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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 WC1.

EXTENDED PROGRAMME 1990

22nd June - "Freespace: Anarchist Alternatives in Town Planning" (speaker Andrew

29th June - Open discussion and plans for

6th July - "The Inadequacy of Mindless Ecology" (speaker Dave Dane) SUMMER VACATION

28th September - "Why Revolutions Occur" (speaker David Wedgewood)

7th October - Open discussion 14th October - "Anarchism's Heart: The

Messianic Vision" (speaker Peter Lumsden)

Further meetings are now being arranged for the coming academic year, the term dates of which are Fridays from 28th September to March 1991 and 19th April to 31st may 1991, all at 8pm to 10pm. And in 1991 we hope to continue from 7th June to 14th July either at the same time or the earlier time of 6pm to 8pm from 7th June to 14th July (if the Mary ward Centre is used by other groups from 8pm to 10pm we can continue at this time, but if we are the only group we switch to the 6pm to 8pm slot for this month). Anyone interested in leading a discussion (including visiting international contributors) should contact Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW.

Some members of the forum are looking at the possibility of other activities for 1990-91. but this has so far brought little response from people outside the Forum, although there is some indication of goodwill from a number of people, especially outside London, who would perhaps prefer a higher profile movement with much more personal contact but are not attracted to groups such as the ACF, AWG, DAM or Class War.

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INTERNATIONAL PAGE **Tiananmen Square — One Year On**

Events in Eastern Europe, particularly in These factors combine with a potentially Romania, have served to partially obscure the revolutionary proletariat with its own needs significance of the clampdown and not only and priorities. this but the tremendous convulsions that led collapse.

the occasional report referring to more be the big market to invest in. suppression.

later, with similar stirrings in their own fate of their European counterparts to date, headache. neither have they found solutions to the causes of what confronted them.

In 1957 the CCP leader Mao argued that China needed to 'surpass Britain in the output of major industrial goods within 15 years'. It is this desire to catch up with the West in industrial terms that has characterised the crisis facing the Stalinist states. Indeed, Stalin himself illustrated the attitude more graphically when he said of the USSR, 'either complete will not be permanent. crush us'.

The Chinese ruling class face massive contradictions which mean that repression cannot prevent discontent resurfacing. One-fifth of industry makes a loss. The Hong Kong get and these latter workers are behind this process. government estimated that one-sixth of all themselves notoriously badly paid in workers in state industry will need to be comparison with other industrial economy sacked by 1991 in order to increase the rate of workers. Although workplace organisation is productivity by shutting down non-profitable factories. On top of this inflation is rising. The economy is a volatile mixture of agriculture Pro-Democracy Movement. An incorporated on the one hand and industry on the other; Hong Kong workforce in conflict may well state capital on the one hand and private capital on the other; the needs of the domestic

This June sees the first anniversary of the leadership on the one hand and the aspirations Tiananmen Square massacre in China. of international finance capital on the other.

China cannot develop in isolation but instead up to it, where it seemed that the Chinese is forced to compete in the world economy. At in some parts of China people still live in caves Communist Party (CCP) would be the first to the same time there are internal shortages and in the mountains as this is a better alternative China is the World Bank's largest customer, to any form of housing they might get. And The occupation of the Square throughout receiving \$7,000 million in the last decade. this is in a country that is one of the biggest May and the subsequent crushing of the After the massacre the Bank blocked \$760 half-dozen arms exporters in the world! Pro-Democracy Movement have been well million but such temporary 'sanctions' were documented, but as the world's attention little more than crocodile tears. As Japan said Thina is also the world's largest producer confidence of ending on the winning side was switched first to East Germany, later to when justifying continued investment, Romania and, as I write, to the Baltic States of 'Business is business and democracy is the USSR, the situation in China has by and democracy'. Little stands in the way of profit large been overshadowed, the exception being where our rulers are concerned and China will

East European leaders faced, a few months n top of their domestic difficulties there is the question of Hong Kong. The private China's planners say this may be much countries knew that in order to smash better-off paid workers in China work in four worse'. opposition at home a Tiananmen-style of the five special economic development operation would be necessary. This prospect zones. Three million of them are employed by of China's exports) collapsed soon after looked much less appealing than the Hong Kong companies. The return of Hong giving the Plan the worst start possible. It was alternative of accepting reform and making Kong to China in 1997 offers a rich prize in in this context that the Pro-Democracy the best of the market economy to come. The the sense that Hong Kong is an established sweeping reform process is in reverse in China leader in the world economy — however, it to the ruling class that took China to the brink but although the CCP may have avoided the may also prove to be China's biggest of revolution. What was missing was the

> been to increase the flight of capital and into the conscious struggle for revolution. It skilled labour as 1997 approaches the colony. was splits within the ruling class that allowed Although the world's bosses were pleased that the events to take place in such rapid Deng Xiaoping reasserted control this succession, and once the CCP united in certainly does not mean that China, or Hong common defence of its interests the Kong for that matter, are any more stable — suppression came fast and furious. far from it. After the massacre the Hong Kong stock exchange fell 25%. Its recovery though

weak there, Hong Kong nevertheless saw strikes and demonstrations in support of the serve to inspire their 'mainland' counterparts and there is plenty of discontent to feed on.

Who are/were the War Criminals?

(continued from page 1)

Dut there is a further category of war D criminals no one ever mentions these days. In the past they were referred to as the Merchants of Death - the armaments manufacturers. They are still with us, as are the scientists who are continuing to invent ever more lethal weapons of destruction, and the millions of workers in this country and in all the industrial nations who are earning their livings producing the weapons of death.

Since the end of World War Two there war-related deaths mainly in developing market'. countries in general and in the Middle and Far East in particular. Without the armaments produced in Britain, France, have been waged — certainly not on the massive and murderous scale that they have been.

Anly last month 360 companies British Army Equipment Exhibition (BAEE) 1990, had their deadly wares on for export. Apparently (according to The Independent) there is 'over-capacity' in Class War, and in this interview he expressed his the arms business worldwide, and in view of British spending being down this year 'there would inevitably be greater emphasis on export sales'. The same source adds that BAEE 'takes place in large part to stimulate overseas interest in British equipment'. 'There is evidence everywhere that British defence manufacturers have their teeth into the have been 127 wars and 21.8 million Third World, low and middle intensity war

A nd our rulers and legislators are Agetting all steamed up over a the USA and Russia these wars could not handful of geriatric German war criminals when the real criminals in their tens of thousands are operating openly right under our noses and we do nothing about them!

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The leadership of the CCP may well have been able to get away with putting Tiananmen Square down to a 'Taiwanese plot' but it doesn't wash when explaining their admission that 60 million of the population live in poverty and 200 million are illiterate, or that

of coal but because its railway system is lacking. so under-developed it cannot be moved to where it is required as efficiently as would be desired. In the year of the 7th Five year Plan, 1986, a Financial Times survey stated that 'one-fifth of [China's] industrial capacity is idle because of insufficient power . . . In

This was the year in which oil prices (25%) Movement went from protest onto a challenge organisational and political oversight The most obvious effect of Tiananmen has necessary to transform the reform struggle

But this is not the end of it because although the symptoms of discontent — the protests were put down, the contradictions that caused they still get only 10% of what workers in started its collapse. China is but one step

A mass organised anti-capitalist movement from below that has a clear understanding of the role of the state and the need to organise society on the basis of production for need and not profit is necessary in the struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression the world over. The workers and students of China do not just give us a valuable history lesson in what can be achieved but will live on as an inspiration to revolutionaries everywhere.

Of course, as we know, the movement was suppressed but it is important to understand why. Firstly, workers did not occupy their workplaces. Without this the army were less likely to take the substantial risk of mutiny as

It is important that we give the Chinese students our unconditional support in their struggle and this must be extended to the workers too. However, it is equally important therefore that we have criticisms concerning, for example, their naive pacifism in the face of military intervention; their illusions in the 'liberal' wing of bureaucracy; their belief that the 'People's Army' (sic) would never fire on the people; and their illusions in Western 'democracy' and the market.

China is not communist or socialist as anarchists have always pointed out in relation to the USSR. On a practical note we should oppose all immigration controls for all Chinese and Hong Kong residents to live and work in Britain if they so choose. We in the West must not over-simplify events into a conflict of 'old men' versus 'young Chinese students' as if the young factory manager would be any less willing than the old party bureaucrat to give up power! We must never forget that there are further uprisings simmering away and will sooner or later re-emerge, we hope to victory.

The victims of the 4th June massacre and the we make good this lagging behind or they There is a huge gap in living standards them cannot be got rid of. The world crisis of subsequent clampdown will one day be between China and Hong Kong. Those three international capitalism shows no compassion avenged. The overthrow of all bosses and the million workers in the special economic zones for its weaker sectors. This is one of the creation of a libertarian communist alternative may be the highest paid Chinese workers, yet reasons why Stalinism in Eastern Europe has to Stalinism and the market is the most fitting tribute that we could pay them.

