

anarchist fortnightly Freedom

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FIFTY PENCE

"We think nothing of politicians. Let them rot. They go into politics to fill their bellies and make prats of us all."

Woman from Lahore talking in Imran Khan - Life After Politics on Channel 4, 13th June 1995

CAPITALISM IN TOOTH AND CLAW IS MIDDLE ENGLAND 'SEEING THE LIGHT' AT LAST?

In the last month or so the 'serious' press has been expressing concern for the fate not of the blue-collared workers - who, after all, only empty our dustbins, grow our food, keep all the essential services functioning more or less satisfactorily (given the financial sanctions imposed whereby fewer workers are expected to do more, and can't) - but of the managerial class, the economists and other 'experts' who have been doing very well telling the former how to do

their jobs! We cannot resist repeating once again the words of wisdom of an honest expert, Bertrand Russell, when he defined work as being of two kinds:

"... first altering the position of matter at or near the earth's surface relatively to other matter; second telling other people to do so. The first kind is unpleasant and ill-paid, the second is pleasant and highly paid."

Russell wrote this in 1932, but his observations as the 'second kind of work' are topical in the 1990s. He wrote:

The second kind is capable of indefinite extension; there are not only those who give orders but those who give advice as to what orders should be given."

Russell argued that "usually two opposite kinds of advice are given

simultaneously by two organised bodies of men: this is called politics". No! This is where we disagree with the dear crotchety philosopher.

No, *this is called capitalism*. You can buy experts in any field, just as they buy footballers nowadays. There are the experts (with all kinds of titles before their names) who will swear that a bottle of wine a day keeps the doctor, and the undertaker, away. There are experts who go on maintaining that the organic phosphorous element in sheep dips, and in a host of other pesticides and herbicides, are not responsible for health problems including (according to the *Farming* programme on Radio 4 on 13th June) suicidal tendencies among farmers. We could go on ad infinitum.

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BONUSES FOR THE RICH

The *Guardian's* city editor reports that:

"More than 200 City high-flyers stand to share bonus payments worth £68.4 million as part of a special scheme which has been set up by the super-rich investment firm of Mercury Asset Management to help 'motivate and retain' its directors and senior staff.

The huge pay-outs, which are equivalent to the combined salaries of nearly 5,300 qualified nurses, represent the most lavish bonus scheme in the history of the City. It comes on top of hefty annual pay rises which have seen the value of the salary and pension package of the highest paid director more than double to £1,160,000 a year.

About £800,000 worth of bonus money has already been paid to directors under the terms of the scheme."

To the belly-achers - who nevertheless support the capitalist system when it suits or benefits them - why don't they belt up and start thinking about the capitalist system?

Postscript: Since we have reported on the bonuses and perks for the chairman of Cable & Wireless, Lord Young, we must as reliable reporters draw to the attention of readers the fact that because of the dodgy Mercury returns (in which Cable & Wireless are more than interested) Lord Young has accepted a £300,000 cut in salary. However, we are glad to report that he is not on the headline. He's only left, before taxation, with £600,000 a year - about £12,500 a week.

PRIORITISE AND ORGANISE

Strike on, strike off, strike on again. Strike on is the latest position in the teachers' unions time switch action. The government's latest dynamite-charged plans to change employment regulations, allowing schools to make redundancies without consulting the unions, has prompted calls for an upsurge in strike action. The anti-strike vote of four-to-one on a turnout of 51% was on action against increasing class sizes. The pro-strike call is against redundancies. Priority here is given to teachers' rights over those of the children. Many will have noted that Prince William will be taught in a class of seven pupils when he attends Eton - but then we've all been told that size doesn't matter.

The National Commission on Education report, *Learning to Succeed*, criticises the government's reliance on market forces and competition in that it enables some schools to flourish at the expense of the rest. Giving extra capital funding to grant maintained schools falls into this category, as does the publication of league tables. Already government officials are investigating claims of cheating in the first national

curriculum tests for 11 year olds. Allegations include setting exam questions as homework, writing the answers on the board during the tests and giving pupils extra time. Good test results mean higher positions in the league table. No surprises here - wherever the market rules corruption thrives, an inevitable and necessary component.

In typical government style the riots in Bradford have been blamed on individual cultures. This time the cause is said to be the generation gap in the Muslim community - a purely cultural affair as if Muslims are not affected by the social situation. Nothing is said of the effects of Bradford's crumbling school buildings, under-funding, rising rolls, demoralised teachers and under-achievement on economically-deprived young people. As with other second generation immigrant groups, Asian youth realises that their elders have been too polite and submissive when faced with discrimination. The new generation is angry, articulate and assertive. In London's Euston area this answer is displayed in spasmodic

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PRIORITISE AND ORGANISE

(continued from page 1)

gang fights between white and Asian boys. Many carry knives, and park benches, fencing and trees have been ripped up and used as weapons. This results in a moderately run down area taking on a really deprived look and everybody's quality of life suffers except the lawmakers. Their children enjoy privileged educations, which ensure successful lives. One term at Eton costs twice as much as a year's dole for an 18 year old. More than a million primary school children are taught in classes of thirty and above - we need protest now.

