

0

9 SI

21

N

1 9

-

0 8

NF

0 7

1

13

1

-

6 4

A lites except		Central Statistics Office (we have to see the Report and are relying the brief summaries published in <i>Guardian</i> and <i>The Independent</i> quarter of the British populat	owns three-qu nation's markets at £1,000 billion 38% of that thou 38% of that thou - that is to say in The Survey sh real terms has between 1976 a between 1976 a Tories took office bottom 75% has fall. It is the top in fall. It is the top in forting on p	
We have been told by some that this country has produced this century. We are also told that Thatcherism has completely changed all our ways of thinking and that	eversible'. eversible'. eversible'. ed unpre ed unpre country. country. ie trades ut in their ut in their en defeate	Twenty questions to ask a war-monger 5. If Iraq uses chemical weapons in its defence, will the US use nuclear	liation? pens if Ira widen the widen the in Saud ns or their apons if aq? syria will syria will syria will syria will cont	
Achies Quarterly Communication	Freedom (24 issues) half pr Claimants 10.00 - Regular 14.00 18.00 2 Institutions 22.00 25.00 3 The Raven (4 issues) Claimants 10.00 - Regular 11.00 12.00 1 Institutions 13.00 15.00 2 Joint sub (24 x Freedom & Claimants 18.00 - Regular 23.00 28.00 4 Bundle subs for Freedom (inland 1 2 copies x 12 12.00 1 5 copies x 12 25.00 2 10 copies x 12 48.00 5 Other bundle sizes on applic Giro account number 5 All prices in £ st	TION S utaide Europe urope airmail irmail ice for 12 issues 7.00 23.00 3.00 23.00 3.00 33.00 4.00 20.00 4.x The Raven 0.00 37.00 (12 issues) broad abroad urface airmail 3.00 20.00 4.x The Raven 0.00 37.00 (12 issues) broad abroad urface airmail 3.00 20.00 4.00 82.00 58 294 6905 erling	Industrial: Tom Carlile, 42 Gaston Avenue, Keynsham, Bristol BS18 1LT Land Notes: V. Richards, c/o Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX Regional Correspondents Cardiff: Eddie May, c/o History Department, UWCC, PO Box 909, Cardiff CF1 3XU Hove: Johnny Yen, 52 Westbourne Gardens, Hove, East Sussex BN3 5PQ Reford: Fred Oughton, 2 Holly Road, Retford, Notts. Northern Ireland: Dave Duggan, 27 Northland Avenue, Derry BT48 7JW Norfolk: John Myhill, Church Farm, Hethel, Norwich NR14 1HD Scotland: Stephen Cullen, 12 Dundonald Street, Edinburgh EH3 6RY	
Social Ecology, Alexander nan's Russian Diary, Surrealism 2) Surrealism in England (part 1), a Bhave, walden school ommunication and Organisation, Aldred, History of Freedom Press ice £2.50 each from Freedom Press Cedom Bookshop MAS PARTY Inday 22nd December 10am to 4pm ag a bottle if you can afford be — if not bring yourself	To Freedom Press I am a subscriber, Please make my s The Raven starting I am not yet a sub I would like the for at £2.50 per copy	in Angel Alle London please renew m ub to <i>Freedom</i> is g with number 1 scriber, please e ollowing back n post free on to Freedom I (delete as applic	y, 84b Whitechapel High Street, E1 7QX ay sub to Freedom for issues into a joint sub for Freedom and 1 of The Raven enter my sub to Freedom for issues umbers of The Raven (numbers 1 to 10 are available) Fortnightly Fighting / Freedom Press	

PUNCTURING THE

MYTH

(continued from page 1)

their share increase from 52% to 58% which in hard cash means a rise of £78 billion at 1988 prices.

One is a little suspicious of the suggestion that the top 1% are worse off in view of the fact that it is also pointed out that the analysis of wealth "excludes the very rich with estates worth more than inheritances a year exceed £10 million" (The Independent). With all the family trusts and other tax loopholes available to the super-rich we are surprised that there are any large inheritances!

Privatisation which so far has involved the sale of some eighty publicly owned £38,000 million for the Exchequer is a efficient' than public enterprise, it also makes it possible for the public to become share owners by offering them at well instance, some 7.3 million people have applied for shares in the forthcoming privatisation of the electricity distributing Gallup Poll (quoted in The East Anglian million. Last but not least, unemployment

shareholders it is a fact that the majority of small shareholders engage in profit taking even before they have paid the final instalments. And it is the Institutions, the Pension Funds who corner the lot.

A s to the economic success story Aduring these past eleven years apart from "selling the family silver". as MacMillan described what they were £10 million" because "it is difficult to doing, the Thatcher government have measure accurately how much they own benefited from the billions of pounds from in total. An average of only five North Sea oil (which were not available during the Labour government's years in office from 1974 to 1979). In 1979 they inherited a 10.6% inflation rate and 1,100,000 unemployed. By 1980 inflation had risen to 22% but by 1983 had been reduced to 4% at a price: nearly four million unemployed. This was followed by industries and businesses and realised the years 1985-1987 of expansion of the economy and a reduction of basic tenet of Thatcherism'. Not only is unemployment mainly in service private enterprise by definition 'more industries. For the first time in the country's history imports of manufactures have exceeded exports. And in 1990, in September those invisible under their true value. No wonder, for exports which had always made the Balance of Payments more 'respectable' were offset by the invisible imports.

Inflation has risen from 4.2% in 1979 to companies when it is estimated that they 10.9%, prime lending rate from 9.7% to stand a chance of making 30% profit if 14.9%, and the Balance of Payments they sell them! Yet according to a recent Deficit this year will exceed £15,000 Daily Times, 22nd November) electricity has been increasing for the past six privatisation is opposed by twelve to one. months and will in all probability exceed Far from our becoming a nation of two million in the New Year even after they

Twenty questions to ask

(continued from page 1)

9. What does one quarter of the world's known oil resources look like when on fire?

a war-monger

10. What happens if the battle-hardened Iraqis beat the over-equipped Americans?

11. What will the civilians of Baghdad look like after the onslaught of B52s from Diego Garcia, F111s from Turkey and Cruise missiles from the Gulf?

12. When the Americans bomb Baghdad will their Air Force and politicians be put on Nuremberg-style war crimes trial for 'planning and waging an aggressive war against civilians' or, once again, will it only be the defeated that will hang?

13. What's it like to be a British squaddie dying for cheap oil, the \$600 billion US arms industry and the political futures of seventy year old men and women?

14. If 'stopping' men like Saddam Hussein is to be the core of the new world order, are we entering a phase of

continuous warfare as America and its allies run from dictator to dictator?

15. Only 35% of Americans voted in the recent congressional elections - is that sufficient mandate for Bush to kil. hundreds and thousands of people?

16. What is the difference between the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and southern Lebanon, and the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait?

17. What is the difference between the Iraqi invasion of Iran - which the West supported - and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait?

18. When is a politician going to be blinded, burned, maimed or killed in a war that he or she started?

19. Why do Mrs Thatcher and President Bush say 'we' when they mean young men and women? 20. Why?

Stephen Cullen



1 1 11

at and the set in all the test the set and the set

A t the latest count, around one million talking about doing everything possible for a Hworking class soldiers are facing each other across the border between Iraq/Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, armed to the teeth with some of the most horrific weapons ever devised by man. The opposing troops have never met and can have no personal argument with each other and yet they are ready, at the first word of command from the megalomaniacs who control them - but who are safely ensconced away from the battlefield and who are responsible for the entire stupidity — to kill each other with no questions asked. And all for what? The strategic interests of the West in general and the USA in particular.

EDITORIALS

massage the figures.

It is now estimated that ten million people in this country are living below the official poverty level. So much for the economic miracle of the

Thatcher era! [We shall have more to say about 'Thatcherism' and the so-called 'success story' in the next issue of Freedom Editors





Un Communication

Out now. Contents include: Dirk Spig Tips on writing news reports Michael Douane Communication Martyn Everett Cologne Progressives Joe Kelly A Tabloid Journalist Colin Ward An Anarchist Columnist Donald Rooum Cartoons in Propaganda Johnny Yen Class and Communication Colin Ward George Barrett's answers S.E. Parker George Barrett biography George Barrett Objections to Anarchism Andrew Hedgecock The New Church

£2.50 post free inland, overseas please add 50p for postage. For subscription rates see back page.

THE FALL GUY

Yet there are signs that the US State does not really want a war - at least not on the scale threatened now. Someone seems to have badly misjudged Saddam Hussein's likely reaction to Western threats, and now an assortment o US spokesmen are wriggling uncomfortably this way and that, trying to get off the hook they have impaled themselves on. They are blowing alternately hot and cold: one minute

peaceful resolution to the crisis, the next roaring blood and thunder.

In other words, they are doing exactly like the Iraqis: playing for time. They must be desperately hoping that events will swing their way if sanctions begin to really hurt the Iraqi people and provoke popular unrest or, failing that, praying that the covert operations team working in the area — probably with disgruntled Kurds, Iraqis and Kuwaitis - can come up with a method of disposing of, or at least neutralising Saddam. For despite the bellicose threats of certain military and political figures, both sides know well that if it comes to war, it will be Vietnam Mark Two. The West may have air superiority, but no amount of bombing will flush out the Iraqi troops from the massive, deep, hardened concrete defences they have built across Kuwait without brutal, messy World War Two style fighting on the ground, where objectives must be taken one by one. And the Iraqi army

(continued on page 3)



15 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60



A aking a hash of it, whether by chance, design or as a consequence of corruption, seems to be what council politics is all about. In Liverpool, and one London Liberal Democrat borough, the police are investigating suspected corrupt local land deals.