David Luton

Anarchism of the (NY) Times (from a New York correspondent)

Sunday 27th April under the headline: 'Resentment of New Thatcher Tax Feeds the Bonfire of Britain's Anarchists'. The general tenor of the article was has allowed the anarchists to increase their ranks.

anarchists were presented: they were portrayed as was dedicated to an interview with a member of the power elite. 'disdain' of the British anarchist community, To prevent such misinterpretations, we should calling them 'politically inactive, vegetarian pacifists'. He also called Class War members 'the only non-pacifist, pro- nuclear and carnivorous anarchists' in Britain and who 'support working class violence against the ruling class and their agents' by 'vandalizing yuppie cars and [attacking] their homes'

As always the press have succeeded in portraying the anarchist movement as either a collection of harmless nuts who can be safely ignored, or as a bunch of bloodthirsty thugs who revel in mindless violence. As anarchists we are also partly to blame for this situation by providing the press with ammunition with which they can attack the concept of anarchism. For example, when we are given a chance to have our views appear in the popular press we tend to emphasise the ideas that will 'shock' the establishment in an attempt to attract

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Dritish anarchists made the news in the attention, but by doing so we also 'shock' some of Dinternational portion of the New York Times on our potential supporters. Some people will, of course, argue that the press is justified in presenting anarchists in this light since some anarchists do vigorously subscribe to an extreme modus rather weak, but the main point was that the poll tax operandi. However, when such extreme views are has become a symbol of the combined injustices expressed the press take them out of context and associated with the Thatcher years and as a result deliberately ignore the aims and ideals of anarchism, thereby presenting anarchism in the However, one of two stereotypical images of darkest possible light. Finally, being human, anarchists often succumb to exaggeration and by being either marginal types ('anti-nuclear', doing so contribute to the distortion and 'syndicalist', 'animal libertarians' or 'communist polarization of the anarchist philosophy. This anarchists') or members of the lumpenproletariat occurred in the New York Times interview with the who 'illegally squat' or '[work while] while member of Class War in that contrary to his views represented on 200 stands at the claiming welfare benefits'. Also the latter type of it is a fact that many supporters of Class War are anarchists were strongly identified with Class War opposed to nuclear power and nuclear weapons, and who in turn were described as being a 'violent oppose personal violence, while still agreeing with display for the home market but above all group'. In fact, a significant portion of the article the idea of attacking the institutes and symbols of

> therefore try to resist using the popular press to promote our ideas, even when given the opportunity, since ultimately any comments that we make will be manipulated to suit the aims of the ruling class. To make a positive and lasting impact on society in general we must reach the public directly by joining independent groups and organisations such as the ecology movement and the unions. We should then introduce the members of these organisations to anarchist ideas and attempt to establish anarchist principles within these organisations. Finally, if we are employed in the field of education, we must expose the students to anarchist views and ideas, and show how capitalism exploits workers, women, minorities and the environment. We can only rely on our own efforts! Allan MacGregor

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The Factory & Beyond

Religious Tonic for Pen-pushers

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Let's say something nice about religious mania and Islamic fundamentalism! Mr Rushdie has become accident prone, which ought to be part of the job description of a art and literature. proper writer.

Every day blue collar workers take risks at work. Perils to life and limb exist in most industrial jobs. We don't all go at it like Yves Montand in the film 'Wages of Fear', but the dangers are there for most of us most of the

The Channel Tunnel project has so far claimed the death of one man a mile on the British side.

Novelists take minimal risks in England. The pen-pushers of Britain have a cushy life — Verses. It would have been an insult to him, as alcoholism and eyestrain is normally the worst they can expect. Perhaps the Rushdie affair will help change all that.

Gerald Brenan, in his Literature of the if Mr Walter's anti-blasphemy brigade, Spanish People, pointed out that the English novelists have had such a soft life that they have to resort to psychological creation and inventing a world concocted of cobbled together characters. Compared to Spanish despise. writers they have a skin over their eyes. The Spanish novelist looks outward rather than inward because 'with his sword by his side' Scheme he must confront the dangerous world around

A high level of safety at work for authors and artists may lead to low quality art and literature. The Ayatollas may not be the most distinguished literary critics, but at least they take literature seriously, which is more than can be said of Mrs Thatcher with her passion

HOME NEWS DEATH IN SERVICE

for the novels of Jeffrey Archer or the liberals who duck the issue by saying 'who is to say what is offensive or obscene' or 'art cannot be judged'

Nothing suffocates art and literature so much as the shrugging liberal saying 'live and let live'. Indifference is the liberal death threat on

Far better, in the interests of art, to send Mr Rushdie to be stoned in Iran. This ought to be viewed as an occupational hazard for writers, in the same as a building worker might anticipate being buried under a pile of

miscellaneous rubble in the Channel Tunnel. Mr Rushdie must recognise the wisdom of this! For years he has tormented the religious establishment on the Indian sub-continent and in the Middle East with books like Midnight's Children, Shame and lastly The Satanic

a writer, if they had not resounded vigorously. Don't get me wrong, I'm not being 'arty-farty'! It's just that I'd feel a lot happier Harold Pinter, Lady Antonia and all those champagne socialist members of the literati, were forming up as Mr Rushdie's bodyguard, rather than the British bobbies who they so

Mutual Mill's Death in Service Benefit

... the sum of £2,000 shall be paid to a beneficiary of any employee who dies whilst in the company's service and who at the date of his/her death has not reached the retirement age of 65.'

'The company reserves the right to investigate any or all claims made in respect of this death in service benefit.'

Rambling Notes

The walked through the main gate along Y Yarmouth, Norwich and Rochester roads, with just a passing glance at Donutland, the Burger Bar and the new dormitory project still under construction. With our anoraks and boots we looked like a group of country walkers although it did not look like a country path. But it was a right of way and the notice on the gate insisted, under Statutory Instruments 1986 No. 8: 'Nothing in these bylaws shall affect the lawful exercise by any person of a public right of way.'

It was 1st January 1990 and we were walking across United States Air Force Base Lakenheath which houses four squadrons of F-111 nuclear bombers and from where, on 15th April 1986, planes flew to bomb Libya. Twenty persons and a dog, accompanied by two Anglia TV men and a reporter from the Cambridge Evening News, and escorted by five Ministry of Defence police. A police vehicle kept a semi-discreet distance. In ten of media coverage. Two protesters carried a minutes we reached the gate in the high banner stating 'On this day 1986 USAF perimeter fence which led to what is left of the Lakenheath bombed the innocents of Tripoli footpath. The gate, normally locked, was open in an act of cowardice bringing shame to us that day, protected only by two sinister all'. The Burger Bar seemed to have looking men in a parked truck. For those who disappeared (or was it being rebuilt bigger and is thoughtfully provided so that the key holder nearing completion. Does that mean more and presumably an appropriate escort can be Americans are coming? summoned. At least you can do this now but until recently the phone was unhelpfully situated out of reach inside the fence. After some of us had used it to chat to 'control' about our admiration for our gallant American defenders, we returned, complete with escort. arrivals, disappointed to have missed the fun, so we did it all over again.

It is due to a curiosity of our legal system that we were able to amble somewhat ludicrously across a military airfield and the MoD is out to stop such nonsense by getting the path 'extinguished', a legal but singularly keep on walking whenever you can. appropriate term meaning no more walking

across our, sorry, this American base. To stop the MoD we have to show that the path, although of no scenic value, is both needed and used. We each had our own reasons for taking this walk. One John Bug is concerned at the erosion of our civil liberties and right to roam and he regularly walks this path to protest against the killing of Raafat El Ghossein, an 18 year old Libyan in Tripoli, by a bomb dropped from a US F-111 bomber from Lakenheath. We all supported his right to use a public highway to make a political protest against an act which was carried out with the consent and, indeed, approval of the British government.

On Sunday 15th April, the fourth anniversary of this raid and when the gate was first locked, some of us and the dog repeated the walk to maintain our right to use this 'highway' for the purpose of political protest, although this time we did not have the benefit

been received by Forest Heath District a short cut, for recreation and for political attempts to stop us walking across the base, rather than face the cost and inconvenience of a public inquiry. One may presume that the are never taken up. Ministry of Defence is not pleased, but do

Tunnel Tragedy

Building contractors digging the Channel Tunnel have admitted negligence in the cases of two of the six workers who have died whilst working on the British end of the project. An taking. inquest into one of the deaths — that of Keith Lynch, hit by a train — was told how a look-out system to warn of approaching trains had broken down on the day of his death.

The contractors on the tunnel were warned by Dr Cullen of the Health and Safety Commission back in February not to sacrifice safety in the interests of speeding up work.

More Deaths at Work

Figures published this year show a rise in deaths at work to 514 in 1988-89 from 360 in the previous year. The figure includes 167 fatalities in the Piper Alpha disaster.

Some sectors have a very bad record. The building trade always has high injury rates. On the railways, in metal manufacturing and know! mining the accident rates are all up on previous form.

Mr Cullen, Chairman of the Health and Safety Commission, called on magistrates to give heavier sentences to firms which broke the health and safety laws. He said that the average fine for an offence last year was £574, and only £282 for agricultural offences.

In any case the maximum fine in a magistrates court in £2,000, although cases referred to the crown court could face unlimited fines.

Production Before Safety

New technology industries, such as electronics, are introducing new chemicals every year, according to US expert Dr Ladou, without testing them for toxic effects.

Some workers at Scotland's Silicon-Glen claim they are suffering ill health from dangerous solvents, acids and chemicals. The safety procedures are poor, and they say that managers are complacent and workers too frightened to complain.

