"A go under quite as an H. L. M

MEETINGS

**Anarchist Forum** 

Centre, 42 Queen Square (via Cosmo Street

**EXTENDED PROGRAMME 1990** 

6th July - 'The Inadequacy of Mindless

SUMMER VACATION

12th October - 'What Did You Do in the

Sixties Daddy?' (speaker Peter Lumsden)

26th October - 'Bored with Class Politic

9th November - 'Anarchism, Deviance an

23rd November - 'Anarchism: the moral

concern of the Left' (speaker Dave Dane)

30th November - 'Anarchism in an Ageing

7th December - 'Anarchism and

14th December - 'Anarchism and Youth

Further meetings are now being arranged for

the coming year from 11th January to 22nd

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 Jul

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

Psychology' (speaker Peter Wilkinson)

Criminology' (speaker Peter Neville)

16th November - Open discussion

Society' (general discussion)

(general discussion)

FREEDOM

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Ecology' (speaker Dave Dane)

(speaker David Wedgewood)

5th October - Open discussion

19th October - Open discussion

2nd November - Open discussion

(speaker Andrew Dainton)

0

from 8pm to 10pm we can continue at this

time, but if we are the only group we switch

to 6pm to 8pm for this period). Anyone

interested in leading a discussion should

contact Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the

Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth

Middlesex TW7 4AW. Some members

the forum have looked at the possibility o

Fridays at about 8pm at the Mary Ward | meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper

far brought little response so these are being 29th June - Open discussion and plans for | held in abeyance. It's your movement. The Mary Ward Centre 42 Queen Square, London WC1N 3AO

Tel: 071-831 7711

28th September - 'Why Revolutions Occur' **Anarchist Forum SUMMER PICNIC 1990** 

Sunday 1st July at 2pm The summit of Parliament Hill, Hampstead Heath, North London. Everybody welcome. bring your children, your friends, your animals, your kites. Bring food, drink and disposal bags. Leave the

Transport: Hampstead (Northern LT line) thence south along Hampstead High Street, left along Downshire Hill and up Parliament Hill. Parking not great but not impossible. Use either side of the Heath or side roads. Bring your friendship and

love. Leave your quarrels at home. Peter Neville for Anarchist Forum

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Industrial Action Threatened by Postal Workers

A t their recent annual conference, British Telecom employees in membership with the Union of Communication Workers (UCW) in response to the BT announced plans to sell off their staff canteen services to private operators, decided that if negotiations to keep such catering services 'in house' are not workers' control of the postal services. Those successful members will be balloted on industrial action.

Although BT's annual profit currently runs at around £2.7 billion, BT claims that implementing the recommendation of the firm of consultants brought in by BT last year, the contracting out of catering services to private operators would save BT £3 million a year. This saving is less than half a day's profits but would put at risk the jobs of up to two and a half thousand workers.

In spite of the fact that the privatised BT has promised 'close consultation' with the union monopoly capitalism at home (and State side, to date the employers have not allowed capitalism elsewhere) to provide working the workers' representatives access to the people with the needed security of their consultants report.

The Postal Workers Conference is calling for full support from all members of the UCW co-operatives. Even the ambulance workers if the union is forced into industrial action to protect the jobs of the threatened workers.

With the bulk of its membership in the postal and telephone operating services any UCW action could seriously affect mail deliveries and nationwide telecommunications.

Earlier this year BT made a similar move in an endeavour to shed 360 jobs in Birmingham by putting out to private tender the cleaning of British Telecom buildings in the city.

co-operative, successfully beaten off private whole of the community. competition and won the exclusive contract to

clean BT buildings, thus saving their jobs and giving them a greater degree of control over their working lives.

There was a time when the old Union of Post Office Workers (now the UCW) officially advocated what might broadly be defined as were the days when under the editorship of J. Allen Skinner, 'The Post' was influenced by G. D. H. Coles' ideas of Guild Socialism which in turn sought to reconcile parliamentary political control with syndicalist workers' control.

It looks as though the wheel that turned away from the syndicalist workers' control ideas of the pre-1920 years to the parliamentary illusions of capturing political power has now come full circle.

Increasingly the failure of free enterprise livelihoods, has brought into being a move towards the creation of workers' strike of recent history prompted the, albeit unsuccessful, setting up of an alternative ambulance service controlled by ambulance

With the State monopoly of goods and services under attack from the advocates of privatisation, communication workers i common with all producers of socially useful goods and services should direct their thoughts and endeavours to perfecting the The cleaners, who are mostly women, have means of effecting real ownership and control now formed themselves into a workers of the fruits of their labour on behalf of the

Tom Carlile

# It's still 'a dirty business'

(continued from page 1)

Dut to come back to the "gravy train at DWestminster" as one 'serious' newspaper put it. The fact is that most Members of Parliament are onto it. According to an ITV 'World in Action' four months long investigation last year into MP's commercial interests, it was ascertained that out of 650 MPs, 385 have commercial interests either as paid consultants, directors or shareholders. And if one takes into account all the government ministers, under-secretaries, private secretaries, etc., who are supposed to give up any outside business interests when in office, then there are very few MPs left who live only on their salary as an MP. Some MPs maintained that all this outside activity helped to "broaden their interests" and gave them "knowledge of the business world". However the 'World in Action' researchers were blunt in their conclusions. "The real motive is quite clear - they do it for the money".

One top political lobbyist, John Russell, described his experience of MPs: "They were only prepared to take an interest i there was some payment involved", and added, "there are MPs who do actively canvass for paid work. They approach companies and point out that perhaps they can give them some help". According to Mr Russell an average annua consultancy fee is £8,000 and so with three such 'jobs' MPs can easily double their parliamentary salary of £26,000.

Today no-one takes our politicians seriously, yet the public goes on voting for them albeit in ever smaller numbers. (In the USA where corruption at top level i endemic turn-out at elections is under 50%.) There are a few exceptions and it is difficult to understand why they remain in such company. Do they really think they are going to clean up the Augean stables of Westminster?

# Who are the

As far as The Economic League's manu

(continued from page 1)

files are concerned, "innocent people have nothing to fear". Only "known or avowed members of extreme organisations" are on their files. Presumably they are working in close collaboration with the Special Branch to keep their records up to date, as well as with sections of the media who were proudly informing their readers after the Trafalgar Square demonstration that they had provided the police with photos which had led to a number of arrests. So far thirteen arrests out of a reported 18,037 'offences' reported. The media's informers must really try a bit harder next

# News from Northern

a narchists will not be at all surprised to learn of the excesses to which the Republic of Ireland government of Charlie Haughey is going in spending money on the extravaganza of its six months' stint as EC President. However recent reports of plans to effectively write a blank cheque for changes to Malahide Castle on the outskirts of Dublin, where EC heads of state will meet for one night, haves caused some concern down south. For instance when Helmut Kohl comes for the next summit he will stay at an exclusive hotel penthouse suits costing £1,200 per night. Then he and the other heads of state will not have to walk up to the castle where the meeting will be held. Dublin Corporation has been told to:

. lengthen the roads, and 2. put in a helipad.

This last item is for our own Margaret Thatcher, not one of the most beloved of visitors to the Emerald Isle. Total costs for the work at Malahide Castle will come to £350,000 and so outrageous was this felt to be that, in a thoroughly Irish approach to such a controversial move, members of the Corporation were required to swear on the Bible that they would not reveal plans for the meeting and the banquet. Current estimates of the cost to the Republic of Ireland for hosting the EC Presidency come to £30 million — quite a sum to pay to fly the flag and quite an indication of the excesses of politicians.

harlie Haughey himself has long been known for Borgia-like excesses. he now has a leased Gulfstream 111 jet which will cost about £2 million, and he is reported to be trying to get the National Museum in Dublin to move the priceless Derrynaflan Chalice from the museum to adorn the table at the banquet.

Tp here in the North the humiliation of the Conservative Party in the Upper Bann y-election hardly raised a murmur on 'the

mainland'. This will surprise no one over here, though much glee will have arisen from the fact that the Conservative party candidate lost her deposit, polling only 2.9% of the votes and coming well behind Unionists, SDLP and Sinn Féin. The reality is that Northern Ireland has worked out its own particular way of playing politics and the Conservatives have gotten their fingers burned. With any luck they'll wise up and withdraw from organising over here. If it's one thing we don't need over here it's another set of Political Parties.

The current crop of Parties here, most notably the SDLP, the Official Unionists, the Democratic Unionists and maybe the Alliance Party, are playing musical chairs around the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Peter 'babbling' Brooke. Certainly anarchists will favour some form of devolved administration in Northern Ireland as opposed to direct rule from Westminster, but we should not hold our breath in expectation of that happening and more particularly we will realise it can only be a step towards the dismantling of the State apparatus in general. The outcome will again give rise perhaps to consideration of the idea of some sort of federal arrangements linking Dublin, Belfast, London and possibly Edinburgh and Cardiff. For anarchist-gradualists is there any merit in looking at such an arrangement?

A nd in the meantime, real-time on the dole meant long queues in Derry recently outside the Jobmarket as people tried to get forms for the limited number of temporary jobs on the Health. Board advertised this year. Usually these jobs are targeted by school leavers and students, but in the queue this year were many people who are long-term unemployed. One man I met said it was like the thirties.

Dave Duggan

### 'FIDDLING' THE BOOKS

Tore than a million people have been removed from the unemployment count by an elaborate system of recycling and reclassification, according to a Labour Party report based on unpublished government statistics. The fall in unemployment coincided with the introduction four years ago of Restart, the government scheme under which claimants have to attend a compulsory interview every six months. This scheme was devised by the arch-fiddler Lord Young, then Employment Secretary, as a way of reducing unemployment figures below three million before the 1987 elections. According to a Bank of England report, the scheme had the effect of reducing the unemployment count by 750,000 — on paper. The Labour Party spokesman accused the government of "perpetrating a massive fraud on the British

It is not surprising that having to deal with crooks at all levels solicitors are sometimes tempted to get themselves a 'sweetener' or two for their old age. According to a Law Society report, compensation claims for clients' monies that found their way into the family solicitor's pocket doubled last year from £6.7 million in 1988 to £14.6 million. Six solicitors described in the report as "extraordinary defaulters" between them got away with more than £7 million.

The biggest defaulter, Hugh Simmonds, was a failed Conservative parliamentary candidate who got away with £3.8 million. He gassed himself on the day the Law Society was to begin examining his books.

This pillar of the establishment included among other achievements that of having been Mayor of Beaconsfield, but above all he

was a former speech writer for . . . wait for it .. Mrs Thatcher!