Selling off town and city centres became fashionable as local authority bosses

Profile: Kenny Mercer

A s a trade unionist I was brought up with Kenny A Mercer. He has worked at Dunlop's, Rochdale, in the late 1960s when I was shop steward there, and we both fought to get rid of the then corrupt 'scab' trade union - the General & Municipal Workers Union, which then had a closed-shop at Dunlop. This developed into a successful campaign (covered in Freedom at the time) in which eventually the Transport & General Workers Union replaced the G&MWU.

Kenny Mercer is remembered as a skilful shop steward by the Dunlop workers. He won many benefits for the workers there.

In the 1970s Kenny joined the Direct Works Department of the Rochdale local authority. He soon became a shop steward in the Department, and by 1975 was made convenor.

Later, when the Department expanded, he became T&GWU branch secretary of Rochdale Metropolitan Borough Council. He is also a member of the T&GWU's North West Regional Council.

(continued from page 2)

DENED

HE

E

10

5

~

6 15

2

12

-

80

- 7

9 STA

8

has recent, prolonged experience in this kind of warfare.

It also has, courtesy of the world powers now so busy condemning Saddam, vast quantities from Iraq's point of view, if two threatened sold to America by Britain for £6 million after of arms and ammunition: planes and missiles supplied by the USSR, long range artillery from South Africa, tanks from Britain (including many left behind by the fleeing Kuwaitis), Exocet missiles and Super Etendard planes from France, and a large amount of unspecified but high-tech hardware from the USA. Some US officers have expressed concern that some of their 'boys' are going to be killed by sophisticated American weaponry.

'I See No Ship'

If memory serves me right, Admiral Nelson once disobeyed an order to withdraw the British fleet from battle by putting the telescope to his blind right eye and claiming he could not see the flagship with its message. The question is, did the US really not read the signals that Iraq would invade Kuwait, or did it deliberately entice Saddam into a trap?

Back in July in negotiations with Kuwait he was getting a lukewarm response to his demands and threats: in reply to the Iraqi claim for the cancellation of billions of dollars in war loans, \$14 billion compensation for low Iraqi oil revenues (caused by Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates undercutting the world price), and \$2.4 billion for oil 'siphoned off' from the refused. This way, by appearing not to mind Rumeillah oilfield (most of which is in Iraq), Kuwait offered a mere \$1 billion, to which the Saudis added another \$2.4 billion. So to increase the pressure, Iraq moved two army divisions up to the border.

One might have expected the Americans to react angrily to this threat to one of the biggest oil producers in the Gulf which had, with their connivance, been flooding the market with cheap oil. But Ambassador April Glaspie Indeed, US 'intelligence' must have known dispute with Kuwait: in 1961 (when Glaspie was also there) and 1973 it also threatened invasion. So it must have been obvious that, Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, obligingly

HOME NEWS **TOWN HALL HASH-UPS** bulldozed town centre buildings to create regime then had embarked on an ambitious

prime development sites for building developers.

In hard times, no doubt, councils feel they must raise money somehow, and cashing-in on land values in city centres is one way of doing this; even if it means demolishing the good, and erecting the trashy.

Yet urban development is beset by other conflicts!

The recent decline in land and property be unsaleable in the short term.

left with some prime derelict land, which may In the 1980s the Labour Party has grabbed stronger control of most of the urban local authorities with serious problems. Conflicts loss. have developed between many Labour local councils, who want more money from central government to build more council houses, and the Government in London.

Ructions have hit Rochdale Council over the recently disclosed loss of £846,000 in 1989-90 Some, like Michael Heseltine, argue that the on a building contracts venture by the current system means that local councillors council's Direct Services Department. Kenny get bogged down in the bureaucracy, which Mercer, the Transport & General Workers submerges councillors in committees and Union secretary in Rochdale, claims this is subjects every decision to over-detailed "only the tip of the iceberg". Whitehall scrutiny.

In Liverpool 22 people, including Derek Hatton, were questioned by the police in October over local authority land deals. The Labour City Council there has been lumbered with debts stemming from the earlier Militant escapade during the 1980s. The Militant



invasions had already failed to resolve the issue, only an actual invasion would work. Yet the US and Kuwait want the world to believe that they thought it was a bluff which could be bought off with more compensation money, even though Iraq has been warning Kuwait and other Arab States since at least last March against the 'treacherous acts', implying that the US was also involved.

If this crisis is part of a plot, the US has 'Come Into My Parlour' seriously miscalculated and now finds itself Why would the US want to lure Iraq into about to unleash a regional of not a world war. Kuwait? Firstly because they hate Saddam It must be desperately hoping that any conflict Hussein and his regime. They feel that he has can be shown to have been started by Saddam, then at least it won't look quite so guilty when become too big for his boots: after they helped the body-bags start coming home. But him bring Iran down a peg or two, thus taking Saddam seems to be smarter than that and care of bogeyman number one in the region, doesn't really seem to want a war but is he is now using the power they gave him to frightened, like Bush, of losing face and assert Iraq's independence and strength in the possibly, given the nature of his own regime, Arab world, against the interests of the US his head as well. They are both ex-chiefs of (and its client states) in the region, i.e. its their respective secret services, but so far God-given right to use the oil as it sees fit, at a Saddam is running rings around Bush. Which price it dictates, and to 'protect' it from the is not to say that he is any less repulsive as a clutches of others. Secondly a crisis in this dictator, but he doesn't want to give the West strategically important region could be used as any more excuse to attack and has cleverly an excuse for the US to obtain, finally, the been releasing a trickle of hostages to show military base(s) it has always wanted but how 'human' he is. which the Gulf states have consistently The Americans appear genuinely surprised and annoyed at his stubbornness and about an Iraqi invasion and then screaming apprehensive in their views on the possible blue murder when it happens, it can kill two outcome of a war. They surely didn't expect it birds with one stone: under the guise of to go this far. Perhaps they thought Iraq would protecting 'international trade' or tiptoe into Kuwait and just take the oilfield, or 'democracy' it can humiliate Saddam oust the Emir and install a puppet government, diplomatically — perhaps even give him a eventually pulling out again faced with bloody nose — and get a foot in the door at the worldwide condemnation and a token show of same time. force, considering the game not worth the The US has always regarded British and Soviet bases in the area jealously, but the assured Saddam the next day that they "had no Arabs in particular have always distrusted the opinion" on what they saw as a minor Arab idea of large Western armed forces on their border dispute. Saddam could hardly have soil, or even defence treaties which might lead believed his luck. The invasion two days later to that. Quite natural, considering the history was obviously planned months in advance. of such events, going right back to Richard the Lionheart and the Crusades in the Middle

candle. Then, having got troops into the region at the (inevitable) request of the Saudis, they may have hoped that the mere threat that Iraq would repeat the exercise would guarantee them a small garrison there indefinitely with, gradually, its own airfields and ports, then -hey presto! A permanent military base in the about the plan because they've been operating Ages. It could not have been hard for the On the street in Syria and even amongst in the region for decades and Iraq has twice Pentagon, however, to convince Saudi Arabia 'moderate' Saudis the conspiracy theory is before used identical tactics in its border that Saddam Hussein was a butcher who apparently widely believed and talked about intended to roll his army over their border too, (although only in private in Saudi Arabia). and that the nearest US base (the island of And then there is the letter.

house-building scheme with big loans from Swiss and Japanese banks.

Since then Liverpool's Labour council has been trying to balance the books by selling off land assets. Now there have been claims of corruption by city councillors and others in their involvement in the sale of land and buildings by Liverpool City Council between 1985 and 1990.

Other councils who tried to solve their values has put the squeeze on many private problems by gambling in 'futures and options' sector plans. Councils could consequently be on the money markets and losing vast sums, have been luckier: the courts have decided that because the deals were illegal the councils were acting ultra vires (beyond their powers) and that the banks must carry the cost of the

"Management incompetence"

Mr Mercer told Freedom that while some of the mess in other departments, such as £165,482 loss in Rochdale's Leisure Services Department, can be explained by problems springing from the town's poll tax capping, the crisis in Direct Services was caused by

THE FALL GUY

them on another island) although useful is too far away, being closer to Australia than to Kuwait. The Americans may have let the cat out of the bag, though, by talking too loudly and too soon after the invasion about the need for a new regional security system in the Gulf, provoking protests from several countries

"management incompetence, not poll tax

"How did the loss come about", asked Mr Mercer, and "Why were we not told about it earlier"

The T&GWU secretary said he was angry because he claimed that union officials and workers on the sites "had for months been complaining about the management of the Department". The workforce had met councillor Stephen Moore, Chairman of the Direct Services Department, and senior management at a meeting about "profit sharing" in July. "Profit sharing"!

Mr Mercer said: "We told them very clearly that a lot of money was being wasted". He told me of plant hired by the department left lying around the sites, forgotten by management, while hire charges mounted for months on end. He described how material shortages held up work, because items hadn't been ordered.