Inmates of Louisiana's state penitentiary are protesting. They went on strike when ordered to build a table for lethal injection executions. They've got their priorities right.

BRAVE NEW WORLD - OR ON THE BRINK OF THE LOONY-BIN?

Apparently scientists working for a private company have - according to a report in *The Independent* - reached "a milestone in genetic secrets of a free-living organism for the first time".

"The researchers have sequenced all the 1.8 million 'letters' of a microbe's DNA, raising the prospect that one day they could synthesise the same blueprint to create an artificial life from scratch."

As if that were not enough, we learn that:

"In addition to deciphering all 1,830,121 building blocks of Hemophilus DNA, Dr Venter said his team sequenced the 580,067 chemical bases that make up the genetic blueprint of a second free-living microbe, *Micoplasma genitalium*, one of the simplest single-celled organisms.

John Sulston, director of the Medical Research Council's Sanger Centre at Cambridge, said the research was an 'exciting milestone' in the international effort to decode the genetic sequences of various life forms, including the human genome."

But it's not just the genes that the scientists are interested in. According to Science Minister David Hunt, talking of the last five of fifteen reports under the government's technology foresight programme, he said:

"By the year 2010, unmanned supermarket checkouts could price the contents of a packed trolley, farmers could be growing genetically-reprogrammed trees to produce cheaper paper and defence industries could be selling non-lethal weapons."

Don't laugh but on defence the 'technologies' highlighted included spraying adhesives which immobilised the enemy. Think of that recent case (*Freedom*, 27th May) when three policemen maintained they could only restrain a woman by gagging her with thirteen feet of sticking plaster wrapped round her head.

MIDDLE ENGLAND 'SEEING THE LIGHT'

(continued from page 1)

After all, today the largest growing profession (industry?) is that of consultants. We have in the western world become so prosperous with everything at our disposal that the effect has been to require Russell's second extended category of those who give advice to those who normally give advice to the proles!

The new Middle England 'victims' are at last being made aware that capitalism is a ruthless system quite unconcerned for the fate of those who had been doing 'very nicely' and who joined in the choruses about the 'scroungers' and the 'pakis' and other immigrants (actually doing most of the dirty work). Now they are being clobbered over mortgages (by the government that got them into the mess in the late '80s under Thatcher) and reductions in married couples tax allowances and all the increases in VAT. They are abandoning the Tory Party (for the time being) but nothing will change. The capitalist system is out of control worldwide. Too many snouts are at the trough - and this will not work.

At the beginning we promised a few headlines of Middle England's despairing New Look.

Anthony Sampson's article on the "Axing of Company Man" (*Sunday Times*, 4th June 1995) is summed up in these terms:

"Like medieval monks, grey-suited middle managers had a job for life. Now they face a corporate version of the dissolution of the monasteries. Pray for them says Anthony Sampson."

The *Independent* headline "End of the material world as we know it" and the subhead suggesting that "Need will replace greed in the early 21st century as lifestyles turn 'green', a new report predicts".

And in *The Guardian* (6th June) the feature writer Catherine Bennett's piece is given the heading "Should I put my vote in the ballot box or the dustbin". And in another *Guardian* 'Comment and Analysis' feature Tom Hodgkinson's article is headed "The Party is dead, let's get on with the partying". For instance he quotes a very good anarchist argument against political parties:

"Politics is also perceived, quite simply, to be too political. What time is there to envision enlightened, life-improving policy when the energies of party members seem to be directed mostly towards cross-party squabbling and internequine bickering? As Nick Crowe, twenty-something publisher of the sceptical, reflective journal *Creator* says: 'The idea of a party is self-destructive from the start, because loyalty and toeing the party line will always come before ideas. Any group that has power or is threatened by other groups will compromise itself.' Words like loyalty and duty are so out of date as to be absurd - as demonstrated by A Politician's Wife.

But perhaps the most important recent 'discovery' of Middle England professionals is that those who still have a job (and they are being axed fast and furious: the banks, for instance, are talking of another 50,000 sackings) are having to work much harder and longer

hours. An *Independent* magazine feature asks "Whatever happened to Nine to Five?" which is presented by Polly Toynbee and the theme is "Not so much the work ethic, just too much work".

But let us be clear as to why those who are in work full time are working more hours. Ms Toynbee points out that:

"Since the turn of the century, the story of working hours has been one of a steady and decent reduction. This stopped in the early '70s and, during the '80s, the managerial/professional group, who now form a third of the workforce, actually added two more hours to their working week in unpaid overtime."

Ms Toynbee maintains that this has resulted in unemployment, and that had the earlier decline in working hours experienced before 1975 continued "then the average week would now be between 34 and 36 hours". That may be so, based on pre-1975 working practices, but technological development since is such that we cannot understand when she writes that:

"Taking account of various other changes, especially in technology, that would mean the creation of an extra one million full-time jobs."

Surely the growth of technology in the paper-pushing industry (just as in the robotising of heavy industry) automatically puts more and more people *our* of work.