Tot a day passes without some City scandal. The Saunders-Guinness soap opera grinds on and the only beneficiaries will be the honest men of the legal profession anxious to arrive at the truth. But in the meantime, this month there are

two scandals unfolding. It now appears that about £30 million worth of savings is missing from the accounts of crashed finance broker Robert Miller trading as Dunsdale Securities. Not only have the Serious Fraud Squad been unable to locate the company's assets but neither have they been able to locate Mr Miller. Rumour had it that he too had committed suicide, since denied by his solicitors. If they know they should also know where to find him.

And another job for the Fraud Squad — £200 million worth of bonds were stolen at knifepoint in the City of London on 2nd May. Who dares to say that the City isn't an exciting place to work in? Anyway, our sleuths are now questioning a former stockbroker (no names mentioned) arrested in Northern Cyprus after trying to cash stolen bearer-bonds worth £80.5

Then ministers and other worthies of the V rich idle classes dare to tell you about underpaid workers or unemployed people doing a bit of fiddling on the side and not declaring their ill-gotten gains — bombard them with the above ammunition. More to come next month.

\* \* \*

Libertarian

### WORMIN THE BIG APPLE

paper and its publishing complaints against

the unions is almost a re-run of Murdoch's

Wapping appeal to the gods, for Hoge claims

that there are printing presses 'minded' by

fourteen men when six should do the job,

'ghost' workers who sign in and then fuck off,

delivery lorries that drive away half empty,

and the old employers bête noire that the

the President of the New York printing union,

eyed Wapping from across the Atlantic and

does not want to make the same mistakes and

was/is ready to discuss 'new manning levels'

but the publishers believe that they are on a

winning streak and are not interested for they

demand the old 'unconditional surrender'. In

1978 the print craft union won a bloody nose

battle and they are not eager to have a return

match. When there is an industrial dispute as

in Fleet Street, the docks or the High Court

judges, as an unskilled labourer I ask where

bottom of my Guinness glass tells me that it is

the labouring class and the union but

comrades never to any organisation that calls

upon us to bleed on the stones for them but

slams the door in our faces when the dispute

hired Bob Ballow, an ol' boy from Nashville,

as his union-busting lawyer and ol' Bob

handed the unions a deal of a longer working

week and all-round sackings and the

inevitable strike demand was the result. It was

simply done to force the issue. It is claimed

that New York is 50% coloured but the Daily

is won or lost because we do not belong to the

a s the guilty owner of seven £1 shares in the Guinness company that entitles me to free-loading all the Guinness you can drink and sausage rolls you can eat at the annual shareholders meeting. I obviously take a deep and personal interest into who's been dipping in the tills within the grubby heartland of the City of London. I don't condemn them, merely weep within the shadows of my two rented rooms that of my proletarian stupidity I could never get my snout into the economic trough. But innocent or guilty I will swear on oath, nay go to the stake (unlit), that Ernest Saunders the sacked chief executive of my company, Guinness, is completely innocent of any of the vile accusations of, well you know what the City shits are saying. The £50,000,000, the £7,000,000 or the £150,000,000 that is shunted about in evidence — and I am waiting for my seven £1 share to be mentioned in court - might in relation to those comrades whose wage packet is a £2.50 an hour think that these sums of money are excessive, but think big comrades for your next pay settlement your union might be able to settle for a £3 an hour plus the loss of the tea break. Heaven forfend comrades that I should type the obvious but a free market capitalist economy is a human jungle wherein any man-made morality must be as saleable as any tragic child in the blossoming whorehouses.

Within that economy only the monopolies can afford the luxury of liberalism in that they return to the hired labourers an extra part of the created wealth, for the cost, as always, must in the end be borne by the rest of the labouring class outside that closed shop. I always shy like a beautiful high-tensioned Arabian stallion when people explain to me how they intend to help to organise their particular version of 'society', for no matter how noble the aspirations in the marshalling of millions of we the many-headed natural greed and self-interest always becomes the worm within the rose. As Lenin learned, as Gorbachev has learned and as the Chinese authorities have ordered to happen, human greed and the exploitation of men and women of each other has produced the material desired dung in which to plant the dream worlds of the heart.

Tell me not of happy-hour communes, I type of tired and sad millions. Tell me not of middle class anarcho-liberalism, I type of the man or woman within any society who will find that their born role is to daily clean out the 'thinkers' shithouse. Europe is of an age when its art, its culture and its technology is created and manufactured, and like Thatcher ideology it is based in America on human greed pandering to human needs. Its vice is that it plays the ponce for profit to the vilest of human needs, and its virtue is that it finds supporters for all this is sublime and noble. It is a society that grovels in the gutters for cash

one's role in the Wapping-style industrial right to destroy the labour-saving machinery battle that now concerns its printing union and of their day for they were literally weeks away the boss men. The issue is the same as from starvation, and in a just and humane concerned the men and women of Wapping in society when new labour-saving technology is that the Daily News management, under the created that will lighten human labour and leadership of Jim Hoge the publisher, has increase the material wealth of the world then decided to leave pastures green for his version other industries should be brought in in the of Fortress Wapping. As with Murdoch's planning stages and the transfer of human compensation. Mr Rosen had originally told intention to move away from El Vino's and labour should be in the same area with no him that they would be £1,500 but when it Fleet Street, scrap the 'craft' unions, hot metal lessening of the standards of living, but came to settling he increased his share to and all the sweeteners from labourer to top comrades we do not live in a just and humane £2,875. He maintained that he had not acted brass for the harsh reality of new technology society so it is always onto the bloodied stones in any "improper manner". His peers thought that he won with Thatcher support, Hoge is advancement on technology offers to lighten ready to take on the New York print unions and move to Fortress Hoge in new Jersey. The the labourer's load. American Daily News with a circulation of Hoge of the New York Daily News will win 1,230,000 is America's largest metropolitan

this inky battle I know, despite the union costs. money that props up the New York Democrats, but saddest of all it is claimed that the coloured people who were denied a union card in the Daily News union set-up have found work within that same organisation

There is a moral in that somewhere. unions have too much control. Jack Kennedy, comrades.

# The biters

mold Rosen is a solicitor rebuked on a disciplinary charge. Apparently he was defence barrister at the Angry Brigade's trial in 1971 and later became a solicitor. He was reported to the Law Society in 1988 by a client over legal costs, after the successful outcome of his case in which he was awarded £6,000 and the destruction of human lives when every otherwise, and Mr Rosen sued them and called their bluff and on the day before a High Court hearing which was to be heard by the Lord Chief Justice himself, they backed down, withdrew the rebuke and agreed to pay his

And this is the reason for including this piece in Freedom. The costs alone will be an estimated £75,000 and according to the Sunday Express "the insurance to protect Law Society staff against similar actions will cost at least twice that figure". A cool quarter of a million pounds for nothing. It's salutary that the law racketeers should have a taste of their Arthur Moyse | expensive medicine for a change!

### Science News

It is not usually easy to freely cross national boundaries and it is more difficult for some than for others. You could not, at least until does my loyalty lay and sitting in the White | recently, get a visa to enter the United States Hart pub surrounded by closed minds the if you had syphilis or admitted being a guarantee the government a supply of war communist. In 1987 Congress voted also to materials, but the Occidental Chemical exclude those unfortunate enough to carry the Corporation of Dallas and the Mobay Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) — Corporation in Pittsburgh were reported in the precursor of AIDS. This was a problem for April to have refused to supply 70,000 some who wished to attend and participate in kilograms of thionyl chloride, a common the Sixth International Conference on AIDS chemical intermediate, because it would be being held in San Francisco this June, and led used in the production of the nerve agent Old Pals union set-up. Hoge of the Daily News to protests by many scientists. As a result the Sarin. Or do they just want a higher price? US Attorney General will grant 30-day It is axiomatic that profit is the only waivers of the exclusion to travellers who motivation for capitalist industrial production, admit they are infected to enable visits for with the proviso, well usually, that it is legal. personal or business reasons and to attend the So this news needs to be taken with a pinch of conference. As this permission has to be salt. Nevertheless, for the record, top stamped with an identifying code it has been 100% white and that it is impossible to join | compared to the pink triangle that their union except from an Irish or Italian homosexuals had to wear in German union membership family. It is claimed, and concentration camps, and some international not disputed, that wages for some are in the | medical organisations and European region of £60,000 a year but that is governments have called for a boycott of the unimportant. What is important, as in conference. In response to further pressure the Wapping or in London docks, is that when US government has now agreed to issue men and women join those on strike and stand 10-day visas without medical restrictions to shoulder to shoulder with them against the HIV-infected people. This will hardly protect police baton charges they have earned that the privacy of these individuals, and right to show their union card and freely apply non-governmental organisations such as the and get a job without the sweaty golden hand Red Cross and Oxfam are to continue to being held out behind the union office plus a boycott the conference.

wo American chemical companies could be prosecuted by the Pentagon for refusing to supply a chemical because it would be used in the production of a new generation of chemical weapons. Apparently the US 1950 Defence Production Act is designed to

indicated on the visa and the passport is representatives of 95% of the world's chemical industry and top government officials from seventy countries who met last September in Canberra declared their unequivocal abhorrence of chemical warfare and expressed a willingness to have their activities monitored to achieve the abolition of such weapons.

> Before anyone gets too excited about this, it must be pointed out that it depends on the conclusion in Geneva of negotiations to ban the use of chemical weapons that have been going on for the past twenty years. Also it will put up the price of chemicals generally and the signatories included the two known most recent users, Iran and Iraq.



# bitten

Parlier this year Zafar Khan, official Espokesman in the UK for the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), told Freedom that the political weakness of the governments of India and Pakistan made it less likely that they would risk going to war with each other over the independence struggle in Kashmir. This view, that weak governments don't go to war, was repeated this month by Dr Masood, another Kashmiri leader, in an interview with Paddy Ashdown, leader of the Liberal Democrats. It represents the optimistic anarchist line that

the weaker the government so much the better for the people. As a theory it has a certain seductive appeal, but is there any truth in it?

During the war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir in 1965, Philip Holgate writing in Freedom put forward a rather different theory of war: "To put it briefly, states need tension and war, and the more insecure a government is the more unhappy and discontented its people are with their lot, the more likely it will be that the state will feel inclined to embark on military adventures to bolster up its strength. The people's tragedy is the state's advantage". This, if you like, is the pessimistic anarchist argument on why states go to war. To unite the nation, to distract the people from their troubles at home with the cry the enemy is at the gate.

There certainly seems to be a lot of tub-thumping going on between the two rival powers on the Indian sub-continent. Abdul Khan, the President of 'Azad'

Kashmiri militants over the Pakistani border now that the snows have melted in the mountains.