These allegations are at odds with the government-inspired image of Silicon-Glen.

Don't Break the Skin

These days workers, when they start a new job, get bombarded with safety information and induction courses by companies who want

to cover themselves from liability. But when we go on to the job we find that safety rules are shelved and everyday workshop practice, encouraged by the gaffers, involves risk

Personnel promotes 'safety' while production management continues in its own sweet way. In some places, like ship repair, the sight of an ambulance is no novelty. A leg off here, an arm off there.

Some months ago I bruised myself badly at work. This involved my manager at Arrowvale mill filling in an accident form. His attitude was that reporting accidents and seeking treatment for them damaged the image of the department. 'This', he said gruffly, ' is a taboo situation'. Far better to effect some kind of self cure than to seek treatment from the company nurse.

His solution was: 'If you don't break the skin - don't report the accident'. So now you

Mack-the-Knife



'My name is Doctor David Owen and I intend to take an active participatory role in the theory and practice of anarchism.'

CRADLE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT ETON CELEBRATES 550 YEARS

The townspeople of Eton were lately up in arms at Berkshire County Council's proposal to close down its library, as a costcutting measure in the wake of a fairly hefty community charge. Rallying hotfoot to the cause of the commoner came the College authorities, eager to show a charitable face, with a reduction in rent for that library which it owns, along with one third of the property in the High Street, not to mention vast land and property holdings elsewhere. The gracious approach the base using the footpath a phone better?) and the Dormitory Project was College also chipped in with £3,000 from its Eton Poors Fund to boot.

This gesture is but a classic case of giving Between our two visits so many letters had away with one hand and taking a shipload with the other. Nobody outside the College knows Council, arguing that the path was needed as how much it rakes in through its exemption from tax on profits, etc., and from rates relief, protest, that the Council had referred the because under a special charitable status it is matter back to its Health and Amenities not required to open up its accounts for to the main gate. There we met some late Committee. The result was that on 27th March | scrutiny by the Charity Commissioners. the Council decided, in spite of protests by its Admittedly, in accordance with its original more jingoistic members, to abandon its requirement by statute, the College offers free education for 70 children from local poor families, but these offers, for obvious reasons,

By this huge con trick, the College must be making millions every year. Hence its fees of HS £8,496 per annum are not significantly higher

than those of lesser 'public' schools. And so the ordinary people of Berkshire and Britain unwittingly subsidise the schooling of boys from rich families. Perhaps the College confuses 70 common boys in the House with 70 boys in the House of Commons!

While the successful Windsor, Slough and Eton Athletics Club struggle to bring their track up to the standard required by their fixtures, and the victorious Slough Town Football Club go begging to improve their ground for Premier League matches next season, Eton College are completing new international standard athletics and rowing facilities from their ill-gotten gains.

far from content with all this bounty, the College has been trawling in Japanese waters for sponsorship, coming up with £1 million from a Japanese bank to help promote Japanese language and culture. An excited Dr Anderson, head of Eton, is quoted as saying: 'The more these boys know about Japan and the more they can do business there, the better'. So, they speak the same language already — Yenspeak.

The College this month celebrates its 550th anniversary. Floreat Nipponia!

Porny

News from Northern Ireland

crash onto the motorway by a British Midland about the analysis he threatened to leave the flight from London to Belfast has just finished and Inquiry. It is hoped that confirmation of the many people from Northern Ireland who lost Maguire's innocence is given speedily in order that relatives and friends in the crash see it as only a first stage in the aftermath of the tragedy. It came to light in the course of the inquest that people on the flight Maguires can clear their name after all these years. deck could not actually see the wing engines and were thus relying on instruments to keep them 'The bunker' is the nickname given to the building informed. The decision to switch off the wrong that houses the Anglo-Irish Secretariat outside engine was put down to this factor and one of the Belfast at Maryfield. Civil servants from the UK recommendations made was that exterior cameras and the Republic of Ireland meet there and keep the Only when the people who live in the area of the be fitted to planes in future. Of course the cabin secretariat of the Anglo-Irish agreement going. The crew can see the engines and when an 'expert' was nickname is apt because the Irish civil servants are asked by journalists why members of the cabin crew flown in on Monday and flown home to Dublin on had not reported to the flight deck than an engine Friday. In between times they never leave the was on fire, he gave his opinion that cabin crew heavily guarded premises. Apparently they have a personnel held flight deck personnel in such awe, gym, umpteen videos and their own chef. It now believing that the captain knew all there was to looks like Babbling Brooke, the Secretary of State know about the plane, that they would not take it for Northern Ireland, may have succeeded in upon themselves to contact him. This provided an embarrassing the so-called constitutional interesting note for anarchists concerned with empowering people to be responsible for their workplaces and to free themselves from the shackles of those with power over them. Of course the question is begged as to whether an anarchist society would have airlines. Certainly not fighter jets, or Concorde, but inter-city shuttles?

The May Inquiry into the conviction of the Maguire family for bomb-making got off to a fine start when supporters. The disorder continued well into the it became clear that the forensic evidence that night, and was blamed on football hooligans not convicted them was massively flawed and that the possibility exists that substances were planted on them to secure a conviction. It further emerged that an overworked 18 year old trainee actually performed the analysis upon which the convictions were based. When the man who had been in charge

Poll Tax Hits Welsh Monks

Aldey island, a small island off the Welsh coast, has just been deprived of its centuries-ol political autonomy, thanks to the British government, when on 24th May 1990 a Bill in the Houses of Parliament received an unopposed second reading. The inhabitants, fourteen Cistercian monks, lost a year-long battle to retain their exemption from taxes, but as a compromise have been allowed to retain some of their status as the only part of Britain not integrated into the local government system.

The issue at stake — you guessed it — was pol tax. The Cistercians had asked that their ancien rights to freedom from interference by secular government on the mainland be respected. The community claimed that they were happy to pay the poll tax on principle, but insisted that they did not want to be subjected to the rule of Pembrokeshire District Council. The Welsh Office said this demand was incompatible with electoral law, because disenfranchisement from local elections would deprive any putative future residents th right to vote.

The irony of the saga is that although the community's tourist gift shops will be liable for the Uniform Business Rate charge, the monks themselves will be exempt from having to pay the poll tax - £188 — because they are members of a religious order.

(Source: The Daily Telegraph 24th May 1990.

The inquest into the Kegworth air disaster, the of the testing unit was asked some sticky questions the DPP's promise that it would drop its evidence against the family can be called upon and the



Ceveral TV crews covering a recent 'May Day' Bank Holiday football match in Bournemouth were attacked by football hooligans when violence broke out between rival Leeds and Bournemouth remotely associated with Militant Tendency or the Socialist Workers' Party, let alone anarchists.

Three reporters and cameramen from BBC South were attacked before the match began, and fans demanded that cameraman Mike Smith should hand over the footage already shot of the trouble. He did so, and the spool was kicked along the road. A car belonging to the local radio station, Radio Solent, was smashed up. Film crews from TVS (the local independent TV network station), Sky TV and British Satellite Broadcasting were also attacked, as were a freelance team who replaced the shaken and lager-soaked but not badly hurt BBC South crew.

Police were slower than they have been of late to ask the BBC to hand over its footage - perhaps because they had already handed it over to football supporters, or because it wasn't needed. At least one police force has already admitted to collecting their own information under the guise of reporting.

A reporter from the local Express and Star newspaper based in Wolverhampton who was covering an anti-poll tax demonstration in Dudley, West Midlands, has revealed that a supposed press photographer who claimed to be from the Press Association was recognised by a genuine photographer at the demo as being a member of the West Midlands police Special Branch. The Express and Star's news editor said he was 'very concerne that if police are masquerading as press it could rebound and place in danger our own photographer

A West Midlands Police spokesman confirmed that the incident had occurred. A statement from the force said: 'If there is potential for disorder the police are under a duty to obtain information Officers from Special Branch are obviously dealin with matters of a sensitive nature and are under duty to protect their own identity'.

Tina Mackay, chairman of the Birmingham branch of the National Union of Journalists, said



HOME NEWS

politicians to the point that they may get to sit down and talk. What will this mean for working class people in Northern Ireland is not difficult to foretell, no matter what way the talking turns out. But it could mark the end of the road for the bunker! Shed no tears!

An eco-story of major proportions is developing in Lough Foyle. Hospital waste in bags marked 'for incineration' which originated in Altnagelvin Hospital on the UK side of the Lough have been washed up on beaches on the Irish side of the Lough in recent weeks, highlighting not only our inability to handle waste disposal in our society but also the limits of narrow nationalism, both British and Irish, when trying to deal with the problems of pollution Even supra-nationalism à la EC will not come up with any solutions to problems in Lough Foyle. Lough have full control of their environment will pollution of the waters by domestic, hospital and industrial processes be adequately dealt with. And then we will still have to deal with Bhopal and Chemobyl-type incidents. But would an anarchist society have dangerous chemical plants or nuclear power stations or would it consign them, like Concorde, to some historical land-fill site?