"Doors can't be put on when management fails to supply hinges", Kenny Mercer declared. Nor, he said, "can joiners work when the supply of screws and nails dries up. Plastering can't be completed when the architraves are not fitted".

But he said we got no joy when the unions "pointed out that some workers were repeatedly hanging about for hours on end, waiting for materials and that".

"For ages", he says, "the workers haven't been asking about pay rises, they have been

The Smoking Gun?

Shortly after the invasion, according to Alistair Cooke of the BBC,* who is not normally known for his belief in conspiracy they had evicted the inhabitants and dumped theories, the Iraqis claimed to have discovered evidence of a conspiracy between the CIA and the Kuwaiti ruling family. A letter addressed to the Director of the CIA and written two weeks before the invasion apparently showed that they had been busy trying to destabilise the Iraqi regime for some time. The Iraqis handed a copy of the letter, which included William Webster's home telephone number, to the United Nations in New York as evidence of "treachery and an act of war against Iraq". The following day, says Cooke, Webster's telephone number was changed and the letter has 'disappeared' from circulation. Apart from a brief dismissal of it as an obvious forgery by a State Department official, everything went strangely silent. According to Cooke, there has been no mention of it in the American press, not even to denounce it as a forgery. Nor have we seen any mention of it in the UK press, apart from the 'Letter to America' programme, which is not usually checked before it goes out, apparently. If it was such an 'obvious forgery', why hasn't the loyal establishment capitalised on it to boost its anti-Iraq crusade by showing it to the whole

Whoops, Apocalypse!

In the event of war we are told to expect 30,000 casualties within two weeks and tens or hundreds of thousands thereafter, and that's not counting any Israeli involvement, nor the possible ecological consequences of bombed oil wells and chemical or nuclear plants. But given the length of time the USA and its secret teams have been stirring the shit in the Middle East, it will not be surprising if some of it hits the fan. And if Baghdad through unusual caution fails to provoke it, no doubt some of Oliver North's friends will be only too happy to furnish the credible 'Iraqi' provocation which some regard as necessary justification for an act of premeditated mass murder.

Kevin McFaul

*'Letter from America', BBC World Service, 4th November 1990. Additional information from The Guardian 26th October 1990 and 2nd November 1990, and The Independent 11th July 1990.

TOWN HALL HASH-UPS

saying 'when is the council going to shut us down'?'

But what of the controlling Labour councillors — the politicians responsible for policy! What of the management officials responsible for the conduct of the work!

How much did they know? Mismanagement reasons. was obvious to the workers. How did our trusted public servants manage to sleep-walk their way to disaster? Were their eyes closed by accident or design?

Kenny Mercer claims senior management knew all about it, but believes they kept the Labour council jumped in at the deep end council politicians in the dark. He said: "The competing with the private sector, putting up

senior officers only tell councillors what they want them to know. They work the councillors like puppets."

Management now claims it issued a critical report, but this was gagged by the leader of the council, and the chief executive, for political

Management by fraud

The whole episode seems typical of big-headed political management with big ideas, and not much know-how. Rochdale's

Bacon for the Slicing

In a month when a dying generation mourns its dead of two world wars one must accept that wrongly or rightly they should be allowed to rabbit on about how the 'military build-up' in the Gulf should be deployed and actionised, to coin a cliché.

I am fortunate to be one of that small group of commissioned armchair generals seated at high table within the White Hart pub, and as such have many times worked out the totality of armed action within the Gulf States. A small puddle of spilt beer and an informed forefinger and wars are analysed, fought and won, for we are the universal commissioned armchair generals. In all major carnage there is always an involved small minority who died but never made the history books and of the First World War one must accept that it was the unfortunate Portuguese whose only claim to a footnote is that the British army rank and file were officially ordered to desist from referring to their companions in slaughter as 'Pork and Beans'. Among the commissioned general staff of the White Hart pub I have continually raised the matter of Denmark's part in the build-up of the Gulf war, their contribution and if this tiny nation has a Secret Service, but little interest is shown for the beer puddle and the moving fingers are engaged in painting a greater picture.

One accepts that economically Denmark is the thane of American money and that its tiny armed forces are fitted out with the rejected reach-me-downs of America, France, Germany and Britain, and if it has a Secret Service; first door on the right past the staff canteen, then it can be no more than a spin-off of the American Secret Service. One must also accept that America, Britain, France and Germany treat Denmark as their own T ondon Greenpeace is not a branch of the stamping ground and using its facilities _____international Greenpeace organisation without hitch or apology. But I have a concern but an autonomous anarchist/ for tiny minorities leaving the greater good to | environmentalist group which has existed those more able than myself and so in a since international Greenpeace (as it has dialogue with the Defence Attaché of the become) was a group in Vancouver. Danish Embassy I was given the following information.

White Hart will, looking up from the greater | have had some success. picture, enquire 'is it important?' but if war in dying in all that sand.

Embassy

Thank you for your kind letter of the 6th inst. I am more than happy to try to answer your two questions.

Denmark has a long tradition of participating in UN peace-keeping operations all over the | N1. Telephone 071-837 7557.

world. So when the Security Council decided to enforce an embargo on Iraq the natural response from the Danish Government was to take part.

Apart from humanitarian help, approximately £2 mio., to refugees in Jordan, the Government ordered a corvette to the Gulf. It arrived at the beginning of October, and during patrols in the Northern part of the Gulf the corvette, in co-operation with other allied units, has apprehended about 150 ships.

Furthermore, all arrangements have been made to equip a containerised hospital ship. If requested by the UN this could be in the area within one month. The containers can be taken ashore and used as a fitted hospital, if found more convenient.

However, Denmark is not planning to send any Army or Air Force units to Saudi Arabia.

As regards your second question can I assure you that we, as all other countries, try to protect ourselves against internal and external enemies. Internal security is a matter for the police, and the military takes care of external security. But I do not think that I reveal any secrets by saying that in no way can the Danish military intelligence be compared with the CIA or MI5 or similar establishments in other big countries, neither in size nor scope.

I hope that these answers will help you and your fellow armchair generals to continue your discussions on world affairs and the winning of wars.

McDonalds sue **London Greenpeace**

About six years ago, London Greenpeace initiated a campaign against the American fast The commissioned general staff within the food chain McDonald's, which appears to

McDonald's have now issued writs for libel the Gulf breaks out then it will be to a dead | against five members of the group: Paul Dane wondering what the hell he is doing Gravett, Helen Steele, Andrew Clarke, Dave Morris and Jonathan O'Farrell (they cannot Arthur Moyse issue a writ against the group as such, because it is not a legal entity). The five have stated Letter to Arthur Moyse, dated 12th November that they intend to fight the case. It remains to 1990, from E. Fage-Pedersen, Captain, be seen whether McDonald's will take the risk RDN, Defence Attaché at the Royal Danish of having London Greenpeace's allegations rehearsed in court and reported in the international press.

> Further information from The McLibel Five Support Campaign, c/o London Greenpeace, 5 Caledonian Road, London

FEATURES

dodgy tenders, using poor costing techniques and not monitoring the jobs properly.

Mr Mercer, who is partly paid by the council, claims senior management manipulated the council politicians. But if the councillors, ensconced on their committees, as the ultimate bosses of the department, couldn't grasp what was vividly clear to the labourers on the building sites, then they are either incompetent or irresponsible.

It suggests to me what I have always suspected, that much of what passes for management is a fraud perpetuated on the workers. Often the blunders of top their jobs. management are corrected by the blokes on the job

The Rochdale case is an advert for workers' the career bureaucrats. control. If the workers had more direct democratic control to administer the sites, they would see to it the materials arrived on cue and that the tools on hire were returned on time. Profit sharing is not enough! Workers must have control!

The concept of indirect democracy with the council calling the shots means you get council do-it-yourself men in charge at the top, and career bureaucrats operating the day-to-day management on the ground.

In Rochdale this means we have as chairman of the Direct Services Committee councillor Stephen Moore, a teacher with ambitions to become a Member of Parliament. We have as council leader Richard Farnell, perhaps best described as a digestive tube with ambitions to become a Member of Parliament.

A system of management which develops into a cat and dog fight between the councils DIY men and the career bureaucrats cannot serve the public or be in the best interests of the workmen. The public will have to make up the loss, and the council workers may yet lose

"Trust us, trust us", say the politicians at election time. "We are the professionals", say

The anarchist writer Colin Ward has argued that great social change is unnecessary. All that is required is that many petty obstructions need to be cleared away. The workers and their unions know what is wrong on the building sites, but lack the power to put things right.

The answer is clear — sack the officials! Liberate the workers and give them the responsibility to manage the department.

Brian Bamford

News from Northern Ireland

The two conflicting views on whether week before the Presidential election. Paul charity that show how real poverty has the brink of a boom, an opinion held by the Derry Unemployed Workers Group and anyone else who hasn't got their head up their arse or their hand in the Government coffers. As against that view lots of publicity is being given to Government and other efforts to attract outside investment to Derry and mega-hype tactics are used to blur the realities when any whisper of this type of inward investment is heard. And when local people attempt to get to grips with their own development and form associations or organisations to create their own wealth, they are seen as a threat and are either bought off or fobbed off. I had the good fortune to be asked to chair a public meeting in Creggan where the progress of the one year old Creggan Community Initiative and Creggan Co-op Society was aired and discussed by a large group of people from that nationalis working class estate. And in the matter of economics and social organisation as well as in education and politics, it was clear that a very large measure of libertarian thinking and action was being considered. I took hope from that and saw that there was much to build on.