India seems to be looking for a military solution in Kashmir. last month the Indian minister responsible for finding a political solution to the Kashmir crisis was sacked by V. P. Singh, the Indian Prime Minister. His replacement is Mr Saxena, an ex-policeman and former head of the Indian secret service. The number of Indian troops in Kashmir is

massive. Kashmiri militants here estimate more crumble. than half a million Indian troops are now in Kashmir and Jammu. Other reports put the figure at 200,000. Either figure is huge when you consider that between the wars the total armed forces Britain needed to run the whole British Empire in Africa and Asia amounted to about 600,000 men, of which a third were Indians. The current Indian presence in Kashmir, a country of 11 million inhabitants, must either be an over-reaction or an indication that India has totally lost control of the situation. Alternatively, perhaps India views war with Pakistan as a strong possibility.

#### Fall of empires

Kashmir: the pursuit of

In September 1965, when war broke out between Kashmir have gone unresolved for eighteen years". Twenty five years later the people of these two huge slavery". states are still poor, and the dispute over Kashmir

clearly by Hugh Tinker in New Society at the time people who believe themselves to have been bought of the war in 1965: "The basic factor in Kashmir and sold into slavery. Sold to an alien colonial Kashmir (now part of Pakistan) fears Pakistan could politics has endured, century after century; this is power, India. get dragged into direct conflict with India if the the utter indifference of those who rule Kashmir to But if these possibly mythological imaginings Indian troops adopt hot pursuit tactics to chase the hopes and fears of the people". Today, for better were not enough to stir the Kashmiris to the ideal

or worse, the spirit of nationalism stalks Europe and of national liberation, then the Indian government

The campaign for a free and independent the boil. Kashmir, which had been smouldering for decades, An Indian human rights team recently reported: ". Punjab, rumblings also in Sind and Assam.

The huge territories of India and Pakistan have ethnicity, religions and languages. It ought not to surprise us if they should now start to fall apart in the same way that other Empire — the Soviet Union — is doing at the other side of Asia. These

We cannot ignore the power and force of nationalism in the modern world. Nationalism is not intellectually respectable, and for this reason it has not been adequately studied.

Consider what a group of Kashmiris in England recently stated: "The uprising in Kashmir is not a The interesting thing is who of the 30-odd groups separatist movement . . . but it is a continuation of fighting for independence in Kashmir is going to the freedom struggle by the masses in Kashmir come out on top. There are two rival religious which started in 1931. Kashmir was always an groups—one backed by Saudi Arabia and the other independent state and it was sold by the British to by Iran. But according to Mr Salman Rushdie, who the Maharaja, who was not elected by the people. is half Kashmiri, the Kashmiris are not fanatical India and Pakistan over Kashmir, Peace News In 1947 when he acceded to India he did not take about religion. The JKLF, which has had some asked: "How can two countries as poor as India and the people's opinion. The people of Kashmir are of support from anarchists and members of the Direct Pakistan go to war? How can the dispute over the opinion that the Maharaja of Kashmir sold Action Movement in this country, is essentially Kashmir to India — they consider this a kind of dedicated to national liberation and does not

is still unresolved despite two bloody wars over the which to build a national liberation struggle: an imagined historical past based on freedom and The reason for the continuing problem was put independence stretching back into antiquity, and a

and its army has done their best to keep the pot on

In other words, the Indian government is treating all the people of Kashmir as the enemy. An ideal been cobbled together - jumbles of race, tribes, seedbed for spreading the concept of Kashmiri

The Indian troops are helping by their use of torture and rape. One victim, this month, explained impoverished Empires of the Far East could soon how a bed of hot coals had been covered with corrugated iron and deep sand to slow down the progress of prisoners forced to run over it. Now national identity is closely bound up with a cultural self-image. I don't see myself as particularly nationalistic, but it wouldn't take many hot coals under my feet to make me feel I had certain cultural differences with the bloke that was making me run

demand an Islamic state. Because it does not want So there you have two powerful ingredients on to be in the pocket of some government backer, the

> The JKLF recognises freedom must be fought for - "Freedom will not come on a plate", said one JKLF militant recently. But the declared aim of the JKLF is: "Once Kashmir is free of outside control, people can decide whether they want independence, union with Pakistan or even to remain with India".

From a correspondent

#### amir Amin is an Egyptian scholar, an economist by profession (he works for one of the United Nations research institutes) whose writings on imperialism and unequal development are well known. He writes from a Marxist perspective and along with such writers as Frank, Wallerstein and versalist perspective. Arrighi has been instrumental in developing a Within tributary systems exploitation has a theory of capitalism that emphasises the fact that it is a world or global system. This it has been since its foundation as mercantile capitalism towards the

Eurocentrism is Samir Amin's critique of what he views as the dominant ideology of capitalism, a critique, that is, of the culture of capitalism. But his analysis extends beyond that of a cultural critique, for he offers a perspective on world history, and some thoughts on the possibility of establishing a new paradigm, a socialist universalism, that would accompany a radical 'disengagement' of people from the capitalism world system.

end of the sixteenth century.

totality, consists of three dimensions — the transhistorical constants and the structural long been attempting to explore the interconnections between these different dimensions of social reality.

Amin divides human history into three stages, each with a corresponding mode of production and culture. The earliest kind of society he describes as 'communal' — which consists of societies where class structures and the state are not clearly crystallised. More advanced pre-capitalist societies that has fundamentally shaped the modern world, he terms 'tributary cultures'. These include not only the classical 'civilisations' (Amin still uses this a capitalist economy in Europe. The other is the loaded term) of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece, European conquest of the world. For Amin these but medieval Europe, Islamic culture and the are simply two dimensions of the same theocratic cultures of India and China. Amin stresses the similarities of all the world religious systems, which reach their most developed form in fact that in its commodity form it is exploitative of a kind of scholastic metaphysics that postulates absolute truths and a universal moral system. He sees Egypt as having a crucial significance in introducing concepts of eternal life and immanent moral justice, thus opening the way for a in which capitalism could develop.

18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56

# Eurocentrism

'transparent' quality — the surplus is extracted from the working people by the ruling classes in visible form as 'tribute' - in the form of rents and various fees, either in labour or in kind. The emphasis on eternal truths and the metaphysical aspects of the dominant pre-capitalist ideologies -Hellenism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Confucianism — therefore have an ideological function in justifying and explicating economic exploitation. The cosmogomy such metaphysics inspires, he writes, "justifies the social order in a world where inequality of wealth and power has Amin suggests that social reality, considered as a transparent origins" (page 30).

Amin employs what is for the world-systems economic, the political (the domain of power) and theorists a key conception, the distinction between the cultural dimension. Theorising about the latter core and periphery and thus notes that the dimension has, he feels, been inadequate. For there 'rationalising scholasticism', the 'ascetic flight' has been a tendency to treat cultures as and the metaphysical aspirations are characteristics of the tributary culture at its core. In the medieval relationships between culture and the other two period, Arab-Islamic culture, represented in the dimensions has, he writes, hardly been explored, writings of Ibn-Rushd (Averroes), Ibn-Sina apart from highly abstract formulations. The (Avicenna) and Ibn-Khaldun, was a 'core' culture explicitly racist, and this was clearly articulated by cultural dimension might be a 'mystery' and of the tributary mode. The break-up of the Roman 'unknown' to a Marxist economist like Amin-but Empire, the advent of the Christian era, and anthropologists and historical sociologists have Mohammed's flight from Mecca are not considered by Amin to be decisive breaks in world history. Eurocentrism as the 'culture of capitalism', is seen

by Amin not as some long-standing ethnocentrism on the part of Europeans, but as a modern phenomena. Its roots go back only to the Renaissance, and it did not flourish until the nineteenth century. With the Renaissance, as Amin describes it, a radical social transformation begins and it has two aspects. One is the crystallisation of development. What is crucial about capitalism as an economic system is that it 'hides', 'obscures', the human labour. And Amin sees its development as intrinsically related to the fact that European feudalism was a peripheral form of the tributary mode — and that this allowed a certain flexibility

describes as fulfilling three inter-related functions. First, it obscures the essential nature of the capitalist mode of production. Secondly, it denies that the inequalities inherent in actually existing capitalism, particularly that between the core and the periphery, derives from the system itself. Instead it puts it down to 'internal' factors at the periphery, within its 'national' components. And finally, the ideology deforms the vision of the historical genesis of capitalism, by stressing the uniqueness of European culture and history. It thus constructs a Eurocentric culture, a vision of history that separates Europe from the world. This Eurocentrism has four elements which Amin describes as the culture of capitalism. Firstly, it rigidly demarcates classical Greek culture, seen as the fountainhead of Western science and rationalism, from the milieu of which it was an intrinsic part — the Orient. For as the studies of Martin Bernal and others have shown, the ancient Greeks saw themselves as belonging to a culture that embraced both the Phoenicians and Egyptians. Secondly, the culture of capitalism was nineteenth century intellectuals and administrators like Cromer. Thirdly, Eurocentrism specifically interprets Christianity as being a principal factor in the formation of European identity. Western Europeans thus came to see themselves as Promethean figures — proclaiming a dualism of humankind and nature, and seeing humans, in the image of God, as destined to rule and control the world. And finally, the ideology of capitalism

cultural heritage. In challenging the universalism and hegemony of the Eurocentric culture of capitalism, Amin is also critical of those who fall into the error of what he calls 'banal provincialism'. He thus tries to steer between two perspectives. One is that of the assume the cultural superiority of Europe — and Moore, Zed Books 1989.

Western culture. Amin follows Edward Said's

critique of 'Orientalism', but stresses that this was

medieval period scholars like Ibn Rushd,

Maimonides and Aquinas all shared a common

'imitation' or the 'catching up' by non-European societies of the Western model of developed capitalism. This is the perspective of the 'ideology of development' and those economists who, as with much of Western social science, assume a Eurocentric mythical vision. It is a perspective that The dominant ideology of capitalism Amin does not conceptualise capitalism as a global phenomena, and thus does not see that the flagrant inequalities that exist in the world are intrinsic to capitalism itself. Given the social and ecological limits of the capitalist system, Amin suggests that the 'Western model' is essentially utopian. He sees fascism as simply an extreme formulation of this

> The other perspective that Amin rejects is that of provincialism which, with its rejection of universalism and its stress on 'difference' and cultural diversity, is today very much in fashion. Amin offers a harsh critique of Arab-Islamic fundamentalism, its reactionary ethos, and its contempt for human reason.