Dave Duggan

formal protest was being considered. As she pointed out, 'every photographer could be seen as a cover for the police'. And quite right. (Source: UK Press Gazette 21st May 1990)

British State's Secret War

Thile the Stevens inquiry recently reported its findings that limited collusion unofficially took place between the security forces and loyalist paramilitaries, a more damaging revelation was being sat on by the same inquiry. Nothing has

However, more light was thrown on this aspect of detrimental'. the British state's secret war in Northern Ireland by The Independent (28th May 1990) when they Notes published details of the army's prior knowledge of loyalist paramilitary assassination targets. This has risen due to the case of Brian Nelson, a key member | Scientist 26th May 1990. of the UDA and reportedly one of their chief intelligence co-ordinator in Belfast, being questioned by the Stevens inquiry. It has emerged that Nelson's task was to collect information on suspected IRA members and republican activists for UDA hit squads. Reputedly, much of the necessary material was leaked by members of the security forces.

It is now suspected that Nelson was also working for the army. As The Independent says, 'if true, it means an army agent has been located at the UDA nerve centre, where assassination victims were chosen and tracked'.

Nelson himself is reported to have been involved in the intelligence gathering for 14 assassinations or murder attempts. The most notable was the killing of Belfast lawyer Pat Finacune, who defended republican suspects. The Independent claims that loyalist sources now believe that the security forces had prior knowledge of at least some of these assassinations, including the Finacune case. Also that in some instances operations had to be called off after target areas were found to be the 'problem' of resistance to the state. flooded with security forces.

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Food Notes from East Anglia

A nent recent questions in Freedom about who A might want to know how pulses will sprout in space, one answer is Dr Keith Waldron of the Institute of Food Research at the University of East Anglia in Norwich, who with his colleague Dr Ian Gibson has been invited to watch the launch of the 'Juno' space mission at Baikanor. He is hoping this mission to put the first Britons into space (actually the first Briton in space will be an Anglo-American shuttle astronaut who, curiously enough, hails from Norfolk) will investigate the effect of microgravity on 32 pea seedlings. As Dr Waldron points out, 'No-one has looked at peas in space before'. Quite."

N Torwich seems to be leading the way in food science technology at present - 10 less a pair of personages than Agriculture Minister John 'beefburgers are good for you' Gummer and the Sainted Margaret (whose MSc research into how much air you can pack into a Lyons Maid ice-cream is a byword in the food industry) visited the city on Wednesday 23rd may to open a new food science laboratory there.

The next day, The Telegraph chose to give front-page prominence to yet another major East Anglian breakthrough in modern science, this time carried out by Dr Gary Barker and Dr Malcolm Grimson of the same Institute of Food Research as that which is so interested in peas sprouting in space, news unashamedly pinched by Fleet Street from the current issue of New Scientist. This time, a computer simulation model of muesli has been employed to elucidate why nuts and raisins always seem to rise to the top in the packets - a question no doubt of prime importance to those fashion-conscious faddists who indulge in unnatural and satanic dietary practices such as vegetarianism. In case you also wondered, a nut or raisin in a packet of muesli creates an opportunity for smaller particles, such as oat flakes, to move below it and fill the gap. The problem appears to be officially been said about this case because it is sub insoluble - as Dr Barker points out, 'shaking the muesli packet does not do any good, in fact it's

Bjarni Halfnelson

1 VEA Newsletter 14th May 1990. 2 Daily Telegraph 24th May 1990, and New

If Nelson was an army agent and the army were thus informed of assassination targets, the fact that some appear to have been 'cancelled' by flooding an area with security forces while others were 'permitted' to go ahead by the latter's absence, suggests the army was in reality selecting which assassinations would be successful. While the security forces were not necessarily choosing the targets they were certainly determining which people would be killed.

In connection with the older controversy of the state's 'shoot to kill' policy, this would appear to be something approaching 'tendering out' by the security forces of people they wish to dispose of.

Thus we now have the example of armed forces of reputedly one of the most liberal states in the West 'privatising' the elimination of extra-parliamentary critics. While not on the scale reported to have taken place behind the Iron Curtain it certainly points to a similarity of approaches to

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There are those whose understanding of any change in a society that has the misfortune to include them as one of its products understand it to be no more than a tightening of their control of the status quo. An arid world of meetings concerning the 'message' and a permanent witch-hunting closed society against those who spoke, wrote, painted or composed the 'wrong' phrase, word, brush stroke, novel, opinion or musical chord. Be they nazi, fascist, nationalist or pseudo- socialist or Saturday afternoon pseudo-'libertarian', they are the enemy within the gate. They have no use for the arts and they see imagination as a major enemy for they are the dead minds who take their opinions from off the mausoleums of the authorised bookshelves and give the contemptuous hinted smile to any infringement of their closed minds. It is their problem but becomes my problem when they are in a position to force their sterile opinions onto others. For the Town and his ever loving it was indeed a major tragedy in that they and we the culture hungry mob, found that there were four press views on the same morning which meant desperate dashing from the Victoria & Albert Museum to the Tate to the Royal Academy and finally Heim's of Jermyn Street for the free champagne and the buffet, but as I told the Town and his painting wife, 'it is the cause, my soul it is the cause'. But what is of concern, besides the wine, is the matter of censorship and the infringement of personal freedom to demonstrate one's art. Ilana Raskin is a Jewish belly dancer and was to gyrate her tummy at a Jerusalem reception, but the free-loading rabbis declaimed that rabbis and shit-scared management to accept the freedom of the individual while seeking to perform as an artist.

The dough-faced academics may ask 'what has this to do with real art', and no question mark, but within the National Gallery there is a small civilised exhibition of Goya's 'Majas'. All those who 'did art' know of Goya's horrors of war etchings, but here was a full-length portrait of a fully clothed reclining woman, and in a accompanying portrait Goya painted the same Majas in a 'page three' version completely starkers. For this nude painting Goya was ordered to appear before the prosecuting Inquisitor of this Holy Office in regard to the painting of an 'obscene picture' of a 'naked woman on a bed with a frame'. This was on 16th March 1815 and when you view the naked 'Majas' complete with National Gallery Catalogue remember that in 1990 the neurotics and their sycophantic followers still trail up and down the UndergrounD escalators ranting for the banning of underwear adverts and for the State to close erotic pulp-selling shops. Yet let Art transcend all the belly dancing and the Soho aspects of contemporary literature, wit' the pictures, by following the Town and his hungry wife into the heady culture of the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition, there to bathe in the Higher Thought and the free-loading, but even within these gates the moral welfare of the many-headed dictates that censorship must prevail. The Royal Ilana's performance was indecent and they Academy Summer Exhibition is on a scale of threatened — dare one say blackmailed? — one to ten somewhere above 5.2, between the the management into barring Ilana by Chelsea Flower Show and the choice for suspending the management's kosher food Britain's beauty queen, and as ever it sags as licence, so Ilana was out complete with static Britain's amateurs and pensioned tummy. All honour to Ilana she petitioned the professionals sign their guilt on the crowded High Court of Justice and the Law Lords ruled walls. But within the crowded galleries is the that there is no link between a kosher huge, magnificent bronze of Michael Sandle. take-away and art, and all honour to Ilana for There is a Germanic magnificence about his in that drear shooting war she forced the State, work that holds the spectator, but how long before it becomes parody one does not know. One says Germanic but it is the style of the Italians who, triggered off by the poet

The roots of anarchism are in the second quarter of the nineteenth century although some writers trace its ideas to the Brethren of the Free Spirit or The Diggers (Cohn -1957/1970) but in a lineal sense anarchism as we know it is a reaction against both classical philosophy and the philosophy of the enlightenment and its inherent bourgeois capitalism. Anarchism is also a development from both early liberalism and early socialism. Just as liberals, anarchists want freedom. Like socialists, anarchists want equality. Freedom without equality is meaningless. The major flaw in liberal thinking is these ideas are not contradictory but complementary. Anarchism distinguishes itself from other political philosophies because of its rejection of power and formal organisation. Anarchists would reject Locke. The state does not arise from the 'instinct of association' but from the 'instinct of domination' (de Jouvenal 1962). The state and power come from outside of man and is imposed upon him.

A narchism is a philosophy which has had a consistently A bad press from political scientists (a positivistic term). The call for the abolition of government and the destruction of monopoly power, the state, appears to them to be utopian. This is because of two things. Firstly it is axiomatic that political scientists see power as the source of political activity. Secondly as anarchism, in principle, is the contradiction of their science, we would almost be putting them out of business or at least converting them to political historians. Where anarchists would deviate from political scientists is in the latter's suggestions that as they are scientists their conclusions are final and immutable. If political science is axiomatically true by its own internal logic, which is highly debatable, then anarchism must be seen as operating within a different paradigm (a world view, with a completely different notion of the nature of man and woman). It does indicate the dangers of social sciences calling themselves 'sciences' and adopting anti-Popperian stances. (Karl Popper has suggested that a theory cannot be regarded as a valid theory unless it is falsifiable, that is it cannot be a valid theory unless it is constructed in such a way that enables it to be tested by experiment and evidence and if found wanting, refuted. Popper feels Marxism, as such, is an invalid theory.)

political doctrine:

'It is essentially concerned with questions of moral nature' and '... when political scientists claim that power is a basic 'fact' of the political world, anarchists retort that all

facts are relative to the social situation in question.' This is not what the issue is all about. What is at issue is whether the exercise of political power by an individual, group, class or apparatus can ever be called legitimate (Reichart 1970). Anarchists distinguish between political and social power. Social control, of one kind or another, is always likely to exist in social groups. Anarchists deny that this control must contain an element of coercion. Political power does not create freedom. It creates liberty. This is a redefinition of freedom into norms acceptable to the possessor of legitimately recognised authority that manipulates power. That is why the anarchist has a fundamental distrust of hierarchy, authority and organised government. This is a denial of the theory that organised compulsion and force are a necessary prerequisite to create order and peace. When political scientists, and politicians, talk about political stance they use a threefold dichotomy: left, centre and right. For anarchists the dichotomy is basically twofold: libertarianism versus authoritarianism. It does not matter what particular labels are used: conservatism, liberalism, socialism, Fabian, Marxism, fascism, the criteria for anarchists is simple and direct. Do they accept the authority possessed by the state as the essential prerequisite for the maintenance of social order? If so, then they are of the authoritarian camp. Anarchism defines 'authority' as the 'power of coercion of one person over another' (Weisbord 1947). However, the use of the word 'authority' in relation to, say, moral values, ideas and

THE ARTS ruthbenders



Marinetti's First Futurist Manifesto of 1909, sought to express speed and conflict hymning or realist freedoms is that Sandle called his down in happy laughter. magnificent bronze sculpture 'A mighty blow

for freedom', see catalogue, but according to the grapevine its true title is 'A mighty blow for freedom, fuck the media' which makes the Royal Academy title the complete opposite of the meaning of Sandle's huge bronze. The pure ale comrade can raise a weary eyebrow asking does it really matter, but this is editorial censorship in relation to a major sculpture whose three casts are priced at £86,250 each, and to accept any infringement on liberty is to endorse it, but one toured the Academy walls, wine glass in hand, and Anthony Green RA, who is in training as a minor godfather of the Royal Academy mafia, put his hand, nay his arm, around my shoulder and soft-soaped me and I truly like Tone and for the record 'his paintings are major works of art' but truth demands me to type that for me they are the St John's Wood versions of seaside holiday cards, as good as Donald McGill? If so then that is indeed an honour, for McGill was a true master painter, while sad to relate this week Sandle the master sculptor adds Royal Academician after his name. But friendship prevailed for Tony and I stood shoulder to shoulder at the wine table as we fought to grab a quarter cheese sandwich each, for with mounting debts the Academy has kicked out the honoured buffet and brought in the rare plate of sandwiches for Britain's Finest, and we had to fight like rabid dogs for a quarter of a cheese sandwich and I felt an overwhelming sense of shame as I elbowed an old woman aside to grab one for me and one for Tone RA, but that's art. I have always held that, of their innocence, the Royal Academy work a hype in that out of 11,220 works submitted only 1,204 are strung up and if a work is accepted but not hung then I have argued over the years that the unfortunate artist should have their the glories of war. War ceased to amuse after money refunded, but ol' Tone smiled at me 1914 and their movement of slashed clay or and said no, no, no, Arthur, no, no, we need sprawling paint finally submerged into the the money, and he ain't kidding for the passive cubist movement, but Sandle wine-sipping grapevine says that the Royal resurrects futurism with his huge and Academy is over half a million pounds in the magnificent bronze of a cubist figure red so drink of the wine while it flows red and smashing a television set with an axe. But free for Maggie and the law are at the door and what should concern we advocates of abstract only Ilana Raskin jogs her tummy up and

Arthur Moyse

Anarchism as a Theory of Social Order

George Woodcock (1962) points out that anarchism is not a

aesthetic inspiration is not regarded with disdain because

'authority' in this sense does not imply coercion. 'It is not merely that men are corrupted by power, as liberals like Acton believe. When one opts for power, he chooses the way of authoritarianism rather than the way of libertarianism. Anarchists steadfastly assert that all social science must remain a hopeless confusion so long as men persist in accommodating social science to facts of power.' (Reichart 1970)

Another common distortion of anarchism is the misconception that all anarchists advocate the abolition of organisation. What most anarchists would say is that organisation must be freely entered into, without this it simply becomes a coercive structure. The difficulty here is, of course, the ambiguity of the word 'organisation'. Many anarchists automatically associate the word organisation with an apparatus, even a bureaucracy. The word they use for a gathering together is 'commune', to commune with each other (in things of mutual interest), to organise has too much of the connotation of being organised. One cannot be being communed or communised, or can one? (Commune can also denote a specific group living together in various ways, in France is also denotes a local government area. One has to be careful not to use the term too loosely. The verb 'to commune' is one meaning; the noun 'commune' may have a different meaning dependent upon context.)

The notion of freedom, for the anarchist, is derived from his conception of human nature. Without the idea of being a free man there can be no anarchy (Wieck 1953). Proudhon himself realised that there may be a degree of conflict between the individual and the mass. A man can be said

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Curely DR is correct in saying 'Marxist Communism has failed'. I am puzzled as to why Howard Moss (Freedom 21st April 1990) should think otherwise.

In the Communist Manifesto Marx lists ten points as to what steps the proletariat, as ruling class, should take in order to establish socialism and the transition to communism (the highest stage). For example, '6. Centralisation of the means of production and transport in the hands of the State'.

Is Howard Moss correct to say that Eastern Europe has nothing Marxist about it? Marx may have had something different in mind when speaking of socialism and communism, as probably did Nietzsche when he spoke of overcoming man as a step towards the become the reactionaries of tomorrow' superman. Surely it is simply a question of means and ends, and libertarian ideas versus authoritarian dogma, that separate anarchists and Marxists. Authoritarian means such as the dictatorship of the proletariat and/or state terrorism cannot ever create conditions of freedom and equality. Authoritarian means can only lead to an authoritarian end, which is usually tyranny.

As Bakunin said in the 1870s, 'Freedom can be created only by freedom . . . according to only not destroy the State but should strengthen and reinforce it, and transfer it ... into the hands of its benefactors, guardians and teachers, the chiefs of the Communist Party — in a word, to Marx and his friends.'

It is remarkable how Bakunin's predictions have in fact resembled much of so-called a happy ending, but does this mean therefore that these countries are not Marxist? G. Konrad and I. Svelenyi define Eastern Europe countries as socialist 'because they have done away with private property in the means of production. The term state capitalism strikes us as misleading since the concept of capitalism is meaningless, without the existence of private ownership and wage labour exchange on a price regulating market'. Marxism has failed, they say, to abolish alienation and inequality by the means they proposed and instead have created new forms of oppression and exploitation!

to be individual in the sense which he gives basic priority to his moral conception of truth and social good. A man may, should he wish to do so, submerge his own interests to that of his group on occasion; this does not imply he has sacrificed his basic principles — his identity. People can only become free by willing to be free and by committing acts of freedom. But, some might say, how can a man become free if he is imprisoned for instance, within this context freedom itself is meaningless? Max Stirner in The Ego and His Own (1963/1982), the 'founder' of anarchist-individualism, sums this up well:

'I do not surrender to you, I only wait. When I can come to you I will; and meanwhile, if I can find any weakness in you, I will draw it to your attention.'

A man is free so long as he acts freely as he is able, within his perceived desires. That he may be imprisoned is irrelevant. In a sense, we are all imprisoned. We are imprisoned in ourselves. We are imprisoned in our socialisation. We are imprisoned in our circumstances and our time, but freedom is a matter of choice. It is not asking for a legislated choice, it is simply doing it. Furthermore, freedom has nothing to do with role or status, inequality or class. As Stirner says in The False Principle of Our Education (1967), 'Knowledge must die and rise again as will and create itself anew each day as a free person.'

Freedom implies spontaneity and movement, stillness and thought, ownership of self irrespective of circumstance. Therefore the highest human value is freedom and no social action has any legitimacy, in anarchist eyes, which does not aim to achieve the greatest possible liberation of the creative potential of man (Reichart). The liberal may argue that his conception of the state entails human freedom; but for the anarchist the attainment of a liberal state is the antithesis of freedom. Government is negative.

That then of the 'rule of law'? Is this not superior to force V in settling disputes? Undoubtedly law is a superior social technique but is it the best method and is it not also tainted by usage as a means of oppression — whose law, what law? As Bertrand Russell has pointed out (1947): 'Law is too static, too much on the side of what is decaying, too little on the side of what is growing.'

ANARCHIST THEORY Marxist Communism has Failed!

The state certainly has not withered away as Marx and Engels predicted. Robert Michels, an ex-Marxist writing in 1911, said, 'the socialists might conquer but not socialism, which would perish in the moment of its adherents' triumph'. He based his arguments on Bakunin's idea that power corrupts even those with the most honest intentions. Hence, he concludes, 'the revolutionaries of today

A simple glance at classical Marxist writings country, and the distribution of labour power show that Eastern Europe is not so un-Marxist as H. Moss thinks it is. Engels' On Authority says that during a revolution, 'if the victorious party does not want to have fought in vain it must maintain this rule by means of the terror'.

The dictatorship of the proletariat once workers' state. 'He who works not, neither established by methods of terrorism will somehow create communism. 'Political Some argue Stalinism has nothing to do with power, properly so called, is merely the Marxism. But surely Stalin simply took the theory of ... Marx, the people should not organised power of one class for oppressing Trotsky's ideas to their extreme and Marxism another' (Marx). Thus the answer is simple, to its logical conclusion ('wages in the form the proletariat becomes the ruling class, of money and goods, must be brought in the destroys bourgeois class society, there are no closest possible touch with productivity of other exploiting classes left and thus a individual labour' - Trotsky). Thus Stalin's classless society is formed. The workers are Stakhanovites arise and he concludes, 'by liberated; the state, no longer of any use, equality Marxism means, not the equalisation withers away (but only so long as 'the of personal requirements and everyday life, workers states in the East. History has not had *possibility* of exploitation no longer exists anywhere in the world' — Lenin).

