels of a government, never lost for a smart conjuring trick.

tionalised industries. The latest piece of hocuspocus is to instigate huge spending programmes on It is grown, nurtured, pruned. motorways and then sell the lot under the pretence modity so that private interests can introduce the lucrative toll roads common in France.

fail. Practically anything will be a relief. In the age of conspicuous consumption even the price of toilet soap may rise to absorb the tax cuts. It has now become difficult to take the advice of the black man in the bathtub and not use soap at all. That is how government works.

forget that there are no quick revolutions - they grow from the ground up.

No to the pardon, no to the amnesty for genocidal killers, and no to militarisation! Defend collective liberties, ensure all liberty! Self-manage work; consumption, education and all culture! In the face of the terrorism of those who dominate us, we affirm life against death and injustice!

> Grupo Impulso Autogestionario Casilla de Correo 984 2000 - Rosario Argentina

ing domination, exploitation and, ultimately, capi- in the resistance to the state sponsored plundering. Charlatan Stew, PO Box 31461, Seattle, WA

Yoga for French conscripts

The Centre for Human Relations attached to the Chiefs of Staff of the French Army recently carried out a psychological study of French soldiers, and has concluded that young conscripts for the one-year Service Militaire were fragile, individualistic and unable to tolerate frustration. They were pampered and had led sheltered lives, and relied too heavily on drugs, including alcohol and tranquillisers, to be an effective fighting force. What is to be done? The proposal is that French army recruits will in future have daily yoga and relaxation sessions to help prepare them to cope with the stress of combat! Come back, Bhagwan, all is forgiven! (Source: Daily Telegraph, 7th February 1990)

This is not Fred Oughton's Annual Lecture on Al- there must be some rich people somewhere who can ternatives. It is simply an introduction to a relief afford to forego £7.25 a week. The Tory two-nafrom State torture, a basic explanation of the way tion, rich and poor, philosophy is strengthened. Yet things work. While others have nightmares about again it is in their interests to divide and rule by

blessed with the sort of minds and eyes which can They know exactly what they are doing. It is as see the rotting skeleton beneath the national skin. precise as a slide rule. When government policy is In the last few weeks we have watched the nervy formulated, the likely consequences are also examtwitchings of the money markets. Yet they are noth- ined. If the Treasury proposes to shift the financial ing more than something which has happened be- emphasis in any direction, the minister concerned fore, over and over again. As the bones slowly is also likely to receive some advice on public reaction. The discussion then widens until it reaches the weekly meeting of government Information Officers, chaired by Bernard Ingham, head of Our misgovernment flourished the fat carrot of the Thatcher's press office. After examining the ti-Enterprise Culture in order to kid millions of people metable of political events, a date is set to announce that wealth was really the real key to elysium. Own the news. This is called news management. It is, in your house, sit back on a cushion of shares in dena- effect, the decision whether to use to carrot or the stick. No government news is entirely uncontrolled.

After a decade of this grinding and milling of at this is simply a need to accommodate increased every particle of official information, Britain is traffic. Not so. They are creating a saleable com- brainwashed. The dangerous element of patriotism has been quietly filed away to be replaced by sets of handy labels, such as "the battle against inflation", the Enterprise Culture, and many others. We ment is good for us, we must also stand on our own nesses which the government has enabled us to set up with high-high-higher interest loans, and concentrate on making widgets, then Westminster and Whitehall will see us right in the end. Trouble is, we are now at the end, squashed flat.

Fred Oughton





on Education

£2.50

FREEDOM'S **ACT OF FOLLY**

In the first page of George Wood- folly. Cock's book Anarchism we read "...

two (dictionary) definitions of the anarchist. One presents him (sic) as a man (sic) who believes that government must die before freedom can live. The other dismisses him (sic) as a mere promoter of disorder who offers nothing in place of the order he (sic) destroys. In popular thought the latter conception is far more widely spread . . . Anarchy, in popular parlance, is malign chaos."