The Republic of Ireland has a new President, a woman for the first time and also for the first time not the candidate of the Fianna Fail Party of De Valera, Lemass and Haughey. However it was the carry-on of the Fianna Fail Party and their candidate, Brian Lenihan, that provided most of the excitement prior to the election. In an amazing series of lies heaped on further lies, Lenihan managed to so confuse himself and the public about his part in the 1982 attempts to influence the then President that people must have wondered if he had lost his mind completely. In truth he was dodging and weaving in an attempt to save himself and was not prepared to lie down when the crisis threatened the government of C.J. Haughey. Whereupon the bold Charlie sacked Brian Lenihan from his job as Deputy Prime Minister a

TAINLESS HARDENED

Derry is in fact on the brink of a boom Unfortunately not enough people learned came into focus again recently when the lesson from the whole affair that to vote reports were published by the Child for politicians, any politician, is simply to Poverty Action Group and St Vicent De encourage them in their oppressive ways.

While all that was going on, Dessie Ellis increased alarmingly since the introduction continued his hunger strike on Portlaoise of the Social Fund. These reports offered Prison and the plain people of Ireland support to the opinion that Derry is not on largely ignored him. As did all three Presidential candidates, all the main newspapers and all television and radio stations. Dessie went on hunger strike to protest against his planned extradition to England to face conspiracy charges. No Irish person stands a chance in an English court on the notorious 'conspiracy' charge and the whole issue of extradition is a hot potato in Ireland and in Europe. If Dessie was a German or a Belgian he would not be extradited anywhere. But as it is he has joined a long line of Irish Nationalist hunger strikers testing out the maxim that 'he who can endure the most will succeed'. As I write (11th November 1990) he has been over 30 days on hunger strike and eye and kidney damage is now likely. The Supreme Court has reserved its judgement on his appeal against his extradition, presumably to avoid embarrassing the new President, but all anarchists will be hoping that his appeal succeeds and that he comes off his hunger strike.

In the wars between Irish and British people, 'collaborators' have always been on the receiving end of some of the worst treatment. In the current phase of this war, the decision by the IRA to use proxy bombers, recently resulting in the death of Patsy Gillespie in Derry, seen as a collaborator because he worked in an army base as a kitchen orderly, has shocked everyone, even their most loyal supporters. As an operation the killing of five soldiers was presumably measured by IRA supporters as a success, but I reflect on the War of Independence 1918-1921, a similarly bloody war with horrible acts on both sides, and I look at the 26 County States that arose after that war and I say loud and clear, 'no thanks'.

This and other matters will no doubt be discussed by anarchists from Derry, Ballymena, Belfast and elsewhere when they meet for the first time in a while in Belfast sometime this month. Worth the watching.

Dave Duggan

EDUCATION **Education for what?** a summary

urkheim's formulation of the function of education — to I transmit to the younger generation the forms of knowledge, the skills and the social values prevalent in the parent society - embodies the truth that is easily observed in history, viz. that every society seeks to perpetuate itself. The continuity of culture and character-structure that maintains itself in every society even through apparently far-reaching revolutionary change, testifies to the truth of Durkheim's analysis.

When societies change it is despite rather than because of their educational systems. These systems effectively lock the psyche and the emotions of the student to the past because, like aged men, they dwell on past glories, past discoveries, past techniques and past virtues. They stress rote-learning; they divorce theory from practice; they force active bodies to endure long hours of inaction, and they seek to overcome boredom by the incentive of pain or ridicule.

Children in so-called 'primitive' societies learn by participating in the work of the adults. Instruction is effective because it is seen in action; its social purpose is evident even to the very young — they eat the food they have helped to grow or catch; they use the tools they have helped to make. They acquire discipline naturally because it is seen to be necessary to the task in hand; it is not the arbitrary imposition of a not-to-be-questioned authority. They display a deft intelligence and grace that in our 'civilised' societies is much more rare.

In such societies change takes place, not so much because smouldering resentment at injustice suddenly erupts, but because, for example, a plough introduced by an outsider makes it possible for a nomadic tribe to produce food regularly and in good supply from the same piece of land.

The process of education by participation in work leaves no unduly heavy burden of irrelevant knowledge to pin the group to the past. They adapt to the new style easily. Further, the fact that in such societies there is no vast discrepancy in wealth or style of life between the elders and the tribe as a whole; that communication is easy because the group is small, and that action cannot be forced on the majority by a minority because they lack the means even if they had the will to coerce, results in an organic sense of identity of purpose and action that facilitates change. The Ugandan and other African dictatorships became possible because a 'leader' trained in Western style was given the means to enforce his will for the benefit of those powers anxious to gain a foothold in Africa.

Work in Western Societies

101

++

91

NF

0 -

-

\$ 4

HARDEN

6

0 0

N

The sub-division of labour characteristic of Western industrial society extends to institutions and to the organisation of society itself. What for the individual performing a task could be classified as thought — the collection of information, judgement, analysis, decision - or action — the manipulation of tools and materials — appears in the social structure as occupational groups or social classes. Managerial, professional, clerical and supervisory groups

When societies change it is despite, rather than because of, their educational systems

collectively perform the functions of research, analysis, judgement, decision and communication, while the technical, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual groups put into effect what the higher groups have decided. This, together with the greater sophistication of machines, feedback control techniques and computerisation means that the manual working groups increasingly act as 'appendages to machines', feeding them with materials and pressing buttons to start and stop them. Steadily the involvement of the worker in his work through the exercise of judgement and anticipation is eroded. The thought processes required in manufacture are embodied in the disposition and organisation of processes already designed by the higher occupational groups.

Systems of payment — piece rates, bonus and incentive payments, differentials — pension schemes, sickness and injury benefit schemes, unemployment and social security benefits, all reinforce the place of the worker as a unit in a machine. Activities which might lead to his human worth being recognised, such as trade union activity to improve levels of pay or conditions of work are disparaged as subversive or communistic.

Correspondingly, the higher social classes and occupational groups have, over the centuries, acquired the bulk of the land and wealth-producing poverty. The most wealthy employ the

professional classes whose generalised function is to maintain the status quo through legal enactments about property, to increase the wealth-producing capacity of their land and factories and, through the police and the armed forces, to prevent changes not in their interests. They exercise political, monetary, legal and industrial power. However the purchasing value of the pound may vary, their ownership of real property ensures the maintenance of their position in the social hierarchy. Those who own no property have constantly to struggle, during periods of inflation, for higher levels of nominal income simply to maintain their existing standard of living.

Education in Western Societies Durkheim's analysis of the function of education applied fully to Western industrial societies, but since their social systems incorporate occupational and social class divisions differentiated by wealth, privilege, power and access to education, the inculcation of social values stresses the right of the upper classes to rule, respect for private property, respect for a religion which emphasises humility and obedience to 'the will of God', and disregard for material possessions. Religion for the lower classes becomes a form of internalised control; for the upper classes it is used as a ritualised adjunct to legitimise the exercise of state power.

In accordance with the principle of the sub-division of labour, the system of education is grouped according to the functions that the pupils will exercise in adult life. For the ruling classes there are the public schools with a highly selective entry based on social class and achievement in the preparatory school, highly qualified teachers, themselves

We cannot formulate aims for education without postulating a society in which those aims will be realised

from upper-class backgrounds and Oxbridge. They are taught in small classes with intensive coaching and individual attention to develop high linguistic skill in all its forms language, mathematics, science, music, art - in preparation for their social function of controlling a highly complex society in which many and varied forms of knowledge have to be co-ordinated.

The professional and semi-professional classes are educated in state grammar schools or, more recently, in the higher streams of 'comprehensive' schools. Their teachers come from similar backgrounds and usually have university degrees in the subjects they teach. Again there is much stress on linguistic ability in many forms, stress on uniforms, punctuality and conformity — in preparation for the disciplined and respectable life of the professional. Religious activities in school emphasise spirituality and morality in service for others, as a preparation for their future life. The curriculum is geared to examination success and entry to the university and professional training.

The manual working classes attend secondary modern schools or the lower streams of comprehensives. The average size of teaching group is more than double that in the public school and markedly larger than that in the grammar school or in the top stream of the comprehensive. Their teachers rarely have university degrees and commonly have no more academic qualifications than five 'O' levels taken at secondary school. They spend an average of eleven years (5 to 16+) in education as against more than twenty years (3 to 23+) for the professionals who go on to higher education and professional training.

The large classes and the low level of qualification of their teachers prevent their attaining more than an extremely low level of literacy: many thousands, especially among immigrant pupils, leave school unable to read or write. Despite much propaganda on the part of the teachers' unions and the DES, conditions in schools for working class children together with the irrelevance of teacher training for children from non-academic and professional families, make it extremely difficult even for conscientious teachers to succeed. Further, since all teachers come from middle class or socially-aspiring working class families, their assumptions about working class motivation often differ markedly from those of the parents of the children they teach.

So the distribution of educational resources in terms of average length of time spent, size of teaching groups, qualifications of teachers, relationship of curriculum to adult

requirements and the convergence of social status and aspirations as between teachers and taught, effectively reinforces the achievements and the psyche of each social group in preparation for its adult role - an effective formula for the maintenance of the status quo.