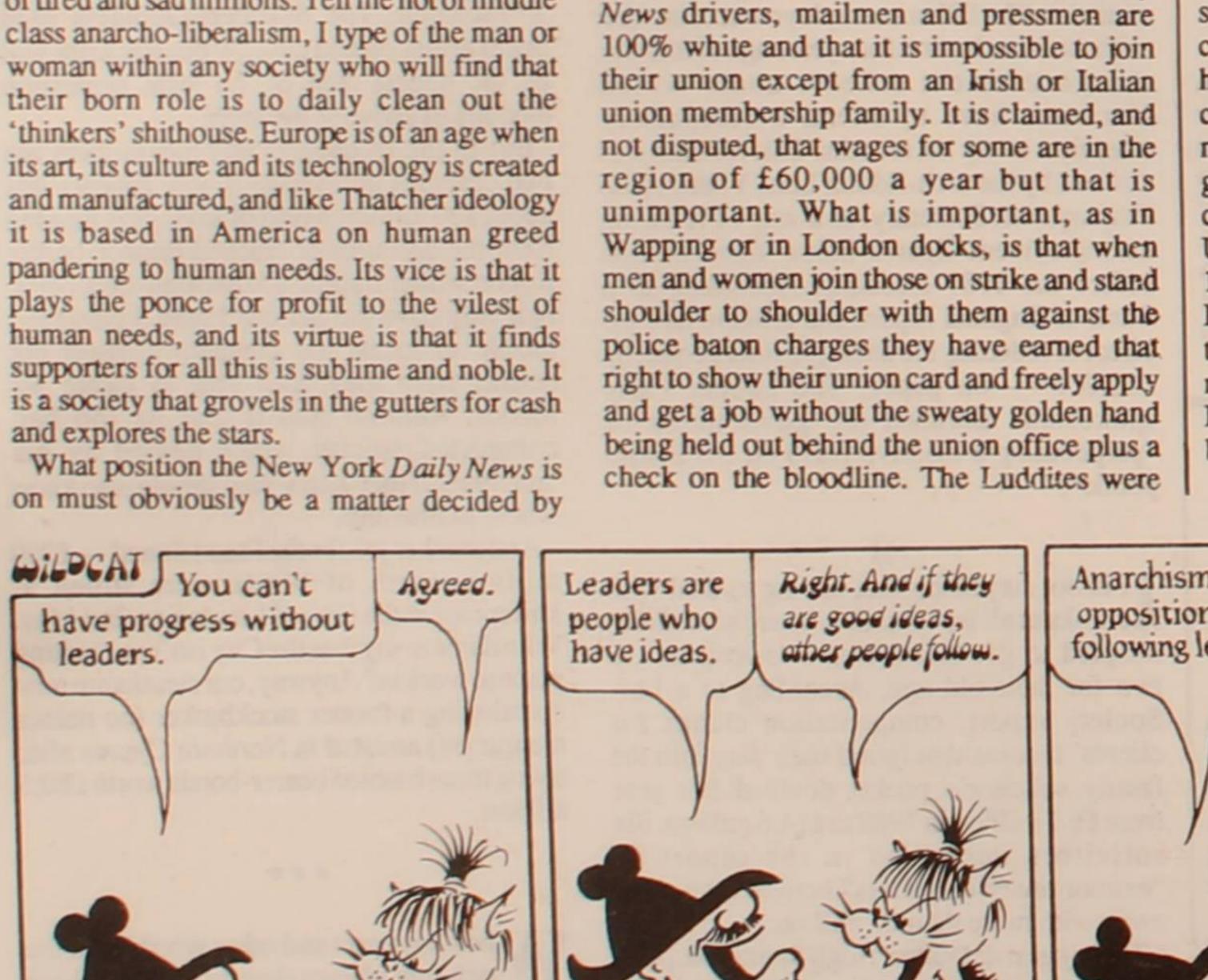
Rejecting both poles — the bourgeois promise of capitalism and the cultural provincialism — Amin intimates a third paradigm: universal socialism. Its content, however, he never clearly specifies, but he does stress that the initiative for the transformation of the world falls to the people of the periphery of the third world. It is they who must initiate the national popular democratic advance. This implies a 'delinking' from the capitalist system. The possibilities for this 'disengagement' are limited at the centre of the capitalist system, and he notes that all breaches of the system have been made from the periphery (Russia, China, Cuba). In the societies of the periphery, Amin concludes "disengagement from the capitalist world system is the condition for a development of the forces of production sufficient to meet the needs and demands of the majority" constructed a mythical image of the East, as the (page 142).

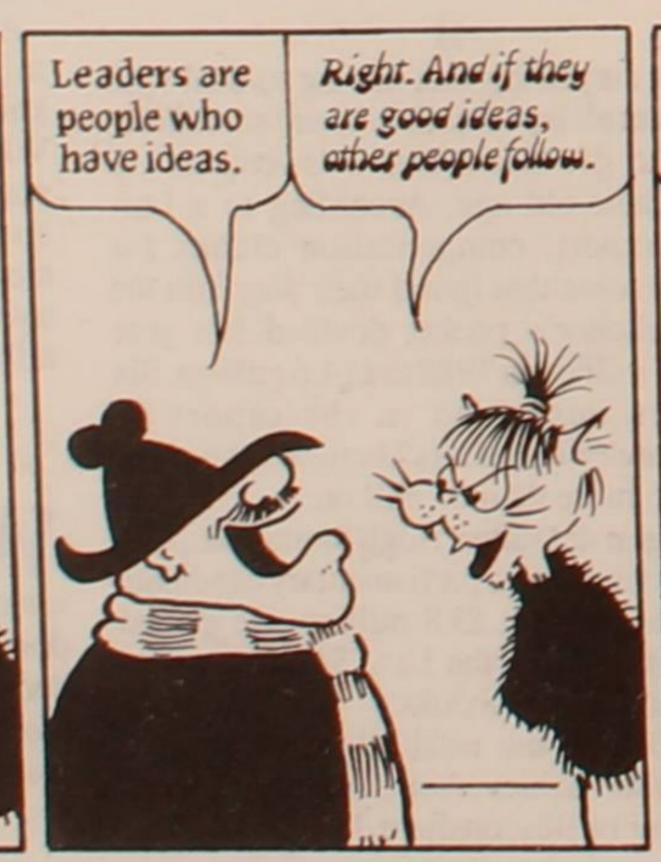
'Orient', as a culture that was 'opposite' to that of This will come about, he suggests, by means of a popular, anti- imperialist alliance, one that is popular and national rather than socialist. But, as a nineteenth century phenomena, for in the the Marxist experiments have shown, 'popular national' revolutions, as Amin calls them, lead not to a disengagement with capitalism or the market economy, but to a form of state capitalism. But such issues are not explored by Amin who retains throughout an essentially Marxist orientation.

An interesting study thus leaves us in the end with some rather loose ends.

Brian Morris

positivists and the ideologists of the market, who Eurocentrism by Samir Amin, translated by R.









national identity received fresh impetus from the events in Europe at . . the failure of the [Indian] government to the end of 1989. There is now a serious threat to the distinguish between masses of unarmed Indian government from the resistance in Kashmir. demonstrators on one hand, and groups of armed But the whole Indian sub-continent, including militants on the other, has been responsible for Pakistan, is in danger of breaking up as pressures pushing the general public to the anti-Indian build up for a Sikh homeland, independence in position that the militants adopt".

JKLF has shunned funds from such sources.

who see the future as one that simply involves the

# THE BRICKS CASE REVISITED

with me is what made him famous enough for his memoirs to be of interest.\* "Like it or not, Harry," he was told, "in spite of all you did during the war and as a police officer . . . it was the 'brick case' which put your name before the general public".

We first met in July 1963. The King and London, and attracting booing crowds wherever they went. On Tuesday 10th July, for some reason, the Queen of Britain appeared separately from the Greeks, and of course the demonstrators took the opportunity of booing her. The Home Secretary, Mr Henry Brooke, called a late-night press conference to say "The Queen of Britain was booed tonight, and I am furious".

I gathered that Mr Challenor shared the Home Secretary's fury when he said "Boo the Queen would you?", in the course of clouting me about the head the following day. Assisted by three young constables (CID aides working under his guidance), he was endeavouring to discredit the demonstration by arresting eight peaceful demonstrators, and charging them with carrying pieces of brick for use as

It was a well-planned action, which should have provided the justification for making queen-booing illegal. But in my case, Challenor himself made two elementary errors. He said in evidence that he took the brick from my pocket, but he had omitted to put it there. And he detained me overnight, so wearing at the magistrate's court the next morning. An expert witness testified that there had never been a piece of brick in any of my pockets, and it was the police, instead of the demonstrators, who were discredited.

It is clear from his book that Mr Challenor is a proud man; as proud of his cunning as he is of his physical fitness. Yet here he was, a followed Mr Challenor throughout his police detective sergeant with twelve years career, and after the 'bricks case' a number of experience in the force, undone by a blunder late Appeals were allowed, on the grounds in the planting of evidence which would have that the jury would not have convicted had shamed a police cadet. In his own words, he they known Mr Challenor was a liar. The has "never been able to face up to the realities James Report re-examines all these cases to of what brought it about". He remained on see what really happened, and in each case duty for some weeks, but his behaviour comes to a firm finding. became more and more irrational as he In the case of King and Silver, "the reliable

\*Tanky Challenor: SAS and the Met by Harold Challenor with Alfred Draper, published by Leo Cooper at £14.95.

great a strain and I was ill for the first time for evidence of the Inquiry I am not satisfied that a considerable period and had to undergo further treatments before I could continue".

After his breakdown, oddities in his behaviour were recalled, which indicated in Detective Sergeant Challenor produced the retrospect that he had been mentally ill for some time. He had been loud and boisterous. Queen of the Hellenes were on a state visit to He had rejected advice to cut his workload. He had sometimes walked home from the West End to Purley in the middle of the night. And to cap it all, he had tried to plant bricks on

There was no need to inquire into the interesting question of why Mr Challenor had been allowed to remain on duty after it was proved in court that he had fabricated evidence. Then as now, anyone found 'not guilty', whatever the evidence of innocence, is assumed by the police and their supporters to be a wrongdoer who got away with it. But Home Secretary Mr Brooke ordered a public Inquiry "into the circumstances in which it was possible for Detective Sergeant Harold Gordon Challenor of the Metropolitan Police to continue on duty at a time when he appears to have been affected by the onset of mental

The Inquiry was conducted by Mr A. E. James, an eminent QC who was at the time a Recorder (Judge in a local court) and was subsequently promoted to Judge. Martin Ennals, the General Secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties, afterwards wrote (in Anarchy 56): "For nearly nine weeks Mr there could be no dispute that the suit in which James sat, benign, avuncular, bespectacled I was arrested was the one which I was and bald, shining down upon a battery of barristers; giving confidence to the witnesses and courtesy to the lawyers. No-one could have been more fair, patient and tolerant; no-one more willing to listen or anxious to learn. The more therefore the surprise of the total whitewash of the published report".