Perhaps there is a misprint since Ms Toynbee goes on to say what we have been saying in these columns for a long time (and in *Why Work: Arguments for the Leisure Society*):

"It would mean of course that those in work would have to accept less pay. But job sharing in this way might be regarded as just another more satisfactory form of income tax with gains all round."

For goodness sake, why can't these professional journalists-cum-do-gooders have the imagination and the integrity to expose the rottenness of the capitalist system without *ifs* and *buts*.

In her concluding sentences she asks:

"What is work, politics and the whole economy for if not to make more people happier? Money isn't the ultimate object, contentment is. Somewhere in the past twenty years, we have lost the balance between the getting of money and the spending of time."

Can she not see that we are living in an unequal, privileged, capitalist society where profit and not 'happier people' is the major concern? A society which spends £23 million annually on so-called defence and the armaments industry but has closed down 245 hospitals because 'we can't afford' to keep them open - and

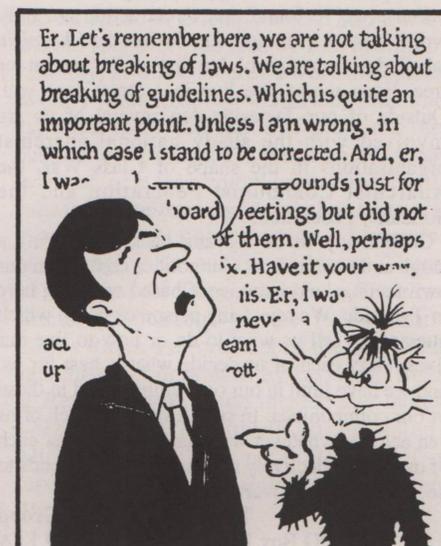
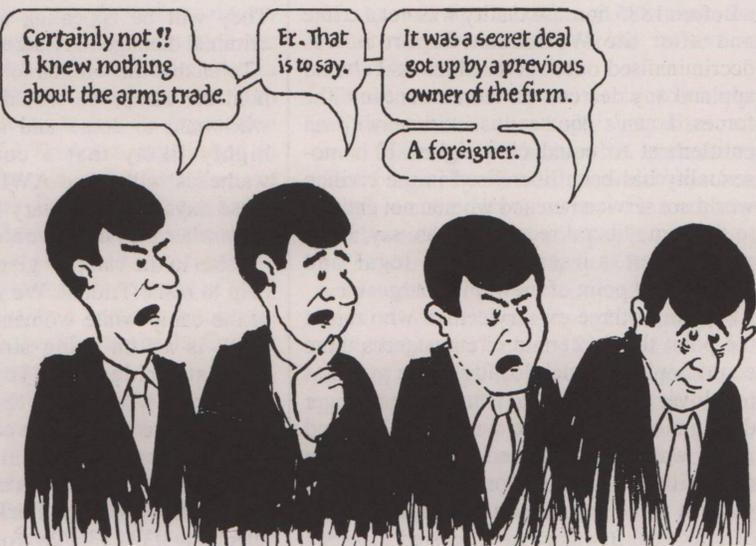
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A journalist called Danny Penman, evidently a sympathiser of our comrades Dave Morris and Helen Steel who are being sued for libel by the McDonalds fast food chain, has succeeded in getting their case into *The Independent*. On Monday 5th June, he made the front page of that paper with his guess that McDonalds may be seeking a way to drop the case.

"Instead of vindicating the company's approach to the environment, its workforce and the quality of its food, the case has become a public relations disaster. The corporation must now be keen to find a face-saving formula to end the trial."

In fact the company was eager to settle out of court, accepted mere formal apologies from most of the original defendants, and appear to have exploited every procedural delay their lawyers could think of in the hope of dissuading Helen and Dave from going on with the case. It would no doubt have welcomed any excuse to withdraw from this costly and counter-productive trial from the day it started a year ago.

We are delighted to see any publicity for the trial, which is so often swamped by McDonalds's magnificent publicity machine. But a guess that McDonalds would like to stop is hardly front-page news. It would be interesting to learn who Danny Penman is and what is going on at *The Independent* that it should carry mere speculation on the front?

The following day McDonalds again made the front page of *The Independent*, this time with a photograph illustrating another story by Danny Penman, about the advertising agency Leo Burnett Ltd failing to make a McDonalds television commercial.

The advert was intended to show two ladies sitting on a park bench discussing where to have lunch, when Ronald McDonald the clown arrives and tells them. Excellent private facilities are available for such purposes, but for some reason the agency decided to do their shoot in a public park when the public were about. Contractors spent some days renovating the area of the shoot, so when the time came

McDonalds 'wants to stop McLibel case'



Cartoon by Peter Rigg first published in *Freedom* in the 1980s.

quite a few people knew it was to happen.

As the two ladies were performing their parts, members of the public behind them held up placards proclaiming 'McMurder' and 'Exploitation in a Bun'. Not immediately realising what the placards said, the director called out "You're in shot", which usually causes members of the public to stand aside.

Other placards appeared and the demonstrators, probably outnumbered ten-to-one by technicians, stopped the work by chanting. Police and council officials assured both film-makers and demonstrators that neither party was acting illegally, and the film company left.