A particularly disturbing feature of the education system is that it fails to develop among the lower social classes the wide range of linguistic skills that are necessary not only to the control of a modern society but to full participation in such a society. It deprives a very large group of people from access to their own culture and thereby impoverishes them not only as members of their society but as human beings.

It is not therefore surprising, indeed it is inevitable, that crime continues to rise. The mass media, especially television, reveals facts about our society hitherto only available to the sociologist, facts such as the blatant discrepancies between the styles of life of the rich and poor. We find it more and more difficult to reconcile the claims of a soi-disant Christian and democratic society with the realities we see around us.

Education for What?

During the century of compulsory state education since 1870 greater productivity, Public Health Acts and trade union activity have done more to raise the living standards of the poor than religious instruction in schools. The need, in international competition, to have a healthy work force is a more urgent incentive than a religious injunction.

Before the First World War the common educational slogan was Education for Work, but because so much work today is mechanical, repetitive and intellectually undemanding you cannot 'educate' a man to press a button — the slogan was seen to be inapplicable in most schools. In progressive private schools the slogan became Education for Life, since those who could afford to send their children to such schools had wealth and leisure enough for other activities as well as work.

More recently in state schools the slogan has changed to Education for Leisure, as computerised technology has relentlessly increased permanent unemployment! But education as distinct from training is not for something specific like leisure or work. Skills for work or leisure can be trained. Education is a process of experience, reflection and discovery not only about the world around us but about our own being. Education is a process of growth of the self through that experience, reflection and discovery - growth into new levels of sensibility. If education is for anything it is for joy in fulfilment in work with others for ends that have been formulated together.

Something other than educational reform is necessary. The change to a 'comprehensive' system of schools (a system that excluded grammar, public and other private schools!) has dramatically fallen short of its declared objectives and has continued to maintain, in disguised forms, the divisive methods and effects of the old tripartite system. Research reveals that every national system of education, without exception, reproduces in its structure, its objectives and in the

The enemies against whom we had been preparing to defend ourselves existed largely in our own heads

disposition of its resources, the essential features of the parent society. Schools that seek more human objectives have to do so outside the state system, like Summerhill. State schools that try to do this are closed or forced to conform to the 'normal', like Risinghill or Tyndale. Individual teachers can create small democratic enclaves within their own classrooms, but they must be careful that the children are not heard addressing them by their christian names! They can refuse to beat their pupils or to send them for the cane, but the most determined opponents of the abolition of corporal punishment in schools are the teachers' unions!

When Christ said "Love they neighbour as thyself" he spoke from the context of a small closely-knit community under Roman dominion but still bound together by traditional and personal esteem. When John Dewey said: "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must be the community want for all its children. Anything less is ignoble; acted upon it will destroy our democracy", he spoke from the experience of the small, recently pioneer community founding a new, democratic nation. Plato's educational

D ecently I have had the distasteful experience of reading the book Intellectuals by one Paul Johnson. Johnson is one of those minor intellectuals who, when their testicles begin to atrophy or their bank balance passes a certain level, switches from city compared to dirty London or nasty New York. being left wing to being right wing. His book attacks However the Soviet Marxists were faced with intellectuals of the past both for setting up visions gigantic problems - the general backwardness of of a better world that cannot be realised and for the country, the harshness of the climate, the leading private lives that were often at odds with presence of uncooperative ethnic and religious their professed ideals, e.g. Rousseau putting his groups, dissensions within their own ranks, foreign children into the care of nuns, Marx sponging off hostility. Stalin tried to solve these problems by Engels the sweatshop owner, etc., etc. If Johnson utter ruthlessness. had also attacked such arch windbags as Nietzsche attacking the left and ignoring the right is fashionable nowadays.

and also to try to explain why Orwell will still be read when hacks like Johnson are forgotten.

Firstly the background. For a century and a half, until it finally collapsed in the late 1980s, there had liberalism was the main vehicle of this idea. It had creed that was never intended to do all that much. the dollar and never give a sucker an even break? It declined when huge numbers of workers, supported by many intellectuals, began to look to century and a half of struggle how many will stand socialism as the way to improve their grim lives. the test of time? Which will be regarded as have realised that socialism cannot be brought in by The socialism that was being preached around the chroniclers of an age? Most are already on the way beginning of this century was usually the out. Who nowadays reads the social ideas of H.G. first five years would be so austere that the voters democratic type, i.e. the support of the majority of Wells or Lenin or Shelley or Sartre or Rousseau? voters was seen as essential. The 1917 Russian Revolution brought to the fore another idea. This was that if an elite of dedicated communists could gain and hold power by whatever means, then they would gradually create through education 'a new the years c.1935 to c.1950. These years were also socialist man' who would be public spirited, decent, the most productive of Orwell's life. Some of his as practicable in Britain. unselfish, etc. To be fair Marxist-Leninists did try novels are set books in schools. Yet he doesn't seem to create such a paragon. It is years since I visited to me to be a master of English prose and his the Soviet Union but when there I was struck by the writings are riddled with sweeping statements, English county was "as big as Siberia" he politeness of Muscovites and the cleanliness of their exaggeration, petty intolerance of such people as

treatise was written as his solution to the problem of how to create a just and stable Republic.

We cannot formulate aims for education without postulating a society in which those aims will be realised. If we formulate aims such as 'joy', 'sensitivity', 'democracy' or whatever, we must create a society that will give expression to those aims. Hitherto we have been chained by cumbersome nineteenth century systems of production and control. Modern forms of energy and communication make vast agglomerations of people, machines or materials unnecessary. We have the techniques to re-create small communities where we no longer know people only as 'workmates', as 'doctor' or 'policeman' or 'milkman', but where we know them as people rather than as functionaries, with all their strengths, weaknesses and individualities, and to create such communities even within our existing cities.

We should have to re-assess our objectives and methods in all our activities, but such re-assessment would come, not from bureaucrats working on elitist assumptions, but from the communities themselves having regard to their most urgent needs. I do not doubt that love and freedom — whether we call them 'mutual aid', 'co-operation' or 'community action — will figure high on our list of priorities. Under such conditions it would be possible that we might lose our obsessive fixation on private property; that we might be tempted to share what we have with the most needy; that we might resist the urge to rob others; that we might fail to see the point of making nuclear weapons and maintaining vastly expensive and unproductive navvies, armies and air forces that if unleashed could only produce Mutual Assured Destruction; that we might be the richer for not burning up our resources of timber, oil and minerals at a prodigal rate for valueless ends such as military prestige. We might then discover that the enemies against whom we had been preparing to defend ourselves existed largely in our own heads.

Many, many small communities have so lived for centuries before the arrival of industrial man. Perhaps we ought to look again at those communities that, without benefit of our scientific knowledge to keep disease and hunger at bay, yet so often lived lives characterised by joyous gaiety and concern for one another. Hitherto we have tended to think that Small is Savage or Small is Bleak. Perhaps with more intelligent use of modern knowledge we could begin to realise that Schumacher had more sense than he was given credit for when he said "Small is beautiful"!

Michael Duane

(continued from last issue)

3. Societal Organisation: Society and the State Unlike most more 'conventional' theories, anarchists offer no blueprint for an ideal society. It is hoped that an evolution a natural process will occur enabling us to move from present, exploitative ways of living to an existence based on autonomy and co-operation. On the whole anarchists believe in living in small communities which have the capacity to federate to form larger communities if desired. Being decentralist, anarchists believe that only the people who live in an area are in a justifiable position to decide on such issues as housing and education. Proudhon offers a useful exposition of the anarchist communal way of living. On a local basis men were to combine amongst themselves into what he called a "natural group" which "constitutes itself into a city or political unity, asserting itself in unity, independence and autonomy" .. On the joining together of local groups for their mutual benefit, Proudhon fears the spectre of the state, although this is no necessary conclusion. Indeed Proudhon thought self-management to be incompatible with an authoritarian state; similarly the commune could not co-exist with authority centralised from above. Workers should be in charge of what they produce and be organised non-hierarchically.

It has been said that there does exist much difference of opinion between anarchists regarding the type of societal organisation: for example some are more country than town biased than others, some support the use of modern technology more than others. But all agree that societal organisation should be based on free co-operation as opposed to power-based relationships, hence "organisation without hierarchy"

4. The Role of Government

Berkman represents anarchism succinctly when he states that the first and most important step to take in recovering liberty is to abolish the thing that handicaps or prevents your free activity, and that this thing is government. He points to government as being the greatest invader and the worst criminal man has ever known of. He argues that it fills the world with violence, fraud, deceit and oppressive misery. Christie and Meltzer state that government is the administration of society against its will and draw a clear

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

his book might have had a tiny bit of merit, but **N** eanwhile a new ideology had arisen which was to some extent a reaction to Marxist-Leninism. This was fascism or, in the Johnson includes a shortish chapter on Orwell and German variety, National Socialism. Nazis and I was struck by how he not only failed to strike one fascists tried to solve their countries' problems at telling blow but he couldn't even get to grips with the expense of other countries or of unpopular disliked the American way of life and was for some Orwell. After all Orwell wrote straightforward minorities within their own borders such as Jews. reason very anti-Scotland. He was against prose and was never sophisticated. If he had The result was the Second World War. During it shortcomings they should be fairly obvious. This and for a short time afterwards Marxist-Leninism article is an attempt to point out some definite made such gains that it truly seemed the ideology shortcomings in Orwell which Johnson overlooked of the future. However in 1989 most Marxist-Leninist states gave up. During these same 1980s many of the remaining fascist or near-fascist states in Latin America also gave up or softened, as did South Africa. It was the end of an era. been a idea or ideal that social betterment can only Capitalism, 'democracy', consumerism, period. Most left-wingers of the '30s would have come through the State. In the nineteenth century nationalism, xenophobia, coca cola and pop music had won. But despite everything I'll say this about Orwell was usually against pacifism although he a fairly good record in correcting the abuses of early Russia and East Germany and the rest: they did at industrialism but it was essentially a gentleman's least try. What had America ever done but worship

> Of the intellectuals who took the losing side in this But go into any bookshop or library and there are happened to the vaguely socialistic Attlee regime plenty of George Orwell titles available. He has of 1945-51. Orwell had a soft spot for the anarchism come to be regarded as the authentic voice of the most turbulent period of an anti-capitalist struggle, 1936-37 but, as he made clear in a subsequent



ORWELL AND ANARCHISM Is Orwell Still Relevant?

nudists and vegetarians and irritating habits such as referring to Britain as England. Before describing what I consider to be the reasons for his popularity and greatness I will mention a shortcoming in Orwell's writings that Johnson made little of.