In Freedom (21st April) in the front page article "Anarchists benefit from Trafalgar Square riot", begins "Anarchists want as many people as possible to be convinced of the anarchist case", and goes on to ironically thank David Meynell for linking the Trafalgar Square day 27th April students at the University will be no dispute as to fact, because riot with anarchism.

be naive enough to believe that the debacle of Trafalgar Square did anything to convince non-anarchists that anarchists for bailiffs to steal anyone's possessions. whatever they might think of Scargill are anything other than purveyors of ma- Aside from physically blocking the libel juries have recently shown themas leading to a harmonious condition of that bailiffs are too frightened even to set and the NUM issue a writ. society in which law is abolished as un- foot in Moulsecoomb! necessary?

archists that "most (anarchists) are paid archist paper, acts as apologist for disorder and destruction?

No doubt the agents of the state are delighted that anarchists can be blamed for and the system fucked, we hope. writ will be issued. the chaos since all the old anti-anarchist

Rambling Notes

If these notes so often refer to the way the Ministry of Defence interferes with simple recreational walking, it is not just because I object to the existence of the armed forces, althe MoD takes more and more open land to play games with its tanks and guns. The result is high wire fences blocking footpaths and enclosing mysterious establishments, which according to Ordnance Survey maps do not by picnickers rather than walkers, and the blast it out of existence and not just for target practice either.

The land in question is Rhu Spit, a terminal

tion with 1,000 people signing a petition against the proposal and Dunbarton District Council rejecting the plan unanimously. Faslane Peace Camp maintains a permanent and continuous protest against the operation.

22nd January. The peace campers called a from Holland rather than a promised quieter

prejudices in the minds of non-anarchists are thereby confirmed. No doubt the likes of Militant, struggling for respectability, are delighted to offload the blame to their traditional opponents. For Freedom not to recognise and condemn this slur, but instead to wear it proudly, is an act of

Poll Tax News: Brighton

monies were held in Brighton this mortgages outstanding on the houses be- rest. week. On Thursday 26th April bills were fore the strike, or that the mortgages were burned outside the town hall, and on Fri- still outstanding after the strike. There of Sussex made a similar gesture. It is mortgages are always thoroughly do-Can the present staff of Freedom really thought that in both cases the solidarity cumented. shown by members of the anti-poll tax If it came to court, the amount of dam unions will make it virtually impossible ages would be decided by a jury, and

Johnny Yen

"Justice" for Scargill

rely on justice from a British court of law. more other publishers' titles that are if are glad and relieved to be newspapers are settled out of court.

How can anarchists convince non-an- booked the courts in the event of a large neither Scargill nor the NUM would issue number of non-payers. But The Inde- a writ, and supplied excuses in advance. pages of Freedom, 24th March) when privately many local authorities admit can afford to hire lawyers for their interders. If residents demand full hearings, libel action. Anyone who believes in with ideas and also to be kept inthe courts would be clogged with cases, Scargill's innocence must presume that a formed of progress.

demonstration for this time but it was not until the following day that a barge arrived which the contractors planned to use to plant the explosives. It was guarded by MoD police in inflatables, but Faslane Peace campers, Sea Action members and some local people, in four of their own inflatables, attempted to board the barge. The ensuing encounter was described in the March issues of Sanity and Southern Resistor. According to Sanity, "A police inflatable rams a Sea Action inflatable against the Rhu Spit beacon, breaking a demthough I do, but because I object to the way onstrator's nose. One person jumps into the police inflatable and arrests an MoD police officer for breach of international law. She is arrested and charged with breach of the peace. Another is handcuffed and charged with breach of the peace and common assault after exist. However, this story is about land used he gets into the police inflatable and puts it into reverse". During the subsequent sea ac-MoD didn't want to put a fence around it, they tion three people were arrested for breach of wanted to abolish it. That's right, blow it up, the peace and their inflatable was confiscated and towed away. It was returned the following day.