> But is the Marxist 'end' the same as Anarchist-Communist visions of the future? Engels, in Anti-Duhring, said clearly '... the to read in an anarchist paper such as Freedom real content of the proletarian demand for that 'Marxist Communism has failed'? equality is the demand for the abolition of Anarchists as libertarians should surely voice classes. Any demand for equality which goes approval at the collapse of all authoritarian beyond that, of necessity passes into regimes, especially Marxist ones. '... when absurdity'.

remain. Trotsky in Terrorism and the very logic of productive development.

Law also assumes that ultimately unless men voluntarily cooperate with its tenants they will be coerced into doing so. Coercion eventually leads to tyranny. No wonder the anarchist reject law. (Law may also pass oppression by, by unseeing.) Another factor often forgotten is that anarchism, at the time of its inception was, like Marxism, seen as a revolutionary strategy. Anarchists do not however think of revolution as a political phenomena, nor simply one event in time, it means much more. One does not obtain freedom by replacing tyranny such as the tyranny of the Tsar with the so-called 'dictatorship of the proletariat' itself being the cloak for the dictatorship of the armed Bolshevik party. Nothing is changed in this circumstance except the label on the bottle. True social revolution, according to Proudhon, must never be created on the foundation of hierarchy and leadership. Only a decentralised society — both politically and economically, without the need for leaders can be classless. Centralised varieties of society need hierarchy (a command structure) and therefore create stratification as Milovan Djilas, the Yugoslavian writer pointed out in The New Class, a book of sublime disillusionment with the Marxist state in contemporary society. The anarchist's task is not to overthrow the existing order but rather to induce the individual to withdraw his allegiance from the recognition of the legitimacy of the state. This does not require a detailed plan for it directs itself at the individual rather than the mass. The individual must learn to transcend his physical restrictions and the limitations imposed by his environment. 'Power, anarchists insist, remains political only so long as men persist in solving their social and economic problems through the expedient of coercion in the hands of the state. When men voluntarily co-operate to solve their problems by themselves, the nature of power is miraculously

transformed.' (Reichart)

As Erich Fromm (1951) indicates, men submit to an external power to mitigate the loneliness and alienation of urban capitalism; state worship can only disappear when people take back the social powers unto themselves and build their own community. For anarchists the social revolution is not even in time, sudden and complete in itself, but a long evolutionary process arising out of the will of the individual person and basic to it is the process of individual attitude

shall he eat' (Trotsky). but the abolition of classes . . . Marxism has never recognised, and does not recognise, any other equality' (Stalin On the Problems Leninism). So why should Howard Moss be so surprised

the bourgeois class has disappeared, the Thus Marx and Engels only wished for the proletariat will establish the rule of the abolition of classes. Other inequalities would universal man at the summit of production, by Communism says, 'the state must, by means What does it matter that this should be

of the bonus system, give the better workers better conditions of existence'.

So in the USSR the wage system remains, but decided by the Party not market forces. This inevitably reinforces further inequalities and more than likely a new class society of administrators and administrated.

Trotsky goes further, 'we can have no way to socialism except by the authoritative regulation of the economic forces of the in harmony with the general state plan. The labour state considers itself empowered to send every worker to the place where his work is necessary'.

Thus the labour camp (gulag) becomes a means to working class liberation in the accomplished by dictatorship and violence? In this New Jerusalem, echoing with the roar of miraculous machinery, who will still remember the cry of the victims?' (Camus, The Rebel).

> RSW Bradford



SPAIN: SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND COUNTER REVOLUTION selections fror Spain and the World Freedom Press Centenary Series

Freedom Press ISBN 0 900384 54 9 £5.00 This volume of selections concentrates on first hand accounts of the constructive aspects of the Spanish revolution - the collectives in town and country, in industry, in public services and in agriculture; reports on meetings and demonstrations in favour of the Spanish Workers' Struggle; verbatim reports of speeches made by the CNT-FAI luminaries justifying their compromises in accepting government posts; appreciative statements by non-anarchists on the positive contribution by Spanish comrades in the armed struggle as well as in creating a new society.

change which will have to take place regarding the phenomena of power. As Fromm indicates, to him power has a double meaning: 'potency', not to dominate others but to carry out socially creative acts through accommodation and co-operation, as well as its use in the sense of force and compulsion for domination over others. However, as anarchism does not envisage a sudden revolutionary movement, as other revolutionary theories do, it can reify, that is convert or materialise its programme of persistent social rebellion into permanent opposition to injustice and inequality. With all the repressive and ideological apparatuses at the state's disposal anarchism has one constant and ultimate weapon: 'NO'.

Peter Neville

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The World of Guns and **Bibles**

The United Nations Development Programme for 1990 has some fairly sharp things to say despite being produced by a team of experts headed by Mahbub el Haq, former Planning Minister of Pakistan. There is some heartening news from the Southern hemisphere where, in the last three decades, life expectancy rose from 46 to 62 years, the adult literacy rate increased form 43 to 60 per cent, and the under-five mortality rate was halved.

However, there still are, worldwide, more than 1 billion living in absolute poverty, 900 million illiterate adults, 1.75 billion without safe drinking water, 100 million completely homeless, one in three of children under the age of five who are malnourished, etc. Furthermore, in many countries in Africa and Latin America, the 1980s have meant stagnation, or even reversal, in human achievement.

The largest gap in any of the social indicators is shown by the deprived status of women in the Third World, where the maternal mortality rate is twelve times that of women in the northern hemisphere.

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Military spending in the Third World has of barbarism, in a book published by Oxford increased three times as much as that in the industrial nations. It seems that the developing countries could comfortably pay for human development and achieve economic growth if they could shed the military millstones that hang around their necks.

The net transfer of resources from the industrial nations to the Third World has reversed from a positive flow of \$42.6 billion in 1981 to a negative flow of \$32.5 billion in

The mainstream of radical politics in the twentieth century can be seen as a continual migration from interventionist tyrannies to libertarian utopianism. With the hijacking of the marxist canon by the Bolsheviks, the libertarian version was pushed to the margins for half a century. Libertarians complained for a long time that Lenin's version was a travesty but Leszek Kolakowski in his magisterial Current Theories of Marxism argues that Marx left himself open to more than one interpretation, and John Crump made the same point fifteen years ago in a paper written while he was ir Japan.

In this migration, World War One and the Russian revolution were ditches that most of the leading figures fell into. With the honourable exception of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the Marxists supported the war. The major surviving anarchist figure Kropotkin did likewise.

With the Russian revolution, the butchery by the Bolsheviks led by Trotsky at Kronstadt made up the anarchists' minds for them, but all of the major Marxist figures were seduced. The only exceptions were small parties and groups: the SLP and the SPGB in Britain, for example, Pannekoek and the Council Communists in Holland, Bordiga and his group in Italy, and individual libertarian Marxists.

Marx and Engels had made the same journey from schemes to tinker with the private property system outlined in the Communist Manifesto to the away of the State' in several texts.

production for need, i.e. small is beautiful, enough disenfranchisement with Russia. is enough, is my journey really necessary, quality not quantity, etc.

right reasons.

The massive analysis of the bourgeois system carried out by Marx dazzled and continued to dazzle Those who had been swept up in the emotion of his followers. he himself had been in love with thought never occurred to him that the problem of defend it.

1988. Their foreign debts are more than \$1.3 trillion, meaning that they have an interest bill to pay back of \$200 billion per year.

Some of the comments and conclusions in this first of a proposed annual report are quite interesting. The Republic of Korea is put up as an example of the effectiveness of GNP growth when accompanied by a reasonably equitable distribution of income, resulting in sustained human development. Another example, Sri Lanka, with a per capita income of only \$400 (against an average of \$11,000 in industrial countries) managed a life expectation of 71 years and an 87 per cent literacy rate.

Noting that the link between economic growth and human progress is not automatic, the report concludes that economic growth seldom trickles down to the masses (Tory voters please note!).

The above is part of the horror story as told by a team of development specialists who are light years away from anarchist thinking. It is an unwitting indictment of the idea of sovereign nations and governments, told by people who are fatally committed to that kind University Press, price £9.95.

Meanwhile, in the sleepy Suffolk town of Bungay, Clay's Press is frantically chuming out Bibles for the Bible Society to flog at heavily subsidised prices to the newly 'liberated' East Europeans. It will not pass the notice of the unprejudiced that governments encourage this nonsense under the guise of charitable status by giving out exemptions from rates, the better to divert peoples'



The End of Politics The Russian revolution was different. The tangle poverty was not age-old, but had been introduced of casuistry, populism and downright lying which by the market system, as it is being introduced with the Bolsheviks used to carry out their putsch market production in the Third World today. succeeded in clouding political thinking for The premises on which he had based his generations. Misty language - contradictions were conclusions were propaganda supplied by the working out of the dialectic, lies were simply bourgeois apologists from Thomas Hobbes agitprop, dictatorship was 'democratic centralism', onwards. The historical truth later supplied by the all of this was savagely satirised by Orwell in 1984'.

economic historians Thorold Rogers, the Beveridge team, Phelps-Brown, by the anthropologists Malinowski, Marcel Mauss, Marshall Sahlins, and by the archaeologists during the last couple of decades armed with dendrochronology and Carbon 14 — all of this was denied to him.