This is his essential negativism. Orwell was strongly against imperialism, capitalism, fascism and Marxist-Leninism. In attacking the latter in such books as Nineteen-Eighty-Four he was well over the top. He regarded communism as a gigantic racket, eternally unyielding, yet it was the Marxist-Leninists who in 1989 abruptly gave up with no shots being fired except in Romania. He industrialism and mass production. As already mentioned he was opposed to such harmless or beneficial things as nudism and vegetarianism. He described Western workers as 'the proles' as though they were all Albert Entwhistles. However he was honest enough to point out that the money donated to the various Aid-Spain funds was only a fraction of that spent on the football pools in the same · cut their hands off rather than admit such a thing. respected individual pacifists if they had integrity. He was very anti-Catholic. He claimed to be in favour of democratic socialism but his writings are full of carping criticism of it. He described social democratic Scandinavia as boring and seems to democracy in places such as Britain because the would reject it at the next election. This is what he saw first hand in Catalonia in the winter of article on Herbert Read, he did not regard anarchism

Dotted around his writings are a few of what he regarded as positive ideas. Having decided that an

concluded that "the people of England should be encouraged to breed". That nonsense was written at a time when Britain was one of the most densely populated countries on earth with a severe housing shortage - which it still is. Perhaps his inability to be a father was the unconscious motive behind his daft idea. On another occasion he advocated the setting up of a municipal cutlery and crockery washing up service. The idea was that you left your dirty plates, etc., outside your door, a van collected them and returned them clean later on. There are a dozen obvious objections to this crazy scheme.

Orwell was a great advocate of what he called common decency. This means people behaving towards each other in a civilised or kindly manner, not out of fear of the law or fear of the parson, but out of genuine mutual respect. Common decency was widespread in Britain on Orwell's day. People rarely locked their doors and a young girl could walk alone across Hackney at midnight and not be molested. One cannot blame Orwell for the fact that common decency is nowadays decidedly uncommon.

The thing that will make Orwell's name live on when the pygmy and turncoat Paul Johnson is forgotten is his shining integrity. If he occasionally wrote nonsense he never deliberately wrote a lie. He didn't always sit in an armchair and learn about the world through the columns of newspapers but saw things at first hand. He slept in doss-houses, toiled in hop-fields, travelled round slums, fought in the Spanish War and made a bare living from his books. He ruined his health and hastened his death. Reading Orwell today, forty years on, one gets a vivid impression of a unique personality describing things as honestly and as astutely as he could. And if what he wrote was mainly negative that is because he was living in negative times. We still are.

It is fortunate for anarchism that one of the few books on the Spanish War that is still read is Homage to Catalonia with its fine descriptions of revolutionary Barcelona. Nowadays the Spanish War seems as remote as the Spanish Armada and only history students search out the details. Yet thanks to Orwell a sympathetic account of its one positive aspect remains before the public. Is Orwell still relevant? Very much so.

Hywel Jones

Anarchist Theory

distinction between society, which is necessary to unite us, and the state which comes into being to dominate and divide us. The argument that governments are merely composed of human beings is dealt with by the response that this is in order to suppress their fellows. They argue against the societal notion that in the absence of government people will naturally increase committing violent crimes. Instead they argue that it is the legal system itself which allows "maniacs to dominate and kill", collectively or individually as part of command and obey and which allows this to get into position whereby they can either act in defiance of other people's law or alternatively where they can fashion the law for themselves.

Colin Ward argues that at present individuals are only weak because they have surrendered their power to the state - thus removal of imposition will result in greater autonomy.

Even Taylor, a non-anarchist, states that government is a purely human fabrication and is intrinsically coercive and hence antithetical to freedom.

According to Malatesta, "far from creating energy, government by its methods wastes, paralyses and destroys enormous potential".

Anarchists criticise all of the main organs of the state which are deemed oppressive and repressive — namely the administrative bureaucracy, the police, army, judiciary and church.

April Carter argues that the anarchist attitude to law is very closely related to the wider question of the role of government in society, and the meaning of legitimate authority. Thus law combines authority - embodied in certain persons, denoted by rituals and often hallowed by age - with a strictly defined use of force designed to protect society. Legitimate governments likewise derive the authority invested in them from adherence to certain procedures in obtaining power. The authority of government is also enhanced by both custom and ritual

The anarchist regards the state as "the most deadly of the preconceptions which have blinded men through the ages".

Proudhon summed up thus: "The government of man by man is servitude. Whoever lays a hand on me to govern is a usurper and a tyrant. I declare him to be my enemy".

Alex Pradier



Ticolas Walter in his reply ('Objections to Anarchism', Freedom, 17th November) to our note to his review of George Barrett's The Last War (Freedom, 3rd November) describes it as "a nice example of anarchist fundamentalism" because we don't agree with him that Barrett's Objections to Anarchism "finally fails to convince".

Nicolas Walter's objections to the Editors are: "rather than offer any evidence you appeal to the authority of Colin Ward, add that you yourself 'find most of Barrett's answers' convincing and conclude: 'But then we don't have to be convinced by anarchism!""

Perhaps for the record it should be mentioned that it was on Colin Ward's initiative that Barrett's Objections is included in The Raven number 12 On Communicating and not that the Editors persuaded him to write an introduction.

To our conclusion about not having to be convinced by anarchism Walter's comment deserves repeating verbatim: "Such an attitude makes sense if you simply want to preach to the converted, repeating traditional anarchist arguments over and over again, often in the same words as before, as though they were holy scripture."

We wrote that we are convinced by anarchism and therefore it is not all that

LET'S BE CONTROVERSIAL! Anarchist

Fundamentalists?

surprising that on re-reading Barrett's being "serious and up to date" in presenting Objections we found most of his answers anarchism. In the seven issues he was directly 'convincing'. Surely if we did not find them involved in his contributions were essays on: convincing we would not publish them! And Guy Aldred, Berkman's Russian Diary, furthermore the whole purpose in publishing Objections in the first place, way back in 1912, Cafiero on Action and Communism, Emma was to reach the objectors to anarchism which Goldman's Disillusionment in Russia. How remains our task today. Surely comrade more 'dated' can you get if you also argue that Walter you, as Secretary of the Rationalist George Barrett is dated? Quite apart from Press Association, would not publish a preaching to the converted! In addition pamphlet on Objections to Christianity which 'preached' to your members?

Nicolas Walter also reproaches us with "reprinting rather simplistic and dated answers to a few of the standard objections" whereas most people, he argues, "need something more serious and more up to date". Our critic has had every opportunity both in Freedom as a valued contributor and as a former co-editor with Heiner Becker of The Raven to write and be published without question. The Raven with 96 pages at his disposal was surely the ideal medium for

Art as Liberator and as Oppressor

activity.

'symbol' as opposed to 'sign'; a sign has a governing paradigm. specific meaning per definition, it is a What is anarchist art?

hopeless lives of the poor, it should not just be the end. a description of the conditions of the working classes (just as it shouldn't be a description of speak to the imagination as well as to the freedom. intellect.

Art must be rebellious!