About the same time, at a meeting, MoD repglacial moraine, part of which has been desig- resentatives were being reminded by a local nated a Site of Special Scientific Interest. This district and regional councillor that two years monitoring the resulting noise and general disshingle bank is on the east shore of Gareloch earlier the Secretary of State for Scotland, in Dunbartonshire and is a well-known local Malcolm Rifkind, had given a promise that the beauty spot. The object of the exercise is to Rhu Narrows would not be blasted. Whether widen the Rhu Narrows near the entrance to the result of diplomacy, direct action, or both, the loch so that Trident submarines can pass the MoD cancelled plans to blast the Spit, dethrough on their way to the Clyde submarine ciding to do nothing until the spring and then base at Faslane. There aren't any there yet, but to use a dredger to widen the narrow entrance the first is due to be launched in August 1991. to the loch. They did, however, manage to de-When, last July, the MoD announced their stroy the beacon marking the end of the Spit, intentions there was enormous local opposi- so please alter your OS maps, there is now only a little green buoy.

With the arrival of Spring, dredging has started with the intention of widening the even a small picnic site should not suffer the channel from 150 to 300 metres and increasing the depth from 10.7 to 14 metres, by re- the peace campers deserve your support in Although the MoD had stated that the Spit moving some 800,000 cubic metres of gravel would not be touched until the Spring, they and silt. Some granite would have to be excagave just two days notice that contractors vated by blasting. They are working 12 or Faslane Peace Camp, Shandon, Helensburgh, would begin blasting and dredging at 8am on more hours a day using a large bucket dredger

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The anti-Trident campaign of the campers has some local support but there are others who are trying to get rid of them by appealing to the Secretary of State for Scotland to revoke planning permission for the camp previously obtained from the local council. Whether you are opposed to the Trident sub-

marine base because you detest the military activities of nation states, fear the proliferation of nuclear weapons, or simply believe that the land belongs to the people and that consequent radioactive contamination, then their efforts to stop the Rhu Narrows widening plans of the MoD. They can be contacted at to sit in the House of Commons and debate matters Dunbartonshire, Scotland, tel: 0436-820 901. upon by people outside Parliament?

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READERS' PAGE

Donald Rooum

News from **Angel Alley**

A le have just produced an impos-VV ing looking 12-page trade list of this issue of Freedom. SM Replying to J.C. Harrison, true, you can't all Freedom Press titles and the many

The Raven 11 is on schedule to be June. The main subject of number 11 with articles and donations. is class, the class struggle, and is intended to be provocative. Both views pro and con on the class struggle are lign chaos? Am I the only regular reader path of the bailiffs, strategies include selves very punitive towards the press. ably put and we are hoping that this of Freedom to feel that linking the riot to "selling" one's stereo, etc., to one's small Besides, you cannot rely on the jury to be issue will lead to some positive disanarchism was one more obstacle to be child who is not liable to pay. However, anti-Scargill. The Maxwell lawyers will cussion among anarchists. We have FIGHTING FUND overcome whenever and wherever an at- in some parts of Brighton such methods almost certainly advise a substantial out- already started planning number 12, tempt is made to promote anarchist ideas may not be necessary. A local rag reports of-court settlement, whenever Scargill which will be about communicating. Walden ME £5, Birmingham PO £5, That is to try and establish how best My earlier letter was in protest at the to propagate anarchist ideas in a £12. Apparently the council have already Freedom article which assumed that world where the mass media are in the hands of members of the estabup pacifists" (to quote K. Allen from the pendent (13th March 1990) suggests that Short of money they may be, but if they lishment hostile to alternative solutions to social and economic ques-Freedom, the best-known British an- that if opponents want to create chaos, the nal investigation, they can afford to hire tions. Any reader interested in the simplest way would be to fight court or- lawyers for a lucrative open-and-shut subject should communicate with us

A number of new Black Rose titles Aare now appearing as well as some important reprints including Dolgoff's Bakunin on Anarchism and Voline's Unknown Revolution. A list of these will be found elsewhere in