Danny Penman also reports in *The*

Independent that Dave Morris's son broke a leg some weeks ago. Dave, a single parent, applied for a recess to look after him. McDonalds objected, so Dave was absent from court for a time, leaving Helen to carry on alone. Later Dave applied for a recess to look after his son in the school half-term holiday, and this was granted. Court officials and plaintiff's lawyers have schoolchildren too.

Meanwhile in court, McDonalds's employment practices have been under scrutiny. We hope to provide a report of the case next issue.

Further information from **McLibel Support Campaign, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX. Telephone 0171-713 1269.**

They're big, they're clever

Evil bastards. Or so the media would have you believe! Unlike those canny chaps in Whitehall who close our pits and shipyards, then award themselves a pay rise at twice the rate of inflation. God knows the poor bastards need it. I'd find it hard trying to cope on a minimum of 39 grand a year. These are the people whose Victorian values have led to the widest gap between rich and poor since Victorian times. And we know to which class they, and we, belong.

Welcome to the opposition: Tyneside Anarchist Group, a volatile collection of rebels and ravers, thinkers and beer drinkers, unemployed and not-so-lucky workers, but all proud to describe ourselves with the 'A word' - Anarchy.

As individuals our creativity is expressed through bands, flyposting, magazines and many of the local and national campaigns which affect our lives. From the poll tax and harassing bailiffs to opposition to the Child Support Agency. From animal rights to attacking left, right and centre because we've found that direct action not only works but it's a lot more fun. In fact the *Chronicle* labelled us 'rent a mob', but that's a lie: we riot for free. Even worse, we live in a street near you. Outside of our Tyneside den several of us are involved with the shady national anarchist organisations in the shape of Class War, the Anarchist Communist Federation and the Solidarity Federation.

Collectively we're fighting back and having a laugh at the same time. Our politics come from our own feelings and experience based on living here in Tyneside. We reject any person or group which attempts to tell us what to do or how to live our lives. Only each of us decide what is best for us, and we have faith in our own abilities and in those of our communities. In such a situation each of us can achieve whatever we want. That is what each of us, both collectively and individually, intends to do. *You have been warned.*

Tyneside Anarchist Group
PO Box 1TA, Newcastle NE99 1TA

IT AIN'T HALF HOT, MUM

In the light of the recent ruling that practising homosexuals will no longer be recruited into the armed forces it is interesting to speculate how historical events might have differed if they had always been excluded.

Apart from a few short years, homosexuality was always acceptable or even encouraged among soldiers - the Hoplites were homosexual couples deliberately paired to ensure loyalty and the laying down of life for a friend. The Samurai and the Vikings were renowned for their homosexual warriors and there was never a suggestion of a link between wimpishness and homosexuality. After ninety days at sea it was seen as acceptable for sexual practices between men to take place in the Royal Navy.

Alexander the Great and Lawrence of Arabia are perhaps the best known homosexual military leaders and there has been much speculation about Adolf Hitler's and Field Marshall Montgomery's sexual preferences.

Before 1885 homosexuality was not a crime and after the Wolfenden Report it was decriminalised once more. Much as I should applaud any decrease in recruitment into the forces, I can't equate this attitude with an entitlement to equal civil rights. If homosexuality has been liberalised in the civilian world are servicemen and women not entitled to the same liberal recognition as, say, MPs, teachers or nurses? From a legal and sociological point of view it is unarguable.

I spoke to three ex-servicemen who raised the point that in certain circumstances there could not be as much loyalty to the group as to a lover and this could cause added danger during manoeuvres. The question of HIV and AIDS was also mentioned - cramped living conditions and close proximity to open wounds could expose servicemen to the risk of infection. It was even suggested that men

who are *not* deprived of sexual activity for long periods lose the aggression that makes them brutal fighters.

The rights of the individual have to be paramount. Are soldiers civilians in uniform or regarded as a separate category of citizen? Service people can vote and, as in the case of Sergeant Clegg, they can be charged with murder for using their service weapons whilst on duty. The same rights and opportunities for all, then, even if it does result in bigger armies!

Silvia Edwards

SUPPORT WOMEN IN COURT

From 3rd to 7th July seven women of Yellow Gate Women's Peace Camp, Greenham Common, will be in Reading Crown Court. They will be appealing against charges of criminal damage to Aldermaston's fence.

To enable the women to go to court, and to hold the camp, we would welcome women who want to come and support. It is also highly likely that a convoy of Trident warheads will leave AWE Burghfield over these days as the military like to manoeuvre them when they think we are too busy to resist.

Come to the camp to give your support and help to resist Trident. We need women to be at the camp while women are in court. Our work is an on-going struggle. Our work against Trident convoys must not be interrupted when we go to court. We have to ensure the security of the camp.

For further details contact **Yellow Gate Women's Peace Camp, Greenham Common, Newbury, Berks, RG19 6HN** or telephone 0374 136728 from 8.00-9.30pm.