Art should be a re-evaluation of all values, it

Tormally when one think about art in must revolt against all sorts of prejudice, defy relation to political philosophy one tends all preconceived ideas, ridicule all habits. It is to think only in terms of socialist realism and only like this that art can free itself (and us its fascist siblings. But that is not true art; it is with it) from the bourgeois culture. Anarchist art subjected to a political philosophy. On the art should be a source of perpetual other hand, when one talks about true art one astonishment, it must be a source of profound the academic snob. often thinks in terms of a sterile aestheticism change of life itself. I think we anarchists ('art for art's sake'). This too is a should support art more, take part in the TTTe live in an age obsessed with being 'up misunderstanding of the potentials of artistic artistic debates, criticise art (films, books, VV to date' not just with the gadgets with paintings, buildings...). We should attempt to which we are expected to surround ourselves, Art is symbolic, it is related to the find out which of the existing art forms are but also with 'updating' our social, economic unconscious if it is not purely intellectual, truly rebellious, and we should begin to and political views so that they can be aesthetic. A symbol always points towards become an artistic movement as well as a 'acceptable' as we approach the 21st century. something not yet known, or not completely political/philosophical one. Art should be Walter describes us as "anarchist realised — this is just the definition of the term made by all, and art should overthrow the fundamentalists". Since we are sure that he

If art is subjugated to a given philosophy its convention, whereas a symbol is a description, purpose is to glorify and justify it. For instance it is an indicator. We are all aware that art can the marxist artist is supposed to depict the favour of "traditional orthodox beliefs". influence our emotions, this is due to the terrible conditions of the workers or depict symbolic (or archetypal) contents of art. That them as supermen; before the revolution they realisation is of course what has led dictators are illustrated as martyrs, after as saints. to use art as propaganda to illustrate the ideals Similarly official art always has as its purpose and plans of the government. It is equally to glorify the clergy, the rulers or the well-known that totalitarian states suppress art mythological beings. Aware of this problem that does not conform to their aestheticism, some artists have escaped into a fairy-world: Tt is a fact of life that human beings, like 'tactic', so that the reader is left to guess e.g. if it criticises the government and its they only show flower arrangements, happy ________ other members of the animal world, have an ideology. We note that art can be either children, swimming pools, houses or Santa instinct for self-preservation which in some art influences us politically in a more indirect Another escape route is purely abstract art: perception of the world. Now the question is: world and escapes into a world of geometrical ideas, a world of pure aestheticism; fleeing

A statement on the anarchist position on term, 'purely defensive'. Indeed, it gives a If any work of art (in literature, painting, from the demands of the outside world one violence — "the revolution can neither be pointer to the reason why some of us feel music, etc.) is to be termed anarchistic it must takes refuge in a purely intellectual world obliged to call ourselves 'pacifist' anarchists. won, nor the anarchist society be established not accept the existing values. What does that devoid of desire. This is a turning away from and maintained, by armed violence" To us, non-violence is very much a principle, imply? I think it means that it must defy our the body and all it represents, it is a failing to ('Anarchism and Violence', Freedom 20th and that principle is in no way compromised habitual way of thinking, it must show us the face the real world. The artist can also escape October 1990) — would seem acceptable and by instinctual, unpremeditated violent lies we live on, so to speak. It does not mean into craftsmanship leading to an elitist notion unambiguous to those who deem it necessary reaction to sudden unprovoked assault upon that it should be a realistic description of the of art - the means (the technique) becomes to call themselves pacifist anarchists, our persons or loved ones. Anarchism, by provided that the term 'armed' is qualified by definition, requires that its adherents renounce In psychiatric treatment the patient the term 'unpremeditated' (this is because a premeditated, or armed, violence: the most sometimes spontaneously produces images situation could conceivably arise where, in the un-anarchist thing is to contemplate the taking the conditions of any other class), because this (either in painting, sculpture or writing). This heat of the moment, a committed pacifist of a life that is precious to that person. There only shows us what we already know, it only art is an attempt at a cure, it is an attempt at might find himself within reach of a hammer is much to agree with in 'Anarchism and reassures us: it is a boot-licking form of art. freedom. It is naturally very symbolic, very or other such lethal domestic tool). This might Violence'. It is a pity that loose terminology We must make sure that it doesn't become the dream-like and resembles children's drawings seem to be a mere quibble, but a following confuses the issue. complete opposite: an art removed from real or sometimes primitive art; it is the original statement goes: "The use of violence has been life, either being a sterile aestheticism ('art art. Anarchists should apply the healing, Ernie Crosswell justified both as a principle and as a means to pour art' again) or purely fairytale-like. It must liberating powers of art to the fight for Footnote: Some religious people who call an end; hardly ever, however, by anarchists. themselves anarchists may not agree with the At the most anarchists have justified its use as Frank Antonsen foregoing, but, to me, the question is whether a revolutionary necessity or tactic". In this they can legitimately claim to be anarchists. statement, precise terminology disappears, to



Rudolf Rocker's Anarcho-Syndicalism, Carlo Nicolas Walter has been involved in the new-look Pluto Press' Libertarian Critique series which does not include a single living anarchist writer. (Freedom readers are now the beneficiaries of five titles which we have taken over and are offering at less than half the published price.)

As a working journalist Nicolas Walter reminds us of the late Malcolm Muggeridge who automatically disagreed with everybody and everything. How can a critic, a book reviewer, a commentator agree wholeheartedly with the subject he is discussing? All he would need to say is that he was in complete agreement. And that doesn't make an article, a programme or a review. However, one expects a different approach in an anarchist journal. One should at least give as much space to what one agrees with as to what one disagrees with. And to dismiss Barrett as Walter does in one sentence -"Barrett may have been a good speaker and journalist, but he wasn't much good at more sustained writing, and these examples are full of simplistic arguments, superficial references and clumsy writing" — is the customary ungenerous Walter manner and so typical of

would not use the term lightly we consulted the dictionary to discover that we are either guilty of being "opposed to modernism" or in

Pacifism

terminology.

Surely neither fits seeing that most people consider anarchism as utopia! And he must know as well as we do that what is called 'modernism' is merely fashion, fads which change almost as rapidly as the opinion polls.

For anarchists anarchism is a way of life which gives meaning to their lives. This does not make them into individualists unconcerned about the world around them. If one can be allowed to quote from the past without being accused of being a 'fundamentalist', it was Bakunin who said that an anarchist cannot feel free so long as those around him are not free. Which explains why some anarchists without having read Bakunin feel this and therefore need to communicate their ideas for a more just, co-operative, peaceful, freedom-loving, egalitarian community. This was true surely twenty centuries ago. It's only in the late twentieth century that the quest for the 'original', the 'creative' in the Arts (an excuse for a lack of both) coincides with the demand for an 'updating' in the Western world of the timeless human values which it confuses with the materialist, beggar-your-neighbour values of the consumerist society lauded to the skies as the triumph of eleven years of Thatcherism.

Anarchism does not need to be updated any more than Beethoven or Bach need to be given 'the treatment' by the modern jazz pundits (anyway an admission that they haven't in fact anything 'original' to offer). Yes, we anarchists have to give an idea as to how the day to day necessities could be dealt with in a non-capitalist, non-authoritarian, egalitarian society. And this has been done by a number of anarchists in the anarchist literature published by Freedom Press (and other publishers distributed by Freedom Press). In what way do anarchist values need to be 'updated'? To our minds this betrays an acceptance of the capitalist view that no business can stand still without going out of business. But anarchism is not 'a business', it is a way of life and uppermost in the thoughts of thinkers over the millennia. Each one of us is part of society but we are also individuals, with just one life (anarchists on the whole don't offer you any hope of an everlasting utopia here or in some ethereal future) and we want to make the best of it. Those of us who are active anarchists are so because the society we have been born into discriminates between citizens. There are those who are born with a silver spoon — privilege — and those who (continued on page 8)

reveal much ambiguity: 'armed violence' becomes 'violence', 'hardly ever' and 'at the most' sow doubt and confusion, and 'principle' is, seemingly, subordinated to whether the actions are premeditated or not.

A third statement — "The fallacy, to our fighting against a dictatorship or making Claus - they manufacture Christmas cards circumstances may result in the killing of minds, is that of making non-violence a propaganda for a specific party or group instead of art! This art claims that 'all is well', fellow humans. For anarchists comes the principle, when in fact it is no more than a (clearly, these are not mutually exclusive: or if not, then at least 'all will soon be well, difficulty in deciding those circumstances in tactic. Furthermore, the non-violent advocates marxist art can fight fascist art). But not all art just be patient', 'the meek shall inherit the which the killing, or maiming, of fellow fail to make a distinction between violence is (directly) political in its contents. However, earth', 'justice comes to those who wait', etc. humans becomes acceptable or excusable. To which is used as a means for imposing the will overcome this difficulty, it is imperative that of a group or class, and that violence which is way by influencing our values and our one now completely turns one's back on the any discussion be conducted using precise purely defensive" - could be taken to refute the first, and employs yet another ambiguous

(continued from page 7)

for ever more. Whatever Nicolas Walter and other influences. How does the anarchist press other 'updaters' have to offer the left - let counteract The Sun with its four to five million alone the anarchists - the fact is that just as daily readers and the rest of the capitalist the 19th century anarchists were telling the press, with the exception of The Mirror (and working class that they had to liberate who would want Maxwell as a socialist ally?) themselves not just by asking for a few - all right-wing propaganda sheets for coppers more but by overthrowing the capitalism other than attacking the corruption capitalist system. This message is as relevant of the capitalist system. Until we convince today as ever it was then. The revolution of the enough of our fellow citizens that capitalism late 20th century may not be at the barricades; is rotten we cannot persuade them to accept it could be at the computer terminals. But the anarchist alternatives. The argument is as revolution there must be. The Labour Party valid on the 20th as it was in the 19th century. has nothing to do with socialism let alone Technology of the 20th century has nothing to anarchism. It has certainly 'updated' its image do with values which are timeless. One would so much that Mrs Thatcher accused Michael not have thought that Nicolas Walter, whose Heseltine of adopting 'socialist policies'. So full-time job is to try to exorcise a twenty much for socialism!