But you can predict how judgements will distributed by Freedom Press Dis- VV able to announce that at last the go because they follow earlier cases, and tributors. It is intended principally for centenary volume with selections for that reason most libel actions against bookshops and we would be obliged from the journal Spain and the World if readers would let us have the with the title Spain: Social Revolution The gravamen of the libel against Scar- names of booksellers in their area and Counter Revolution 1936-39 is, gill is that, at a time when NUM members who might be interested to have a at the time of writing, with the binders everything, money donated for the relief copy. We will gladly send copies to and we are sure that a supply will be of members' distress was used to pay off readers who would like to try calling available by the time this issue of the mortgages on officers' houses. This on booksellers and getting orders. All Freedom reaches you. It is a 272can easily be refuted. All that is necess- they then have to do is to pass on the page volume with a number of illuswo further poll tax bill burning cere- ary is to show, either that there were not orders to use and we will deal with the trations and only costs £5 (post free for inland readers).

> ast but not least, our thanks to all comrades and friends who have dispatched to subscribers by mid- contributed to this issue of Freedom

DONATIONS 20th April - 30th April

FREEDOM FORTNIGHTLY

Douglas Isle of Man PC £4, Saffron Wolverhampton JL £2, USA anon

> TOTAL = £28.00 1990 total to date = £519.30

FREEDOM PRESS

OVERHEADS FUND Nelson NT £1.50, Nottingham AH £5, Lancaster JA £5, USA anon £10,

Wolverhampton JL £2. TOTAL = £23.50 1990 total to date = £355.30

A Game of Nought for Crosses

N To members of the general public in Britain are allowed to know what the "Establishment" (i.e. the real government) are doing internationally or nationally, in their names. Nor are MPs, our socalled representatives, allowed to know. Even the Cabinet, as a whole, is very largely in the dark. And the Prime Minister, and perhaps the Foreign Secretary, are told only what is deemed necessary for them to know. Nonsense? Fiction?

The "thirty year rule" provides only for "safe" documents to be released for public scrutiny. "Unsafe" material must be kept under lock and key for a further twenty years, when it may once again be considered for release. This means that some facts are never divulged in our lifetime.

Thanks to the grovelling political commentators who grace the pages of our serious, and less serious newspapers (which are all owned by millionaire friends of the Establishment), the general public are

suction dredger, to the consternation of the inhabitants close by and the wealthy town of Helensburgh. The local council is said to be turbance.

under the mistaken impression that our present Prime Minister has a mind of her own despite the known fact that she is advised by Bernard Ingham and others that nobody elected.

The real situation is that Maggie is nothing more than a mouthpiece for the Establishment and, as such, can be smeared and scapegoated just as Heath and Wilson were in their time. Granted, she would never be penalised, any more than they were, because she could spill a few beans if things got nasty.

The big question is - how does the Establishment get away with such a gigantic hoax? The answer is - by creating fear and giving rewards. There must be an enemy, be it the Spaniards, the French, the Germans or the Russians, who have served them well in the past. Even the most deprived Briton will forget his wretchedness and the callousness of his masters if an enemy is hovering at the gate. So they meekly accept the necessity for a Secret Service and bow to the dictates of that magically awesome word SECURITY. And for the intelligentsia, whose professional pride would not normally allow them to expose themselves to the danger of being seen as dupes, there are fat rewards for hacking away in the media and fooling readers and listeners into believing fairy stories. How, otherwise, can adult, univer-

sity-trained political commentators lead their audiences to believe that Prime Ministers are powerful in their own right, and that it is possible to have an accountable Secret Service? If a service is accountable, it cannot be secret; if a service is secret, who is it serving?

The sinking of the Belgrano, the Gibraltar assassinations, Stalker, Wallace, the recent Northern Ireland bank robber killings . . . will our great-great grandchildren ever know?

We can only learn from history and, in the knowledge that leopards cannot change their spots, trust our instincts rather than government lies and half-

So, will you be voting for someone who has been selected, after being "vetted" by Party machinery, which, if important, have already been decided

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