The in-word 'anarchic'

Stephen Glover's press commentary for the *London Evening Standard* says of Piers Morgan, editor of *News of the World*: "Mr Morgan ... seems to have an anarchic temperament, a love of destruction deployed for its own sake, rather than in pursuit of some specific principle."

Robert Harvey, in his book *The Return of the Strong: the drift to global disaster*, writes of the global free market: "if this brave new world seems brutal and anarchic, that is because it is, and increasingly so."

An anonymous article (by Carty and Campbell?) in *The Guardian* says of the advertising creators Carty and Campbell that their work "has resulted in ... a host of lateral, anarchic ads for Kiss FM, IKEA, Yellow Pages, the RSPCA and, most notably, Dunlop tyres."

All the above quotations were published in the past two months. Evidently the word 'anarchic' is becoming fashionable, although it has no agreed meaning. Apparently Glover uses it to mean injurious, Harvey to mean unregulated, and the anonymous writer to mean unexpected.

In origin 'anarchic' is the adjectival form of the 'anarch', an old word which meant a promoter of misrule rather than no rule, as in Alexander Pope's "Thy hand, great Anarch, lets the curtain fall, And universal darkness buries all." 'Anarch' fell out of use in the early nineteenth century when the word 'anarchist' was coined to mean an advocate of anarchy in the modern sense of society without coercion.

We cannot say the recent use of the word 'anarchic', for all its vagueness of meaning, is etymologically wrong. But as publishers of anarchistic literature, we can complain about it. 'Anarchic' and 'anarchistic' are too similar. Readers could confuse them.

On the record it seems unlikely that writers not of anarchist sympathies will notice. But for what it is worth, we call upon all journalists to use the words 'anarchism' and 'anarchist' correctly, to use the word 'anarchy' only in its modern sense, and not to use the word 'anarchic' at all.

Freedom editorial's coincidence

It may sound like delusions of grandeur but has the recent police interest in Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, anything to do with the re-introduction of an anarchist platform there this month? Hidden video cameras are to be introduced in the interests of public safety! Ten minutes after our arrival on the first Sunday, three policemen on motorbikes parked up opposite our stand and remained there for an hour. No other stand could boast the boys in blue in their audience. I wish we'd had the following extract handy - perhaps we should learn it by heart:

"To be governed is to be watched over, inspected, spied on, directed, legislated, regimented, closed in, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, assessed, evaluated, censored, commanded, all by creatures that have neither the right nor wisdom nor virtue." - Pierre-Joseph Proudhon

ACF

New groups of the Anarchist Communist Federation have formed in the Basildon/Dagenham/Barking area, Hastings and Liverpool. If you live locally and would like to be put in contact write to the ACF c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, who will pass your letters on to us.

ACF members have produced a number of local bulletins. Irish Resistance No. 3 is just about to appear, London Resistance No. 2 has just appeared, and the first number of Liverpool Resistance is just out. If you want a copy of these or any back copies, write c/o our London address with an s.a.e.

Through the Anarchist Press

Venturous as ever, *Freedom's* editorial writer proposes an anarchist international newspaper. Would we have the resources for such an enterprise? That's not all. A newspaper first and foremost needs journalists and an understanding of the constantly changing mode of reading 'the mobile weather systems'. Although the head of the London School of Journalism is an anarchist, his school has not turned out anarchist journalists. Freedom Bookshop has an extensive stock of anarchist journals which appear periodically, and brave efforts they are, but nobody could claim them to be newspapers.

In an anarchist society news as such will have to be redefined. Births, deaths, marriages – will they still be front-page news? Earthquakes, disasters, floods, failure of harvests. Clearly it will be a peaceful society and prosperous, so all the news about wars, civil conflict, terrorism, gun-law, terrified refugees, will become a thing of the past. All news would become a celebration of life, the stressing of the value of mutual aid, altruism – would there still be a need for direct action? And will there still be a need for the consistent reiteration of editorial reason, pointing at the precipice, the warning voice against the great slide backwards?

Out of human suffering, the poet said, come the years that bring the philosophic mind.



Looking at the present day anarchist papers there is little to distinguish them from their capitalist counterparts. Those which use the tabloid methods gain a wider readership, but I doubt that the language they use frightens anybody any more than the conscientious anarchist reader. Their rejoicing when the odd enemy of the people gets his just deserts may work up the tribal spirit more than cogent advocations of anarchist principles.

Even so, we have to deal with the present when a regular anarchist news-sheet would be more than welcome. Can you imagine what the headline on the front-page would be of today's issue – perhaps 'Mass Demonstration Against Nuclear Testing'? Even if the accompanying photo would show only six people and a dog.