The idea put forward by Nicolas Walter and other critics of Freedom that we are living in the past is simply nonsense. They are saying in effect that we are not reflecting what the Mammon! public wants. This is quite true. The public

The Thatcher Legacy

When Margaret Thatcher became leader of the Conservative Party in 1975 her intention was to break out of consensus politics. At the time I mistakenly believed that her position of relative extremism and intransigence would temporarily render the Conservative Party unelectable. Her avowed purpose was the opposite of this: to render the Labour Party unelectable. Her 1979 election victory proved my forecast wrong. She won this election by finding a broad campaigning theme to which the general public responded. Nobody can now remember what this theme was, but in case anybody is interested I think it had some connection with anti trade unionists.

She then proceeded, with help from the SDP Party for a decade. But I must interject here another forecast I made at the time, which was that monetarism was a new idea, but that it was a silly idea which would not work. This now seems to be a forecast that few would guarrel

But what of the post-Thatcher Conservative Party? The Labour Party is clearly on the up and up in terms of popular support, though how much closer this advances us to socialism is problematic. So the Thatcher project to render Labour unelectable has failed.

And how does she bequeath her Party to her successor? Split, demoralised and bloodstained is how. And without Thatcher, what price Thatcherism? The old paternalist Tory Party and is social conscience is no more. She has rebuilt it and peopled it with spivs and sycophants. Stalin's political techniques have been resurrected. So I fancy it may turn out that, having rendered Labour unelectable for a decade, she passes on a Tory Party that will be unelectable for a generation.

Peter Miller

They're All Human

Dear Editors,

Two (or three) things come to mind in writing, and the first concerns the 'personal report' on the poll tax demo. I am sick and tired of reading in leaflets and newsletters that it is 'becoming obvious' or 'manifesting itself' or 'people are realising' that the poll tax is 'open class war'. The population seems to have been in a state of half-realisation for the last two years. More likely is that some people have always seen it this way, and some just plain don't see it this way. Those that do see it in terms of class struggles, necessarily interpret each event under this assumption, and consequently see each event as a confirmation A pologies to Raven readers who were of their original belief. Also, whilst I would Apromised number 12 in our last issue. nowhere much at all, the most effective dispatching subscribers copies as anticipated. and slashing tyres may be fun and cause | about the same time as this issue of Freedom.

READERS' PAGE

doesn't want anarchism. The public is capitalist society intends should serve them brainwashed by the media and by all kinds of centuries old God, would be so superior towards his anarchist comrades (?) who have only been engaged for less than two centuries on a similar struggle against the God

> inconvenience, but I can hardly see them bringing the State apparatus crashing down.

The reason that I would like to emphasise that violence should not be seen as the most important weapons brings me to the second point, being the recent articles on pacifism. I always feel disturbed by articles and letters referring to the police in terms such as 'the natural enemy of the people'. Now it may be true that the only contact I've ever had with the police was with them causing shit for me in one way or another, but the fact is - pigs are people too. The problem with talking about 'the enemy' is that you are dehumanising them, turning them into a faceless symbol to vent your anger and frustration upon — it's hard to murder a person in cold blood, but it's easy to off '.the enemy'. Preaching dehumanisation and hate is not going to get us (remember them?) to marginalise the Labour to the free society. There are reasons why people join the police, just as there are reasons why people join the National Front (strange as it may seem), and we're not going to get very far until we work out what they are. No matter how many Nazi skulls get kicked in there will always ne more as long as the underlying response remain.

> It's no coincidence that soldiers are trained to bayonet straw dummies. It's the same old dehumanising process — it's not a person, it 'the enemy' - any enemy will do. That might make good soldiers, but it doesn't make good human beings, and I doubt that it can make people better anarchists.

Third point (I said there might be one) is that I was flicking through a year-old copy of Freedom and I suddenly thought that maybe these Hitler/Saddam Hussein comparisons might be right after all. There it was, a year before the Gulf crisis, in a review of World War, Cold War and a quote from the 1940s: "We know that those pretending that Nazism alone caused the war would in fact have supported the war in any case, whatever the cause and against whoever it was waged. The evil things in Germany were merely useful from a war propaganda point of view: they certainly were true but did not occasion the Press Distributors literature. This was a 500% Towers' in Hampstead is for sale at £25 million, war. The war was caused by rivalries between imperialisms".

Makes you think, don't it? **Owen Maroney**

> **News from Angel Alley**

agree that non-violent legal protest will get | Technical hold-ups prevented us from weapon is still non-violent, but illegal, protest But as we write the journal is with the binders (i.e. mass non-payment!). Super-gluing locks so you should be receiving your copies at

Rambling Notes

council for the first time since it was formed in 1895. The event was serious enough to warrant an editorial comment in The Daily Telegraph, "...casts a poor light on a once highly respected organisation". The members voted in a referendum to ban deer hunting on National Trust properties from next August, and this despite a call by the Hare and Hounds to their readers to join the National Trust to prevent such treachery and the cancellation of 194 fox hunts on the first day of the hunting season so that their supporters could go to Llandudno to lobby the meeting. However, a separate resolution to ban fox, hare and mink hunting was defeated, but by a much smaller margin than in 1988.

So, does this mean that stag hunting will be banned and the 500 years of hunting by the Quantock Staghounds, for example, will end because they depend on the use of National Trust land in Somerset? Perhaps not, because the council does not have to carry out the wishes of its members (just like parliamentary democracy) although the chairman (sic) Dame Jennifer Jenkins said that it would take "very serious account of the recommendations". The hunting community will be pressing its arguments that hunting deer is good for the deer, that they clearly enjoy it and that the herds would not survive if hunting were to be banned. Apparently the farmers only tolerate the damage to crops caused by the herds because of the pleasure they obtain from hunting and would soon kill them all off if they could not be hunted.

Octavia Hill, the best known of the founder members of the National Trust, wanted it to provide open spaces in the countryside for the enjoyment of town dwellers and the earlier work of the Trust was concentrated on buying land. It now owns over half a million acres, 1% of the country, much of it in National Parks and places of outstanding natural beauty, making it the second largest landowner in the country.

However, in more recent years it has become a safety net for preventing the decline and fall of the English stately house together with its contents, artefactual and human. Some 200 such houses are now in its possession and these have usually been donated by their owners, with or without a little money for their upkeep. A magnificent gesture you may think,

isaster struck last month at the annual visualising these gentry adapting to life in general meeting of the National Trust a high-rise council flat, but it isn't like that for Places of Historic Interest or Natural at all. They keep enough of the house for beauty. The members defied a their own personal use, more space than the recommendation of the Trust's ruling rest of us ever need or enjoy, whilst the National Trust pays all the running expenses of the property and for the often extensive renovations needed. This is privatised social security, and at the top of the market, that is financed by the two million members' subscriptions and donations totalling £43 million last year, placing it second in the top ten charities rating - just below Oxfam and above the Royal National Lifeboat Institution.

> The uninhabited parts of the house are often open to the general public, on certain days and at certain times, who pay to shuffle through these rooms, admiring the furniture and paintings, finally spending money on trinkets sold in the look-alike shops and refreshing themselves with National Trust taste-alike tea. You are asked to give money in the knowledge that you are making a positive contribution to conservation when it is more likely to be used to preserve properties from which the occupiers are the main beneficiaries.

Members have the right to elect 50% of the ruling council (the other half is filled by nominations from other interested organisations) and those who wish to do more than use their membership to gain free access to National Trust properties are encouraged to devote time to voluntary work and fund raising, but certainly not to interfering with the ruling elite. The administration is filled with the less able but more snobbish sons and daughters of the establishment, who seem to think they can run a modern nature conservation body in a manner more characteristic of a feudalistic squirearchy. The fourteen regional committees who play a major role in running the Trust are dominated by large landowners and a proposal to have elected regional groups was condemned by the chairman as it could lead to a take-over by nutty factions with no interest in its true purpose.

An organisation, complacent in the face of criticism, which is secretive about the total number of its properties and the full extent of its estates, and even about some of its footpaths, which blocks public rights of way and fences off common land on its estates, has no role to play in nature conservation and the recreational use of the countryside. It is a sacred cow whose time is ripe for slaughter.

our comrade Bob Jones had a stall at the INTe read in the press that a Constable confirms our view that what with the collapse of the authoritarian Left, and the complete ideological bankruptcy of the Labour Party, more and more socialists are wanting to read our literature. We should take every opportunity to make it available. As we have already said in this column, Freedom Press are anxious to help in any way they can local initiatives for getting our literature to more people.

ne new title from Black Rose Books: The Anarchist Papers 3 edited by Dimitrius I. Roussopoules, 211 pages, ISBN 0 921689 52 7, £7.95. Orders to Freedom Press with cash please, and we pay the postage.

Contributors to this volume include Brian Morris, L. Susan Brown, George Woodcock, Bruce Allen, as well as a reprint of Peter £1.50. Kropotkin's Essay on Anarchism from the Encyclopaedia Britannica

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

Socialist Conference in Manchester VV painting was sold last month for £10.78 recently and sold £250 worth of Freedom million, that a newly-built mansion in 'The improvement on the conference last year. It and that a Stradivarius violin has fetched £800,000.

> Can any reader tell us how we can fiddle a mere £2,000 to keep Freedom afloat?

DONATIONS 9th-24th November

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund Sheffield FD £5.

> Total =£5.00 1990 total to date = £1,011.85

Freedom Press Overheads Fund Cambridge AM£2, London SE£1, Birmingham

> Total = £4.501990 total to date = £767.45