He could have reasoned a priori that the prehistoric artefacts of Stonehenge, Carnac, Avebury, the enormous earthworks, could only imply millions of man-hours free from the getting-in of the necessities of life, but he didn't. He Marxists.

But if the means were prostituted in the interest of the new Russian oligarchy, the end, as envisaged by thinkers from John Ball to William Morris, from was preoccupied with the minute analysis of the Tolstoy and Kropotkin to the later thoughts of Marx money economy. This has had a profound effect on and Engels, was relegated to the land of the big rock But as disillusion grew with the Russian candy mountain. 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need' was replaced experience, with the realisation that it had little relevance for the West, radicals packed their bags by funny money schemes, work coupons, rationing and began the odyssey from Stalinism in search of systems of the kind that had been espoused by freer systems, meanwhile being replaced by new Proudhon and Robert Owen at the beginning of the adherents. At each crisis or atrocity in Eastern nineteenth century, and ruthlessly analysed by abandonment of such ideas and demanding the 'the Europe - the Moscow Trials, the Kharkov Trials, Marx. These emigrés from Leninism, Stalinism and abolition of the wages system' in the Critique of the the slaughter of the old guard of Zinovoev, Trotskyism gave one a sense of deja vu. Money Gotha Programme, and anticipating the 'withering Kamenev, Radek, Bukharin, Turkhachevsky, the notions stuck to them like shit to a blanket. They pact with Hitler, Katyn, and the post-war traumas still do. Anarchists had made far less heavy weather of it. of the Jewish doctors plot, Prague, Budapest, They had hit on many elements of the truth — the Kruschev's speech to the 20th Congress — a new logical implications of a society based on batch of comrades showed their

None of the established left-wing journals, from Temps Modernes or Socialism ou Barbarie in France or the New Left Review in Britain or, to my knowledge, their equivalents in Germany or Italy Some resumed their quest (the New Left in have got as far as the Engels and Marx of the Britain, André Gorz in France, Habermas in Their logical workings-out were vague, often Germany, for example). Others did not even do that Critique of the Gotha Programme, not to mention invalid, but if the anarchists were right for the but took the bourgeois system as God-given and the major anarchist thinkers. They are stuck in a wrong reasons the Marxists were wrong for the went back to devising schemes to make it work, e.g. time- warp of the first edition of the Communist Manifesto, complete with proposals for limiting the Kolakowski. working day, the 'right to rob', etc., etc.

The 'right to be lazy' - delightfully investigated World War One soon lost their illusions. With by Paul Lafargue — the abolition of the working capitalism and suffered ambivalent emotion, a the discovery that it was a 'businessman's war', the day altogether and the substitution of free love-hate relationship to the end. The dark satanic simpletons who had 'answered the call to the association in free work, the whole libertarian enquiry which was widespread before 1917, is not mills, the canals, the railways, the quarries, that had colours' started dragging their feet, and the war had scarred and made grey a green and pleasant land to be continued with the forced labour of merely opposed by the Left. There appears to be a was for him the deus ex machina which would bring conscription. Long before the end there were no conspiracy not to allow its discussion. One is as a solution to the age old problem of poverty. The theorists of stature in any country prepared to likely to get a sympathetic hearing for libertarian-socialist views from the Right as from

FEATURES PAGE

Science News

TTThilst one looks in disbelief at the springing up mainly on council and ex-council estates, this implies no wish to interfere with anyone's wish to watch Murdoch speak and see, just mystification as to why anyone would want to. Some local councils take a different view. Lewisham in south London has rejected dishes on blocks of flats but will provide a communal dish instead. Tenants who insist on putting up their own will be charged £50 for the cost of having it removed. In east London Tower Hamlets council carrying out its threat to remove two dishes on a block of flats in Bethnal Green.

The more suburban London borough of Sutton councillors are made of stronger stuff and conscious of the natural beauty of their council's houses, although not perhaps their stability, have decided that these aerials are ugly and might in high winds damage the houses. So tenants must take them down or face eviction. If they refuse, Sutton housing department will serve repossession notices for breach of conditions of the lease. If, as expected, this is contested the department will

attention away from the pursuit of rational politics and ethics. The 'devout' Margaret Thatcher and the treacherous 'atheist' Neil Kinnock, who were recently to be seen singing hymns shoulder to shoulder in church, go along with this farce because it suits their quest for fame and fortune.

EFC

select one family as a test case and take them v plethora of satellite dish aerials to court to establish a binding legal precedent. Sutton is seeking financial help to do this from other councils in the area. The poor tenant will get first-hand experience of democracy in action and any of us who happen to live in an adjacent area may be helping the tenant to learn where power really lies.

Tust a glance at the large roll-on, roll-off cross-Channel ferries is enough to suspect their stability. A look inside the vehicle deck, recently there was a campaign to prevent that vast open space stretching from bow to stern, and one does not have to be a marine architect to appreciate that any event which allows water to enter will destabilise the already unstable. This happened to the 'Herald of Free Enterprise' outside Zeebrugge in 1987 and has almost been repeated on at least two occasions since, following a collision and a grounding. Watertight bulkheads would decrease the risk and their absence in the 'Herald of Free Enterprise' was said to have contributed to the disaster.

> A research project costing £1 million set up A subsequently by the Department of Transport has recently made a number of suggestions for increasing safety, including the introduction of two watertight longitudinal bulkheads running the length of the ship. So will these ferries be made safer as a matter of urgency? Well no, actually. The modifications would be very expensive for the ship owners and Cecil Parkinson, Transport Secretary, has decided that such matters are best left to the company that operates the ships. Free enterprise knows best!

It also led to shrill support for World War Two by the comrades - after a shaky start. Opposition to the Axis Powers in the '30s had given way to denunciations of the war as Imperialist when the shock of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact had been absorbed, only to be followed soon after with the rediscovery that it had been a war for freedom after all. This was following Hitler's attack upon Russia.

the self-styled defenders of working class interests. If this were the end of the story it would be a bleak one. Fortunately there are other factors at work.

The 'alternative' movement or movements, so amorphous that one is at a loss to say where they begin or end, or when they first appeared on the scene, have shown an interest in outrageous thoughts like 'producing for need', small is beautiful, growing one's own cabbage, and ideas that threaten the people who want to organise our lives for us. It could be that we are clutching at straws. A lot of these people are unbearably fey. They have premonitions and intimations and deep, deep feelings. Some of them are so spiritual that you could hit the spirits with a housebrick. But as they say in Gloucestershire, it don't make no difference.

They have made a paradigm shift that leaves the politicos shuffling and mumbling in their imaginative poverty. If we survive the next few decades, if one of the catastrophes being spawned by this crazy socio-economic system on an ever-closing frequency don't wipe us all out, it will be a rainbow coalition of all these daft buggers that will save us. Ken Smith



Freedom Press

£2.50

Master Race?

Freedom was the choice of the and not to the German people. the charge of being anti-Christian? publication.

suppressing the intifada, could have book British Imperialism and the on persecuting the Arabs. been misinterpreted as in any way Palestine Question (Freedom Press, With our writer's final paragraph, suggesting that the general mentality £1.95) to which we would refer to our we are in agreement. We don't affiliated to the Cardiff Federation we are in agreement. of the Jewish community, in readers for further discussion of the believe in a 'master race' and our Palestine or elsewhere, bears any issues involved. Reynolds had headline, obviously, criticises those resemblance to sick Nazi ideas of condemned both Zionism and British who would wish to be one. racial superiority. This is not to deny imperialist policy in Palestine, and that there are individual Jews who Goldman had replied that his article believe some such rubbish, but this is unfortunately 'lends itself to the a minority view which the Jewish impression that he is a rabid anticommunity feels very uncomfortable semite'. with and condemns wholeheartedly, In his reply to Goldman, Reynolds and I feel ashamed that any such includes the following words: implication should have been attributed to what I actually wrote. "At no point was my article

immigration to halachically-defined Arabs as a race. It was concerned Jews and their close relatives alone with the right of self- government and clearly operates a form of which the Arabs claim and the apartheid against the non-Jewish Zionists oppose. In common with the population of Palestine. There are anarchists I believe that the ideal good or bad, are sent by God, as reward many good reasons why the Jewish society is one where there is no or punishment. hence God is not above exclusivity of Medinat Israel should government at all. But I also believe playing along with a king. God allows, be opposed, but I do not think that that where people do not yet realise indeed facilitates, all sorts of nasty comparisons with Nazi ideology are this fact, democratic government - things, and is doing no more than that useful in condemning the Israeli that is to say, government by the government, and wish to place on explicit consent of at least a majority record that I resent the antisemitic undertones of the headline used.

I personally believe in only one race — the human race — and feel that Nazi ideas and terminology should have no place in any civilised discussion. I am saddened that a headline was chosen which might have suggested otherwise.