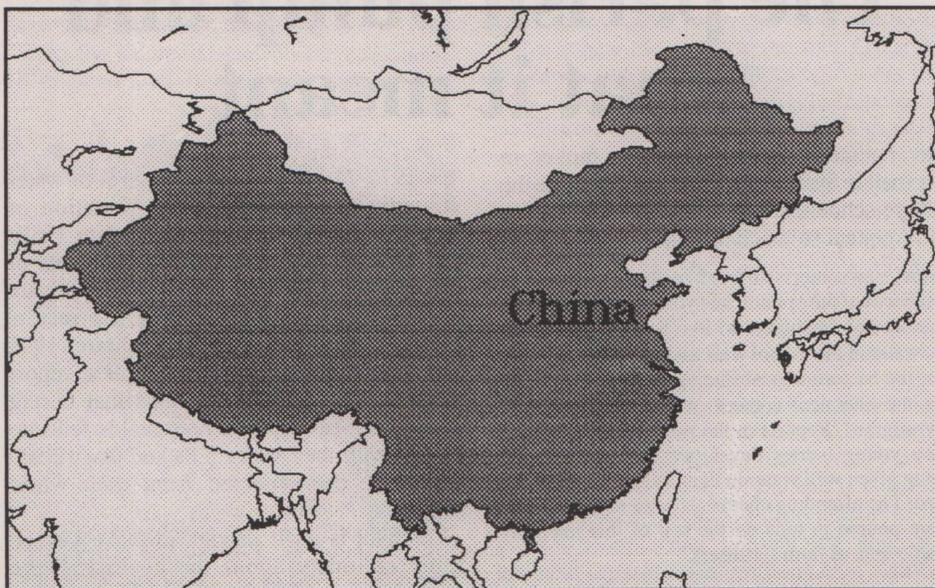
Not an easy matter. For the anarchist dawn is not yet here. The papers are full of atrocities. If you look at the local papers you can see how much their content and circulation depends on what the courts and the police dish out. Every second story is one of horror: 'Man lying critically ill was struck on head by a heavy metal plate dropped on his head from a railway bridge' – no, his name was not Chirac. Three stories of people having been knifed for inconsiderable sums of money. The wrong car blown up in a revenge attack.

Clearly, comrades, we won't have this sort of behaviour in an anarchist society where reason and consideration for others will prevail, where there'll be no 'haves' and 'have-nots', where not only the individual has become sane but so has society itself.

Eventually the time will come when the flapping ears of the dog outside the French Embassy in London will have stopped the atomic tests in Tahiti. Until then there is a lot of work to do, and an international anarchist newspaper would be a great help as well as intellectual dynamite.

John Rety

Repression in China



Increased repression of dissident and ethnic minority movements in China has failed to silence opposition voices. A section of the Xinjiang independence movement chose bombing to make its point, while protests rocked the city of Karamay in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region after a disastrous fire in December.

The scale of the Karamay protests has not been ascertained, but they were important enough for the party secretary in Xinjiang, Wang Lequan, to blame dissidents abroad – namely Wu'erkaixi, a 1989 Tienanmen student leader now in exile in the US – as well as 'Western reactionary forces' for 'plotting' and 'stirring' the unrest. The disturbances had not been confirmed previously.

Meanwhile, dissident Wang Dan, who was a student leader in Tienanmen protests in 1989 and is responsible for two of the six petitions to the NPC last month, was detained for organising a follow-up meeting with other petitioners. Wang has been briefly detained several times in recent months, after four years in jail for his 1989 involvement. Reuters reported that the police had questioned six or seven activists, including Liu Nianchun, who planned to attend the meeting in late March.

The group that Liu belongs to, the League for the Protection of the Rights of the Working People, was named by Communist Party general secretary Jiang Zemin as the "most counter-revolutionary" organisation in China since 1949, according to a report by the South China Morning Post in Hong Kong.

Jiang has ordered that the League be nipped in the bud, putting state security minister Jia Chunwang personally in charge of the mission, the report says. The league was formed in

Beijing last year by a dozen activists who are well known in the dissident community.

Liu was released only in October last year after being arrested in May together with three

FACT FILE: CHINA

Population: 1,116.1m

Population per sq. km: 129

Human Development Index: 57

Average annual inflation (83-93) 11.8%

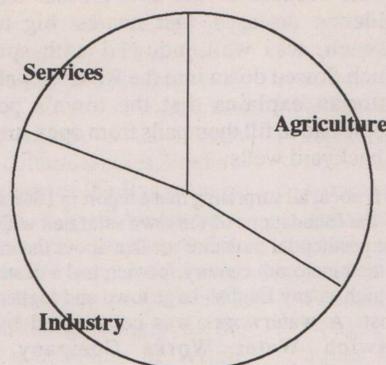
Main export destination: Hong Kong 43.5%

Foreign debt (as % of GDP): 16.0

Cost of living as at Sept 1993
(New York=100): 103

GDP per head in purchasing power parity
(USA=100): 9

Origins of GDP – Agriculture: 32.7%
– Industry: 47.8%
– Services: 19.5%



BA JIN (LI FEIGAN) Born 25th November 1904 in Chengdu, China; Ba Jin, one of the outstanding writers of modern Chinese literature, became an anarchist at the age of fifteen. His pen name is composed of the first syllable of Bakunin and the last of Kropotkin. He was the most popular writer in the 1930s and 1940s among young people, who became influential later in Chinese political life. He went to France and London in 1927 for two years and came to know such anarchists as Alexander Berkman, T.H. Keell and Emma Goldman. He translated many works by Kropotkin, Goldman, Rocker and others. Persecuted from 1967 onwards as an 'ancestor of anarchism', he has been 'rehabilitated' and in 1978 was made president of the Chinese PEN Club and Writers Association.