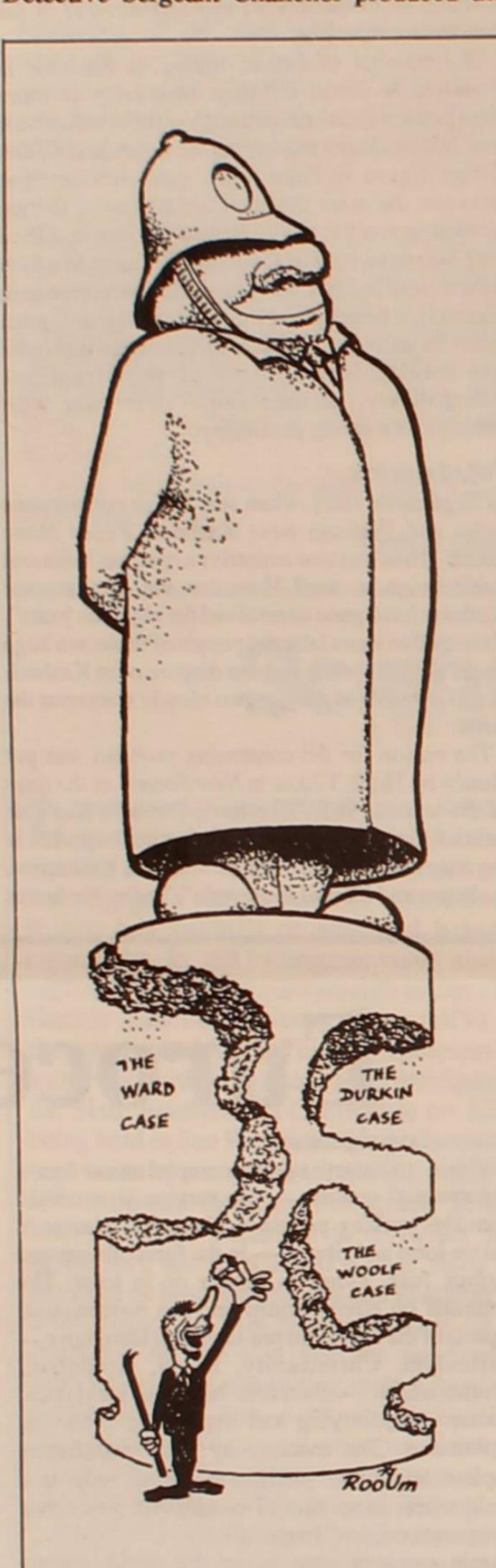
Allegations of planting evidence had

descended into a severe nervous breakdown. evidence strongly points to the conclusion that "There are still blank areas in my memory", Detective Sergeant Challenor did not place he writes, "where the 'brick case' is the detonators in the cushion but did make a genuine discovery thereof, and that is my

In the case of Pink, Brown, Francis and Bridgeman, "I find no evidence to support a

x-Detective Sergeant Challenor did not concerned". Trying to remember makes him contention that Detective Sergeant Challenor L'invite me to the launch party for his physically ill. And when he read up the case instructed or countenanced the 'planting' of memoirs, despite the fact that his encounter in the James Report, "even that proved too evidence by any other officer. Indeed, on the any weapon was 'planted'."

In the case of Pedrini "I reject as false evidence the testimony of Mr Pedrini that



iron tube to him in a cell saying 'That's

But when it comes to the 'Brick' cases, where the evidence of planting is incontestable, "The terms of reference of the Inquiry did not necessitate any findings to be made [about planting] . . . I have therefore studiously avoided making any findings on these questions."

In short, Mr James found the allegations of planting to be false wherever that finding was remotely plausible, and where it was not remotely plausible he avoided the issue. Presumably his intention was to restore the good name of the police, since every planting involved other officers in addition to Mr Challenor. But he reads like Mr Challenor's defence counsel, presenting his client in the best possible light.

Mr Challenor and his co-author ignore all the other evidence, and rely exclusively on the James Report for events which Mr Challenor cannot remember. And so they should. It is right and proper that a man's memoirs should be biased in his own favour.

The most enjoyable chapters of the book are the ripping yarns of his adventures in the SAS during the war. He escaped from a POW camp disguised as one of the old Italian women who came in to do the chores; a little beyond the gate his long-johns, which were rolled up under his skirt, unrolled, but the German sentries who were watching assumed it to be an oddity of Italian peasant dress. He escaped from a front line hut by going to the door to scrape the mud off his boots, and sprinting away barefoot. He jumped the queue for flights home by altering the 'L/Cpl' on his travel warrant to 'Lt Col'.

I knew nothing of his past when I knew him, but the impression I had fits the character in the stories. Strong, energetic, resourceful, courageous to the point of recklessness, a witty bully, bound by a code of loyalty, but ready to break any rule in pursuit of those he perceives as the enemy. A Rambo character, enjoyable in fiction but frightening to meet in

One extract from the James Report, which Challenor and Draper have already quoted once, is repeated as the very last sentence of the book: "He was regarded as a man who was kindly and considerate to children and the elderly, and who was abhorrent of the bully."

For all I know, someone said the same of

Donald Rooum

Cartoon from Peace News 17/8/63

## Left and World War Two — was Freedom Press right?

The Left and World War Two: selections from It could just as well be argued that Orwell and the War Commentary 1939-1943 Freedom Press, £1.95

supplement to World War - Cold War, Freedom Press, £6.95

soldiers in the trenches.

supplement. This editorial note lays a claim to the Tom Brown and Albert Meltzer.

not discriminating between civilians and armed service personnel.

This was the only truly world war! The so-called World War One was, as A. J. P. Taylor has said, Later he favourably quotes F. A. Ridley's remark basically a European war.

their march on Moscow. Of course, the more mobile like Donald Roy. upper classes, in earlier wars, could escape serious themselves off to St Petersberg or sample the waters

More important is the underlying implication in 
It is the British Communist Party and its bosses in didn't distinguish between slaughtering the young criticisms. Almost a third of the articles in this previous wars. I can see no merit in wars that allow organ-grinder — the Soviet Union. the young to die on the battlefields, while their womenfolk, the conscientious objectors and ruling badly organised, we may be vain and inclined to war unintentionally promotes the idea of it as a other sectarians indulge in what Orwell calls the glorified sporting event, which is what the mental masturbation of political fantasy in which Falklands conflict became.

So far as I can make out, the chief virtue of modern mass warfare for working men is that it offers the power and the powerful are often on the nail. This alike. Nuclear weapons make this all the more realisable, and from the point of view of many Union. workers this is all to the good. World War Two simply broke new ground in this respect, making the upper and ruling classes realise that in any future mass conflict they were just as likely to be slaughtered as the lower classes.

World War Two and anticipated in a concentrated form in any future mass conflict, has taken the inequality out of war.

It seemed to me important to stress the case for slaughtering civilians, because it provides us with a possible alternative libertarian analysis of World War Two to that taken by War Commentary and the Freedom Press Group. The general line taken in the selections in the pamphlet The Left and World War Two is moralistic, but consistent. One thing about a war is that it is very divisive and Vernon Richards' comment in his introduction to this pamphlet still betrays some bitterness, especially towards Orwell: "Orwell was an enthusiastic supporter of the war (he obviously enjoyed playing at soldiers . . .)".

But there were other libertarian supporters of the war effort, including much of the Spanish CNT in exile, which used Freedom Press facilities to publish pro-war propaganda. There was, I think, a respectable libertarian position which could take the view, as Bernard Crick claims Orwell did, that the Nazi-Soviet pact in bringing together the two great dictatorships made participation in World War Two a way of striking a blow for a freer world. Orwell, we are told, in suffering from the hangover of the Spanish Civil War, wanted to bring to the England of 1940 the ideas of Catalonia of 1936. We can sneer at this, as we can at the Spanish exiles who hoped the war against Hitler would finish Franco. Stupid they may have been defending 'the bad against the worse', but their objectives were noble.

Spanish anarchists had more experience and a better understanding of fascism than either the pacifists, the anarcho-pacifist intellectuals like Alex Comfort, or the group around War Commentary.

I have gone on at length here so as to show that it In wartime it strikes me as sensible that the was possible to be a libertarian and to be either procivilians at home ought to suffer and be or anti-World War Two. Both positions were, I slaughtered in roughly equal proportions to the believe, respectable and tenable in the context of World War two. The pamphlet The Left and World Before developing this argument, let's consider War Two, being based on selections from War admit as much himself. an editorial note in the booklet World War - Cold Commentary, is decidedly anti-war. Writers War, of which The Left and World War Two is the include Marie Louise Berneri, John Hewetson

moral high ground, arguing that the anarchist It is a bit of a patchwork quilt pamphlet, dealing journal War Commentary consistently opposed with items like 'Eire and the IRA' and 'Soviet World War Two"... that fratricidal struggle which Stakhanovism', as well as the parties of the British cost the lives of some fifty million men, women and left and their attitudes to the World War. I suspect children (for this was the first war which did not much of it is made up of afterthoughts and left-overs discriminate between the armed forces and civilian from the bigger World War - Cold War book

Several things need to be said about this notion of Yet there are some historical gems, like the revealing piece by Reg Reynolds which suggests that the British Labour Party was advocating policies similar to Hitler's 'national socialism' that "Fascism is Fabianism with jack-boots on". The statement is also faintly Anglo-centric insofar Apparently the anarchists around 1940 took the as only someone living in England, historically out view that the Labour Party equals Labour Fascism. of the path of the marching armies of central The stuff on the Soviet Stakhanovite system of Europe, could readily write that previous sweated labour (a Russian refinement on the combatants were more disposed to discriminate piecework schemes of Fred W. Taylor in the United between enemy soldiers and enemy civilians. It States) is cleverly taken apart by Marie Louise could not have been nice for Russian peasants Berneri and Tom Brown. Their comments caught in the path of Napoleon's French troops in anticipate the later sociological criticisms by people