Katy Andrews

Type are pleased to publish this VV letter and to confirm that the title of the article on Israel ('The New Master Race at Work') was supplied by the Editors, but we did not give the title lightly. Her concern is that the title might be taken to refer to the 'general Jewish community' but we

of a specific Israeli ruling class.

The State of Israel limits concerned with Jews as a race or with of the people — is better than autocratic or bureaucratic government. The anarchists in Spain seem to be impressed with the same even limited co-operation to the government against Franco.

> But just as anarchists realise that fascism is even worse than 'democratic' capitalism, so most of them will agree with me that imperialism is worse, and for the same reasons. Those who cannot see this as a matter of common sense, should study and compare conditions — say — in India and the British colonies with conditions among British workers."

n Saturday 19th May the **U**peoples of Cardiff showed their contempt of the poll tax by doing ith this issue of Freedom we are something useful with their bills - VV sending out pink renewal would like to make it clear that the would point out that the concept of a Now, if we had referred to the British Litle appended to my article on master race in Nazi Germany as having been the 'master race' in they recycled them! About 1,500 reminders to readers whose attended the rally from anti-poll tax subscriptions expired between 7th Palestine in the 2nd June issue of referred to the German ruling class, India, would this have laid us open to groups throughout the city and heard April and 16th June. This will be the the secretary of the Welsh Federation second reminder for those readers editorial staff alone and had not been Similarly, we do think that Ari We did not refer to Nazi ideology, give some inspiring news of the rates | whose sub expired 7th April, 21st discussed with myself prior to Sharon thinks of himself as a leader but the fact remains that the Israeli of non-payment elsewhere in April, 5th may or 19th May and the rulers have promoted the idea that

I was upset by this headline, indeed When we read our correspondent's Palestine belongs to them, because it Britain. I felt personally embarrassed by it, letter we were reminded of the had been the homeland of their who felt similarly offended. I am Reynolds and Emma Goldman in our is a master race? The rulers of Israel concerned that my article, on journal Spain and the World in 1938, and Zionists are still referring to 'the methods used by the State of Israel in which was recently reprinted in our holocaust' as justification for going

Anarchism and God

Dear Editors. store by David offering no violence to pressure. from popular decision and the non-inter- for the flagship! thing that Donald Rooum has apparently available, for a donation, from c/o ideas on paper. forgotten is that in 'Samuel' and else- Murray, 31 Leven Street, Glasgow, where there is a sense in which all things, G41 2JD. here. Remember Aesop's fable of the frogs who wanted a king from Zeus: finding a log too boring, they were sent a water-snake, who ate them.

Donald Rooum also dislikes the leadership of Samuel. I can see little wrong in settling disputes by agreement of both fact, or they would not have given parties, or even leading the army by ac- When the PTRSG was set up, within clamation. In Judges 21, verse 25 (the last in the book), it says 'In those days there was no king in Israel, and everyone did as he saw fit'. This lasted for about 450 years, and what more could we ask? Donald Rooum is no lover of religion; that I indicated in the original article. Since he offers no new evidence to sup- a) fundraise to help defendants pay answer it again.

While I'm at it, what's this about sympathetic solicitors. 'Gnosticism' ('Metapolitics', Peter Cadogan, 5th May)? I thought they were second century elitists.

Thinking of Moving to the Countryside?

depths of the countryside. Our new Vic- away. closing of those asylums, their inmates community, so that their inhabitants are covered with blood. the majority have found new accommo- was being sprayed onto their pretty view, was beaten to death. is profitable" hostels for the mentally sions for the very rich, also hidden, as prison for trying to organise workers inly away in rural remoteness.

- five hens to a cage not large enough for lem in the countryside. They need ac- ing the edition of a book on this matter. itself. (We're not criticising - it (a parrot, half a million to a shed; sows te- commodation out of sight and sniff of It is said that Petr Siuda found evidence makes sense for them to do that thered, unable to move; calves crated, these horrors, and plenty of activities - proving that the KGB was responsible for but it wasn't the basis of our appeal.) never seeing the light of day, to produce theme parks, wildlife entertainments, re- the 1962 killings. His death occurred white meat for the health conscious. lics, novelties - to keep them away from shortly after a phone call to a Moscow Whilst industrial estates pollute the air the really rural life they came to see. newspaper. and rivers so much more easily where There are even tourist routes which take We demand a public and thorough inexperimentation laboratories cause pain out passing too closely to any major murder of Petr Siuda. and death to test things we can do with- eyesores, and that is miraculous. out, all can be found behind high security

The Victorians sited their huge fencing in isolated rural areas - just as County Lunatic Asylums in the Auschwitz and Belsen were hidden organisation in the Soviet Union.

vants).

John Myhill

Violent Death of a **Soviet Anarchist** TATe hereby denounce the death of

VV Petr Petrovich Siuda, a 53 year old activist of KAS, an anarcho-syndicalist

Petr Siuda was found dead outside his | a separate identity as: torian society is following their example: There are, of course, new private hous- flat in the Ukrainian town of Novocher- a) we've done some groundwork Trafalgar Square group, and we are "Out of sight, out of MIND". With the ing estates - no amenities, no culture, no kask on 5th May. His head was all already that is paying off in terms of contacts and funds raised; have been dispersed. A few are highly forced to drive into town for leisure as Whilst the authorities claim he died b) as anarchists we have our own

visible among the urban homeless, but well as work, or they might notice what from a haemorrhage his comrades say he

dation in the private and voluntary "small on their food. And there are huge man- Petr Siuda had earlier spent six years in handicapped and elderly - and the prisons their wealth would offend you if you saw dependently. He was now engaged in inand borstals - all of which hide discreet- it (and old cheap housing for their ser- vestigations about strikes and the upris- Trafalgar Square Campaign are ing of Novocherkask in 1962, which intending to spend a large percentage There they are joined by factory farms Managing tourists is now a major prob- were gunned down. He was also prepar- of what they collect on the campaign

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READERS' PAGE



Poll Tax Recycling

of wage and bank account Raven subscription expires. arrestments. NALGO is already

Poll Tax Rioters Support Group

c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E17QX 6th June 1990

two weeks after 31st March, we were the only group then in existence aiming to support people arrested during the demonstration. As a small group with few resources, we felt we could realistically only:

port this, I do not feel constrained to fines, or to send money to prisoners; Fund b) offer legal advice and suggest

> We were very glad to see the formation of the much broader-based Trafalgar Square Defendants' Campaign, and we are happy to give | Fund this our full support given that the Pontypridd GNC £10, Chipping Sod-Campaign is run by defendants for bury SG £5, Wolverhampton JL £2. defendants, autonomous of any particular political factions.

> We have decided, however, to keep to us. We are now referring

network of contacts and want to use We'd like to thank all those who have these to full advantage;

for defendants, whereas the help they can get.

So our intentions are to continue collecting money, as a separate The Trafalgar Square Defendants' there are few people about, and animal them from one attraction to the next with- vestigation into the death or possible group, but for this money to be a kind campaign can be contacted c/o The of extension to the Trafalgar Square Haldane Society of Lawyers, Panther Information supplied by the IWA hardship fund. We will be asking House, 38 Mount Pleasant, London Secretariat, Cologne, 18th May them to nominate 'deserving cases' WC1X 0AP.

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News from **Angel Alley**

last issue they will receive until we In Cardiff the council has only three hear from them. If you are also a and wish to apologise to any readers correspondence between Reginald ancestors 2,000 years ago - so what bailiffs and rumours have it that they Raven subscriber please check in the do not intend to employ more to cope envelope label whether it is paid up. with non- payment. Therefore the The third number from the left gives council is relying on fear and the use the actual issue number when your

> and plans are afoot to get the CPSA and we hope to have dispatched to back strike action against the poll all subscribers copies by the end of tax. Local groups are also beginning June or at the latest the first week in The Editors to put the pressure (threatening to July. We are working on Raven 12 close your account and transfer it which will be on 'Communication' elsewhere) on banks and building that is of communicating anarchist societies not to freeze accounts - ideas, how to do so most effectively the recent experience of the student and what should we be emphasising Donald Rooum's summary of Samuel is loans scheme makes the banks in our propaganda. We welcome misleading. The author sets some great particularly susceptible to such suggestions and promises of contributions to this very important Saul; and the duty to obedience sprang All in all, things are looking bleak issue of The Raven. All copy must be in by mid-August - which gives vention of God. Once the people had An excellent anti-poll tax magazine would-be contributors time to think made their bed, they must lie in it. Some- from Scotland is Refuse and Resist about the problems and to put their

> > A le have now produced in six Months the number of issues of Freedom which hitherto were produced in a year. We have a growing number of readers to thank for having made this possible. We now have another 12 issues to fill so no relaxing your efforts for Freedom fortnightly. And any reader with money to spare, have a thought for our Fund's which always need your support!

Donations

25th May - 31st May 1990

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting

Chipping Sodbury SG £5, Wolverhampton JL £2.

> Total = £7.00 1990 Total to date = £605.30

Freedom Press Overheads

Total = £17.00 1990 Total to date = £408.50

defendants who contact us to the passing on their address to people who write to us.

donated so far. Keep it coming in, the c) all the money we raise is intended defendants are going to need all the

Funds raised to date:

Cheques/POs Cash collected in	£1,141.00
Freedom Bookshop	£81.45
Total	£1,222.45

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

21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22