The portrait, right, is a black and white copy of one of 36 portraits of anarchists drawn in three-colour line by Clifford Harper, included in a set of picture cards each with a potted biography on the reverse and published by Freedom Press. Other portraits include such varied anarchist figures as Errico Malatesta, Marie Louise Berneri, Emiliano Zapata, Noam Chomsky, Louise Michel, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Michael Bakunin, Colin Ward, and many more.

The 36 picture cards (known to collectors as trading cards) come in a neat box and are available in our bookshop or by mail order, price £5.00 (post free in UK, or at £5.45 including p&p abroad), from: **FREEDOM PRESS, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX**



BA JIN (LI FEIGAN)

other founders of the league – lawyer Zhou Guoqiang, Beijing scholar Yuan Hongbing and Christian Xiao Biguang. All four are under detention in one form or another. Zhou is serving a three-year labour camp sentence in Qihihar in north-east Heilongjiang, Yuan is locked up in south-west Guizhou and Xiao in Beijing.

Agence France-Presse reported that Zhou, who is also a signatory of the 1993 Peace Charter, had protested from his cell near Beijing against the three-year 're-education' labour imposed on him twelve months ago. All labour camp sentences are made without trials; they are a common way to lock up dissidents. A number of petitions to the NPC called for an end to the practice.

AFP also reported the government's claimed ignorance of the whereabouts of Nobel Peace Prize nominee Wei Jingsheng, who vanished twelve months ago, presumably into secret detention. Wei was released in September 1993 after nearly fifteen years in jail for his involvement in the dissident movement in late 1970s. A Foreign Ministry spokesperson denied knowledge of Wei's whereabouts but insisted that he is a 'criminal' and does not qualify to be a Nobel Prize nominee.

Beijing cracks down on rural 'chaos'

The Chinese government has ordered a crackdown on 'chaos' in rural areas, where shrinking income, high inflation, food shortages, back-breaking taxes and rampant corruption have set public resentment bubbling.

Emergency paramilitary squads, from the People's Armed Police (PAP), were sent to at least six provinces last month to restore 'social order' following small-scale armed clashes recently and major riots in 1993. The provinces are Hebei, Hubei and Yunnan, where confrontations were reported to have taken place, and Anhui, Shaanxi and Jilin.

Xinhua, China's official newsagency, said the units were to "forcefully rectify villages where the conditions of social order are chaotic" and to "assiduously strengthen foundation work in grassroots" party cells. Domestic media quoted senior PAP officers as saying the move was to "safeguard national stability and economic construction".

Bonuses, benefits and promotion prospects of PAP ranks would be linked directly to their performance in the campaign, according to Xinhua. PAP were reported to have engaged in small-scale armed clashes in recent months with rural 'underground' forces to which disgruntled farmers were said to have been recruited.

More than 10,000 farmers from five counties took to the streets in Sichuan in June 1993 in a similar protest after eight leaders were arrested in earlier actions. Those levies were waived and the leaders were released after Beijing's intervention.

Another indication that rural chaos is spreading is that grain coupons – a means of food rationing and price control – have been reintroduced in a number of provinces. This is evidence that food shortages and high inflation have become barely bearable in the urban areas. It is a significant setback to China's decade-long push to deregulate prices.

But even the official *Economic Daily* questions the benefits of the move for the urban poor. It confirms, however, that bureaucrats have benefited at the expense of the state coffer by selling subsidised grains to private dealers instead of to the urban poor. "State grain dealers make little profit so they prefer to sell to speculators at a higher price", the newspaper says.

While shrinking farmland is a major longer-term food problem for China, it is not the cause of immediate shortages, except in Sichuan, where a shortfall was officially confirmed. Supplies are still plentiful in the free market for a high price. But given the significant share of food in the spending of urban families, high grain prices have fuelled inflation.

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— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

The parish pump and what it meant

The British are famous for grumbling about the weather, but are blessed with an equable climate that most of the world would envy. I live in rural East Anglia which has less than half the national average rainfall. Our house, like those of the neighbours, was connected to a piped water supply as recently as 1952. Until that year the most important items of water engineering for the occupants were the well and a collection of galvanised iron buckets, filled every day from the well for drinking and cooking, from tanks draining the roof gutters for washing and from the pond fed by field drains for watering the garden and the animals. Water was never wasted because every member of every family, apart from those who employed servants, knew the incessant labour of carrying it.

Ralph Whitlock, recalling life in the 1930s in rural Somerset, stresses the sheer physical effort involved:

"One of the most important items in Saturday's preparation for the Sabbath was the drawing of water by windlass from the village wells. Conventionally that was the responsibility of the man of the household on Saturday afternoon or evenings. Pulling up a ten-gallon bucket of water from a depth of eighty feet occupied, say, ten minutes, so most householders had to reckon on an hour or two's work at the end of the week, except, of course, when providential rain relieved them of the chore. Rainwater was perfectly satisfactory for washing, though hardly for drinking, unless boiled. Drinking water was stored in large earthenware pans, generally with a lid ... In times of drought drawing water was a major preoccupation for farmers, who had to employ a man virtually full-time to supply the needs of the farm livestock."¹

The deeper the well, the purer the water, but the greater the labour. It is not surprising that as the technology improved, the village pump became a focus of rural life. We use the expression 'parish pump politics' as a derisive way of describing small local issues, but the pump is a powerful symbol of community effort.