The peace movement and the Independent Labour disruption. Many rich people in wartime would take Party (ILP) are criticised for being limited, divided, vague and confused. The ILP is accused of being at Baden-Baden or play a little roulette in the South only against the war so long as it thought Britain

the editor's statement, that because World War Two the Soviet Union who come in for the most cutting men in the armed forces and the civilian population volume analyse the political acrobatics and this somehow made this war more evil than opportunism of the communists and their As anarchists we have many faults — we may be

class are safe at home in their beds. Such a view of moral self-righteousness, we might even along with we claim our forecasts are borne out by events but our criticisms, usually our negative criticism, of prospect that we all go together — rich and poor has been particularly true, as this pamphlet shows, of our remarks on 'communism' and the Soviet

Thus though I am uneasy about the general underlying theme of the pamphlet as one of being prepared to let Hitler win the war, it shows that the anarchists grasped the fraudulent nature of the Communist Party and that of Soviet Communism Modern warfare, as sampled in a diluted form in The twists and turns of the international



Freedom Press

nunists never deceived them. Indeed they saw through the racket quite as clearly as Orwell himself

Nor were they taken in by the half-baked ideas of the Fourth International and Trotsky - that the Soviet Union was a "degenerated workers' state". John Hewetson even declared in December 1940 that "the truth is that Russia never has been a workers' state". It took a historian like the ex-Stalinist Eric Hobsbawn until January 1990 to

## GODWIN KROPOTKIN

William Godwin: A Biographical Study George Woodcock Black Rose, paperback £9.95\*

The Conquest of Bread Peter Kropotkin Black Rose, paperback £10.50\*

hese are two reprints of books written or edited by George Woodcock. His study of William Godwin, first

published in 1946 at a time when there was little interest in the subject, was a well-written though under-researched summary of his life and survey of his writings. It got favourable reviews and made Woodcock's reputation, but it sold badly and has long been unavailable. It has now been reproduced in a facsimile reprint together with an 'Updated Bibliography' (taken from the Selected Bibliography of Anarchist Thought produced at Adelaide University in 1988) and a short introduction by Woodcock.

The bibliography is useful, though incomplete and already out of date. Thus it doesn't include such important recent books as Peter Marshall's anthology of Godwin's anarchist writings, Mark Philp's study of Godwin's political ideas, and William St Clair's biography of the Godwins and the Shelleys.

The introduction is readable but unreliable. Woodcock gives a vivid account of his early interest in Godwin, but he exaggerates both the extent of previous neglect and the impact of his own work. He doesn't mention the recent books. He also makes several errors he suggests that almost no British anarchists knew about Godwin half a century ago, although informative articles about him had been appearing in the anarchist press; he says that there was no edition of Political Justice between 1798 and 1926, although James Watson's edition sold widely and steadily from 1842 onwards; he says that none of the novels other than Caleb Williams has been reprinted, although several have appeared in the United States (one being included in the bibliography!).

More important, as Woodcock mentions, the great Abinger collection of Godwin manuscripts, which was unavailable when he wrote the book, is now easily accessible in the Bodleian Library in Oxford; it has already been used by several recent writers on Godwin, and it contains a great deal of material superseding virtually all previous work on the subject. This means that the value of this book is seriously reduced; but it is still an elegant and sympathetic study of one of the most important British libertarian writers.

The Conquest of Bread, which is the latest addition to the Black Rose collected edition of Kropotkin's works, was first published in French in 1892 and in English in 1906. There have been many editions since then especially one produced by Paul Avrich in

1972 on the basis of a corrected version of the revised English edition of 1913, with a translation of Elisée Reclus's preface to the original French edition, a long introduction, an index and reading list, and useful footnotes. The present edition is a facsimile reprint of the first American edition of 1907, again with a translation of Reclus's preface, and also a long introduction by Woodcock. The value of this edition depends entirely on

the introduction. It is readable, as usual, but

unreliable, as usual. Woodcock includes

much general and irrelevant material. He speculates vaguely about the identity of the translator without bothering to do the research which would establish it. He wrongly attributes to Saint-Simon rather than Cabet the saying "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs". And he exaggerates Kropotkin's contribution to the development of anarchist communism (see Caroline Cahm's recent book on the subject). More important, Woodcock fails to place The Conquest of Bread in the context of Kropotkin's work — as the constructive sequel to Words of a Rebel, the revolutionary counterpart to Fields, Factories and Workshops, and the French parallel to the Freedom articles recently published as Act For Yourselves. Indeed he misses the geographical context. He remarks that Kropotkin's attention "was focused on Russia more than on any other country", but that certainly wasn't true at this time or in this book. The Conquest of Bread was above all a French scenario published in the French press for the next French Revolution — beginning as a popular rising in Paris once more (as in 1789, 1830, 1848 and 1871), but this time turning in a libertarian direction — and it can only be understood from this perspective.

There are altogether too many things wrong here. Woodcock's introduction is certainly an attractive essay on Kropotkin, and The Conquest of Bread is always worth re-reading; but the best edition of the book remains that of Paul Avrich (which is unfortunately

\*Both titles are available from Freedom Press (post free inland).



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

Freedom Press 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.

seems to us instead, and experience has surely already confirmed our view, that their approach would condemn the anarchist movement to a state of perpetual sterility. To make propaganda we must be amongst the people, and it is in the workers' associations that workers find their comrades and especially those who are most disposed to understand and accept our ideas. But even when it were possible to do as much propaganda as we wished outside the associations, this could not have a noticeable effect on the working masses. Apart from a small number of individuals more educated and capable of abstract thought and theoretical enthusiasms, the worker cannot arrive at anarchism in one leap. To become a convinced anarchist, and not in name only, he must begin to feel the solidarity that joins him to his comrades, and to learn to co-operate with others in the defence of common interests

There have been anarchists, and there are still some, who

while recognising the need to organise today for propa-

ganda and action, are hostile to all organisations which do not

have anarchism as their goal or which do not follow anarchist

methods of struggle. To these comrades it seemed that all or-

ganised forces for an objective less than radically revolution-

ary, were forces that the revolution was being deprived of. It

and that, by struggling against the bosses and against the government which supports them, should realise that bosses and governments are useless parasites and that the workers could manage the domestic economy by their own efforts. And when the worker has understood this, he is an anarchist even if he does not call himself such.

Furthermore, to encourage popular organisations of all kinds is the logical consequence of our basic ideas, and should therefore be an integral part of our programme.

An authoritarian party, which aims at capturing power to impose its ideas, has an interest in the people remaining an amorphous mass, unable to act for themselves and therefore always easily dominated. And it follows, logically, that it cannot desire more than that much organisation, and of the kind it needs to attain power: Electoral organisations if it hopes to achieve it by legal means; Military organisations if it relies on violent action.

But we anarchists do not want to emancipate the people; we want the people to emancipate themselves. We do not believe in the good that comes from above and imposed by force; we want the new way of life to emerge from the body of the people and correspond to the state of their development and

ON ORGANISATION advance as they advance. It matters to us therefore that all interests and opinions should find their expression in a conscious organisation and should influence communal life in proportion to their importance.

> We have undertaken the task of struggling against existing social organisation, and of overcoming the obstacles to the advent of a new society in which freedom and well-being would be assured to everybody. To achieve this objective we organise ourselves in a party and seek to become as numerous and as strong as possible. But if were only our party that was organised; if the workers were to remain isolated like so many units unconcerned about each other and only linked by the common chain; if we ourselves besides being organised as anarchists in a party, were not as workers organised with other workers, we could achieve nothing at all, or at most, we might be able to impose ourselves . . . and then it would not be the triumph of anarchy but our triumph. We could then go on calling ourselves anarchists, but in reality we should simply be rulers, and as impotent as all rulers are where the general good is concerned.

From E. Malatesta: Life and Ideas (Freedom Press, 312 pages, £4)

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

### READERS' PAGE

And of course many people engaged

#### The Russian Doll Updated

modern version of the Russian doll containing a smaller version of itself (which contains a smaller version of itself, which contains a smaller version of itself, and so on) is on sale in tourist shops in the Soviet Union. The outermost doll is a representation of Mikhail Gorbachev, Inside that, a mini Leonid Brezhnef, inside that a tiny Nikita Kruschev, inside that a model Josef Stalin, and inside that a miniature Vlad Lenin. The more expensive versions of this charming artefact even contain representations of at least one of the Tsars inside Lenin! Are they trying to say something?

The legality of tobacco often serves to obscure the fact that it functions in a similar way to other drugs, such as cocaine - politically as well as psychologically. We have heard much in the least twelve months of the US government attempts to stem the flow of cocaine into their country by working closely with the government of Colombia. As is well known, in many countries drugs such as cocaine and heroin are the chief cash-crop, being Mouth perhaps the only source of work and a half-decent standard of living for peasant farmers. But since the growing of these crops is usually illegal, the ruling elites in places like Colombia have no political problems in trying to stamp them out (their personal safety is another matter!). In the USA politicians are in a bigger quandary, however. The harmful effects of tobacco are impossible to deny, yet in North and

South Carolina tobacco is the major source of employment. Pressure in Congress is building up among politicians (presumably those from states where tobacco isn't an important cash-crop) to make the USA's policies appear more consistent. This could only mean the banning of the tobacco industry, however, which seems extremely unlikely in the face of the overriding ideological commitment to 'free enterprise' (the freedom large enterprises to exploit all and sundry).

In Brighton and Hove, the local rag reports that Sussex police have spent £30,000 on a university survey which tells them what everyone seems know already. The startling findings of the study b top criminologists from Sheffield University revealed that burglary, vandalism and theft are worrying, that people like to see a police officer when they go to a police station to report a crime that most people who contact the police use a telephone, that people want to see 'bobbies on the beat'. The fact that this survey and its 'extraordinary conclusions' is to be paid for out of public funds gives us yet another good reason not to pay the poll

### Straight from the Horse's

reddy Kollek, for 25 years the Jewish mayor of Arab and Jewish Jerusalem, was recently asked - in the context of the recent deterioration in Arab/Jewish relations in Israel - whether thought that ordinary people were more sensible than their leaders. 'Absolutely - they can't more stupid', Kollek replied.

## Rambling Notes

final section is in Rutland, the ancient but now quickly put you in the guardroom. absorbed into the twentieth century.

bliss, medieval merry England, bucolic Honourable the Fifth Earl of Gainsborough labourers and landed gentry, but it is just the (recreations shooting and sailing). The path eastern part of a Leicestershire which doesn't passing through agricultural and parkland was welcome walkers. Although, according to the clearly marked if only because every map, it is criss-crossed by footpaths it was conceivable deviation is signposted 'Private recently described by the Chair of the - Keep Out'. These fields are lower than the Ramblers' Association as bandit country for surrounding land, the result of ancient innocent walkers of Rights of Way. One-third ironstone quarrying, and on nearby higher of the paths cross land made unwalkable by ground we could see a stationary jeep and the n covering the disaster which has hit factory farmers each year and a recent survey showed occupants could see us. We met them later. that in this part of England half the paths were poor or unusable and there was only a 60% Oo, into Exton and the village pub, which

surveillance reminiscent of Orwell's 1984 is exit. Because of the high wall we could only of their brains. not what one would expect in such a rural catch an occasional glimpse of the environment yet in just two days' walking, attractive-looking park and a native explained and after declining to take morning coffee that it was very private, but recommended the with Lady Tollemache of Buckminster, we local church for its collection of interesting were challenged by a man with a gun, tombs. Disappointed, we skirted the high wall accosted by three men on horseback, almost until we reached a small door near a group of establishment has been clever in focusing on unusually resistant to heat and chemicals. scalped by military aircraft, monitored with council houses. It was not locked, so dare we the question of whether humans will also So the statement 'beef is safe' means only binoculars by two men in a jeep, chased by an go in? Of course you can, said the tenants, catch it. Whilst worrying about this that money will be lost if the public do not eat angry farmer on a tractor and goggled at by a Catholics are allowed into the park to attend all-important question, there is less attention it. From the little known at present the risk crowd of excited Italian men who almost filled Lord Gainsborough's Catholic Church to the magnitude of the farming disaster. We from eating muscle tissue is not high but it is explain.

TT7 ithin a mile of the start of our walk, near the pleasant village of Sewstern, an again took a wrong turning, but within and the government are also responsible for unpleasant, the sensible person will avoid abrupt challenge by a young man with a gun minutes the two men in that jeep had arrived allowing this to happen. Even now they are British beef for several years. Better still, the who appeared from the proverbial thicket to courteously shepherd us back to the correct reluctant to take any steps to eradicate this consumption of cereals directly is good made us think that we had strayed into a secret nath nuclear establishment or a regional seat of That only leaves the man on a tractor and the term. government. But no, we had only strayed from Italians. The farmer was angry because with the permitted path, it was private land and we our map and compass he thought we were Is it safe? were disturbing the game birds. Back on the from the Ramblers' Association and were There is now much reference to 'expert' Viking Way we met three fox hunters who had trying to establish a new right of way through not only lost the fox, but the dogs, the other his land. And the Italians? Well, the publican named or appear in person. Many who could horses and their riders as well. We could not said, "Oh, they often eat here". I leave the help them but did say what we thought of their explanation to your imagination. sporting activities. Shortly after, we had to

The Viking Way is a long-distance cross the northern perimeter of Cottesmore I footpath from the Humber Bridge, airfield as sinister black warplanes through the Lincolnshire Wolds, around the repetitively took off, circled and landed. The edge of the Fens to the Vale of Belvoir — 120 pilots were clearly beginners and it was miles of ordinary but not dull walking. Having difficult to avoid ducking each time one none of the excitement and popularity of the passed over. The control tower in the distance God, I'd arrange it so that boys' brains developed Brothers would have released him. . . . Fancy those more famous Pennine Way, it is little used, but stood out above the flat landscape and you had before their bollocks instead of afterwards. Can't

non-existent English county that refuses to be It was a relief to escape from the airfield towards the quiet village of Exton on the edge Rutland conjures up a picture of pastoral of, or is it in, the estate of the Right

in case our atheism was showing.

# Waiting for the Bus

We got here too early again, Bert. Your watch fast?... Well, you'll have plenty of time to Representation, and how they've got it over there tell me what Mrs Potts said, won't you ... She said in Europe ... Yes, it all sounds very nice but it will how she agrees with the Minister of Education that only put a different set of public school bums on the it's the parents who should decide whether they benches . . . Don't hear much from that Scots MP want their kids to go to schools full of coloured kids, who was always creating about the Royal Family, never mind about the Race Relations people, and these days. Let's see, what was his name? ... What, Jack Straw ... Huh! It's a bloody laugh. MacGregor Willie Hamilton? He got married to a Tory woman, and Straw both went to public schools. And you can didn't he? Expect she slapped a D-Notice on his guess where their kids will be going, if they've got pillow . . . Whatever he says, I like Princess Anne. any. It's the same with everything. The people with She's different. Won't say a word against working the ackers get out and leave us poor sods to get on mothers ... Yes, I dare say she's in favour of more with the mess they've created. Like I was saying the nurseries so that mothers can go out horse riding . . other day, there's a wall, a financial wall around I often wonder what Anne and her brothers are good Slough and the inner cities. Her MacGregors and at apart from riding, flying and walkabouts. I Straws only come inside to make speeches. Then wonder if they got their O Levels . . . I saw that they piss off back to the green belt in their Jags. religious woman opposite us going into the Shared That's the only green thing about politicians. Never Church yesterday morning. Where was her friend seen a politician on a bus neither, let alone a vicar. then, is she ill? ... No, she's not ill. Her friend's a What else has Mrs Potts on her mind, then? ... She Roman Catholic, they use the church in the said she never realised how much embryos were like little babies, and what a good idea it was to send says she only drinks sensibly . . . Huh! How can these plastic models to MPs . . . I'd like to send the SPUC plastic models of kids maimed by those bombs we dropped on Dresden. They seem to forget all about sanctity of life after pregnancy. I wonder if your Mrs Potts has ever stopped to think that all those millions of embryos wriggling about inside their mothers all over the world are little atheists, pink ones, black ones and yellow ones, and they just can't wait to get out, get Christened, sit their O Levels, join the army, watch Coronation Street and make some more embryos to get their own back. Poor little sods. If I was an embryo I'd plead to be aborted rather than go through all that lot again . . . That woman in the magazine I was reading said it was all the fault of you men anyway because you run everything . . . Why do you women run after us then? . . . You men have got all the money. What do you expect us to do, starve? We don't have to run after you anyway. You pester us as soon as we start getting little bumps in our jumpers. If I was Wayne? He could have been president if Warner is ideal for the elderly and the not so firm. The the feeling drifting a foot from the path would you men get it into your thick skulls that women they were asleep . . . Look, Daisy, nobody can tell need to have babies? . . . You might have a point there, Daisy. We men end up as wise old eunuchs, RAF pilots on their airfields, so at least it wasn't if we don't kill each other off when they wave a bloody flag. Sad, isn't it. Anyway, what was so interesting about that Party Political Broadcast last night? ... It was Paddy Ashdown. He's much nicer

evenings. I've heard she's fond of a drink, but she anybody do anything sensibly when they've had a drink. Can't understand doctors, they've got 'Smoking Kills' plastered all over the clinic, and they tell us a little drink can do us good. It would be different if whisky was on prescription only like the drugs they dish out. Imagine how big the labels would have to be if they had to put all the side-effects down on whisky bottles . . . Mrs Potts only needed one number on her 'Sun Bingo' last week. She said her husband only looks at the football and page three, dirty old man. It's pornography, all those tits . . . Well, I don't know, Daisy, if they showed the bit down below and put the price up to a fiver, they could say it was Art. And if they stuck in a few Cherubs flying about, they could stick it up in a Cathedral . . . You going to watch the film on Pearl Harbour tonight, Bert?.

. . No fear. They didn't lay on music for us when we were doing our bit in Malta. Who's in it, John Japs sinking all those ships without warning while me the Japs didn't know the Yanks were training unprovoked. Nothing in the papers about AIDS these days. Wonder what's going on? ...

## Loss of Brains

I farming in Britain, the media adopted the term 'Mad Cow' rather than the over-long so that although many details have been words used by the medical-vet fraternity. A chance of completing a two-mile country was busy feeding a coachload of more accurate short name would be the 'No pensioners. We were able to eat in the rear Brain' disease. These animals are certainly The feeling of being under constant garden once mine host had unlocked the fire kept under conditions requiring little or no use

> The politician now primarily involved certainly gives the impression that he may have some brain deficiency and assurances by government spokesmen that all is safe have the effect of alarming the public. However, the condition that will cost money in the short policy.

opinion. Not so many of these experts are comment must be thinking that they would not receive a 'gong' or will find a lack of research HS funds if their comments differ from the official line.

My experience is in basic sciences related to living systems. These are extremely complex discovered that which remains is certainly larger. This applies especially to the nervous system. There are several diseases which involve tissue loss in the central nervous system and which can be transmitted by food and also to offspring. They have long dormant periods and have been rare in humans. The hard facts could be condensed on to the back of an envelope. The supposed infective agents have never been characterised and are

Wymondham's small country pub. But let me attached to the big house (and incidentally to have not learnt the names of the companies foolish to assume that the results of laboratory enjoy the park). So we did, if a trifle furtively and their directors who control the big experiments will correspond to the world of business of chopping up everything from agribusiness and abattoirs. Since the effects Leaving Exton on our return journey, we brains to toenails to put into food. The farmers will not appear for a long time and are

The moral: Money is the root of this evil.

Addendum: It is reported tonight that under pressure from France and Germany, Mr Gummer has agreed that they will be sent only beef from non-affected herds. Guess who will get the beef from the affected herds?

Norman Albon

### Fish Out of Water?

Dear Freedom,

Neville on the Anarchist Research be acceptable to everyone in it, did about the content of Karen group and my paper Oppositional however he chooses to circumscribe Goaman's paper. Cultural Currents and it? Or would Neville in fact be

Rather than go to any length to correct Peter Neville's misunderstandings of my paper, I will simply ask him what he calls Dear friends, 'reality', the 'real world', 'real I could not for the life of me make out research' and 'real people'.

more 'real' than others.

I don't pretend to have great others as if they were fish in a fish rather than derided. first-hand knowledge of the activist tank. The distinction he makes end of the anarchist movement, and between ethnography and sociology I don't pretend to speak for it. My is spurious and redundant, his Dear Editors, interest is in cultural interventions conception of anthropology I am writing about the 'Morecambe Four' and communication of ideas, and the antiquated and misleading, and his communicating — and, as there are themselves 'intellectual leadership'

interventions are often written ones. I don't see research as 'leadership'. that I doubt whether you could get The other was acquitted. It is a form of intervention which can them to agree on what anarchism is be useful in debating ideas and all about, let alone assume looking at theoretical issues as well intellectual 'leadership' of any kind. as communicating something about

what is going on. Does anyone really know what constitutes the 'anarchist movement'? Though small, it is far more diverse and amorphous than, for example, the Revolutionary Communist Party! Do you include Class War activists, anarchopunk-hippie squatters, anima liberationists, new age travellers? I would be interested to know how readers of Freedom see it.

The car boot sale is perhaps the most

car boot sale at Denby Institute, Derby-

sumer society behind us.

cial/community groups (and anarchist dead!

groups!) a relatively easy way of fund

most weekends and holidays from spring run it cost more!

Would Peter Neville's perception I am responding to the piece by Peter of the 'active anarchist movement' more about Peter's feelings than it they broke a pane of glass. particular fish tank?

producing and suggestion that the ARG seek for few such forums for public speaking of the 'movement' seems to me quite and exchange of ideas today, such bizarre. Members of the group and its speakers seem such a motley crew

'positivist' variety, and this was no hair was also being pulled.

currents related to but not part of the from the group, patronisingly alternatively, so closely tied to the superintendent.

— poll tax protesters arrested during a demonstration at Morecambe Town Hall in March and charged with Public Order offences. Their trial, estimated to cost £35,000, finished on Monday 21st May after five days. Three were found guilty and ordered to pay costs of £175 each.

Andrew Collinson was arrested for allegedly swearing at the Police Superintendent. None of the other

## ILAHIMINI

A s a mountaineer for many years, I read your column 'Rambling Notes' and the comments by Dave Morland with interest. My experience is that organised groups are not necessary to undertake most mountaineering activities. Clubs

recently raised £20 this way.

In Praise of the Car

Boot Sale Economy

to autumn then the volume of goods The stallholders themselves represent a

erature but sometimes get taken over by The problem of environmental damage

from walking or climbing is minor even when compared with the use of cars for leaders". getting to the hills. As HS writes, suitable When the High Priestess from deep the 1960s, when it could actually afford paths can be made over the most sensi- within the Tory pantheon of demons a salaried staff. Two of them are tive areas. This seems to work well in appeared, it became clear that she was no professional journalists. They have the New Zealand although their weather can more an authority figure than the other support of outside contributors and press rapidly remove any path. They also have protesters. So who are these protesters releases from the world's peace groups. a respected rule in National parks — you | who strike fear into our geriatric leaders? | If they wanted to, they could run a very take all your rubbish out with you. This Just ordinary people, but the prospect of good newspaper. provides good exercise carrying out folk getting up off their backsides and But evidently they do not want to run a empty wine bottles!

Although mountaineering essentially has obviously frightened them. nvolves individuals and small groups, it has been used to promote nationalistic and commercial interests and to provide publicity for some individuals. In contrast I remember the lack of media interest in the exploits of Menlove Edwards visible and widely accepted element raising. After all, all that is needed is ac- as he was openly gay and a conscientious of the 'Black economy' in Britain today. cess to a car-park/field, a newspaper ad- objector. Certainly it seems to be ever growing in vert, some signposts and a few stewards.

Mountaineering skills are useful for popularity. On last May Bank Holiday a The Anti-Poll Tax Union here in Belper protest groups. The campaign against the nuclear power station at Golfech in South In your front page article 'Who are/were Swansea on 9th June. shire, saw approximately 200 stallhol- The goods sold at car boot sales show a West France was greatly stimulated by ders present. If they all raised the same bewildering range of type, quality and the action of four protesters in scaling the June), you ask rhetorically "and are we Militant and they managed to retain fifty pounds 'profit' that I did, then some age. Plants and seedlings, tools, toys, cooling tower and displaying banners. ten thousand pounds must have changed books, games, TVs, radios, kitchen Several similar actions have been underhands over, for want of a better word, equipment, clothes, etc., etc. I obtained a taken by Greenpeace. The events at Nagasaki?" With a couple of exceptions plastered with Militant posters and 'junk'. If you consider that most towns serviceable four-waveband radio all for Strangeways jail provided yet another and large villages run such events on the princely sum of £1.50, the battery to example.

#### Subscribers

ave a look at the second number replaced by a new hospital, and there met as was one attempting to bring mid would appreciate a prompt renewal Who indeed are/were the war - with a donation if you can afford criminals!

in anarchist research are not witnesses heard him do so. He was anarchists, so would hardly want to dragged out of the council chamber by form the 'Shibboleth' he fears. His the hair, then two riot police carried him review was appropriately placed out and used his head as a battering ram under 'True Confessions' as it told us to open the Town Hall door. In so doing,

what the police were doing. She was been forced out of business by Anarchists have always displayed a claimed she was swearing hysterically at selling off the property to pay the debts, Contemporary Anarchism (2nd June perceiving reality only from his own healthy scepticism towards him. Other witnesses claimed that as she and publication has been taken over by 'intellectuals', especially of the was being pushed out of the building her the War Resisters' International (WRI), a

doubt what Peter was trying to Rick Clark objected to the way the PeaceNews was founded in 1936 as the convey. It is, as his letter implied, an police behaved inside the chamber and organ of another pacifist organisation, occupational hazard among the fact that councillors did nothing to the Peace Pledge Union (PPU). It became

course of my research (though fewer ARG. Although one of the best In an era when knowledge is either the van, Laurence Reynolds responded to self-styled anarchists than others attendants of these meetings, he so esoteric and elitist that it hardly the situation by singing a Ewan McColl 'for non-violent revolution', and while it since my research focuses on clearly wants to distance himself touches upon real human issues, or, folk song. He was arrested by that same continued to publish every shade of

'anarchist movement'). But maybe labelled as well- meaning and instrumental needs of capital and the The Magistrates' verdict is inconsistent was distinctly anarchist. for Peter Neville, some people are good-hearted liberals. He seems to state, the studies of the likes of Karen in that it relies on the testimony of the Now, while we have no doubt that the Brian Morris dismisses the testimony of that same reversion to traditional pacifism. officer in acquitting Alison Radons. With the revolution in printing exactly the same words of the song.

interpenetrate. Why had the councillors | The truth is that they have spent all their are useful for providing huts and lit- Tory 'democracy'.

The witness answered 'There are no

doing something about the Tory poll tax newspaper. They want to pay somebody

Stephen Booth

#### Hiroshima's American heroes

Bishops Stortford | magazine (1st April 1990) and had the nerve to hold a reunion of those involved in those acts of genocide actually in Hiroshima accompanied by a TV crew

Not only did they show no remorse, the

Peace News collapses

Alison Radons bravely objected to ur contemporary Peace News has arrested by the same superintendent who shortage of funds. The Trustees are

I could not for the life of me make out what (or who) Peter Neville was — but that is no reason to be mosping about in his criticism of the displacement of the displa I have met 'real people' during the moaning about in his criticism of the dismissive of what they have to say.

While the other three were thrown into pacifists in the strict PPU sense. The anti-war opinion, the editorial tendency

be a victim himself of gazing at Goaman are surely to be encouraged police officer in charge to convict Andy WRI will be a tolerant and co-operative Collinson and Lawrence Reynolds, but proprietor, we must expect some

> Another police officer admitted in court techniques since the 1970s, it has become that the police testimony was passed possible for all kinds of groups and around the office in a file, so that it was | individuals who could never have found no surprise that the police remembered | the money to print by the old methods, to publish pamphlets and periodicals. So It became obvious that the prosecutors' how could a well-endowed paper like and defendants' worlds did not | Peace News be forced out of business?

> called in the riot squad from Preston? assets to support a habit: paying wages. Were they really so afraid of thirty or so Until they were all sacked at the end of protesters? During the protest, a girl had | May there were four paid staff. One of the shouted "Now you all know what we're debts to be met by the sale of property is here for ... "and then the chanting of NO redundancy payments. For two years, POLLTAX had started. This was obviously from summer of 1987 to summer 1989, a planned, organised attempt to destroy | the paper did not come out at all, and even then it employed two paid staff! With "This girl who started the chanting is four paid staff, it came out as a monthly the leader of this Anti-Poll Tax Union of the same size as Freedom, with

> > The six Peace News Trustees include at least three who worked for the paper in

to run a newspaper for them.

# News from

The Welsh Federation of Anti-Poll Tax Unions held its second annual conference at

the War Criminals?' (Freedom, 16th The Federation was set up by proud of our airmen who delivered the total control by taking all the vacant atomic bombs on Hiroshima and posts on the committee. The hall was the airmen involved certainly are proud the platform likewise. The guest of their achievement, according to a speakers were Steve Nally, the trade speakers were Steve Nally, the trade union officer of the Strathclyde Federation and one from the Youth Rights Campaign.

All motions in any way construed who filmed them on the site of the to be critical of Militant were hospital they had destroyed, now opposed by the steering committee, control than building a larger and more co-ordinated campaign.

Therefore the conference was disappointing but there are hopeful signs that a revolt of the rank and file will soon end this domination and take the campaigh to beat the poll tax RV forward.

from the left on the address survivors still suffering from the and north Wales groups (who have label on the envelope in which you after-effects of the bomb. "Throughout been critical of Militant) into the got this paper. If it says 79, 80, 81 or | the visit they stuck to their conviction that | Welsh Federation. So at the moment 82 you have already had two renewal they had done the right thing in dropping the Welsh Federation only covers reminder notices, and this is the last the atom bomb", and were reported as South Wales, where Militant are issue you will receive unless we get a saying "it was President Truman who stronger. This indicates that Militant subscription renewal from you. If ordered it — we were just the guys are more interested in retaining your number is 83 or 84 your carrying out the orders"! subscription is overdue — please fact that what The Correspondent send your subscriptions now. If your describes as "a small but thriving cottage number is 85 your subsciption industry of 'personal accounts' has renewal is due from this issue and we grown up around Hiroshima".

to repair, mend, make do, sell at and buy irrelevant to their newly found 'market from car boot sales and the like we will socialism', but I prefer to think in these begin to leave the fashion crazed con- hard times that such events are a real sign

bought and sold must be enormous and broad cross-section of people, and no the cash changing hands must run into doubt you will find plenty of Denis tens of millions of pounds, and all out of Pym's 'Bricoleurs and Bricoleuresses'.

sight and knowledge of the taxman too! The more enthusiastic of car boot sale fol-However, one person's 'junk' is an- lowers will move from one sale to another person's bargain, and in these days other in search of that elusive bargain or of increased ecological awareness there the next deal. There is great flexibility is a very environmentally sound recy- over prices of goods for sale, haggling cling of goods to be gained by sales of and barter occurs all the time, perhaps the items at car boot sales. After all, every car boot sale represents a return to the item sold represents time expended by 'market' as found in the Far Eastern basome worker somewhere, and the use of zaar, or in medieval England. Of course perhaps irreplaceable resources in its Marxists may denigrate such events as manufacture, so why not sell it rather than signs of 'petit-bourgeois individualism' dump it? Perhaps when we are prepared and the Labour party may regard them as

Car boot sales also offer local so- hands of ordinary people is far from Jonathan Simcock | it

that social and economic activity in the