Indeed, Brian Bailey, the historian not of parish pumps but of village greens, suggests that:

"One possibility which has not been proposed, as far as I know, is that small greens were conceived as central areas reserved for the protection of the common water supply and to give access to it. It is easy for us in these days of piped water to every home to overlook how the absolutely overriding consideration in the establishment of any village or hamlet was the availability of water. When a well was dug, with great labour, to supply all the villagers with their water, it must have been regarded with a protective reverence that we find hard to imagine today."²

Bailey describes a whole series of village pumps, like the one at Pound Green near Earls Colne in Essex, which has the inscription:

"This well was dugged in thankful commemoration of the absence of cholera for the common use of the people to provoke them to cleanliness". Or the one at Stoke Row in the Chilterns, 368 feet deep and given to the village in 1864 by the Maharajah of Benares when told of the problems it had in getting a water supply, or the five village wells at Tissington in Derbyshire decorated with flowers every year to celebrate the fact that they had "protected the villagers from drought and disease by always supplying pure water".

He remarks how these communal pumps, though now obsolete, are "often still carefully protected from vandals and pollution. They stand like symbols of village continuity, and ... the community's source of life". This is certainly true of my nearest village where the pump survives but is boarded up to protect it from those entrepreneurs who know that there is a market for those bits of Victorian cast-iron now known as 'country by-gones'.

Apart from the endless labour involved, life before piped water was not a idyll of bucolic health. In the late 1940s George Ewart Evans,

later famous as a rural historian, moved to Blaxhall in Suffolk where his wife became the village schoolteacher, and the whole family had frequent stomach troubles.

"Most newcomers suffered in the same way. A cynic was of the opinion that you would suffer until you became 'manured' to it ... Eventually we had the water in the school well analysed. This showed that the bacteriological findings were satisfactory; but the chemical content of the water was not investigated. Reports in the press had told us that very young babies developed cyanosis through being given well water in their food, and some had died. The offending chemicals were nitrates which were poured in tons on the soil of this intensely arable area as farm fertilisers."³

Evans, who became clerk to the parish council, had to make himself "an aggressive nuisance" to get piped water to Blaxhall, since the membership of district and county councils were wealthy people, isolated from the disadvantages that rural life involved. "A farmer, for instance, was able to bore an artesian well from which he pumped water by means of a petrol engine; and by the same means he could generate his own electricity". Finally his village, at about the same time as ours, got a piped water supply.

In the wake of water on tap came the water-closet, discharging, as in our house, into a cesspool, the emptying of which used to be undertaken by the local authority but which I now pay for individually to a one-man business. The contents of his tanker are eventually spread on land, not discharged into rivers and seas to pollute the beaches of the eastern coast.

Naturally, a clean piped water supply and a sewage system came a lot earlier in the big towns, because of the ever-present fear of epidemic diseases. Our nearest big town, Ipswich, was well-endowed with springs which flowed down into the River Orwell. Its historian explains that the town's poorer people had to fill their pails from open streams or backyard wells:

"It is not at all surprising that a report in 1848 spoke of 'the foundations of the town saturated with foul and pestilential moisture' or that about the middle of the nineteenth century Ipswich had a death-rate as high as any English large town and higher than most. A waterworks was constructed by the Ipswich Water Works Company, but comparatively few houses were connected to the public supply until the Corporation bought the undertaking in 1892."⁴

Our local water history mirrors that of the country as a whole. A network of suppliers was built up, some run by local councils, some of them private companies but with a statutory limit on dividends. Slowly a water ethic was built up (very slowly in rural Suffolk) that saw water as a necessary common good, rather than as a commodity. The recognition that easy access to a clean water supply was a basic human need was enshrined from the last century onwards by a requirement in the Public Health Acts which declared that a house without an adequate supply was "unfit for human habitation".

Whether the distribution agency was municipally owned or a private company, the capital cost of underground pipes was met as a public duty, and the cottager was charged with a few pence on the rent or the rates (a local tax based on the size of residence). In the case of farmers, always close to bankruptcy until the Second World War, a metered supply was paid for by the subsidies they have received from public funds since 1939.

In 1972-74 local authority control of water supply was ended by the formation of regional water authorities. In the late 1980s the Thatcher government sold the assets of these authorities to newly-formed private companies. I have discussed the results several times in this column (20th March 1993 and 28th May 1994). Now a new report examines the results and finds that during 1994 about two million households fell into arrears with their water bills and that 12,500 ended up disconnected from their water supply.⁵

This fact is itself enough to make anyone think seriously about the decline in the concept of social rights and responsibilities, and to note that in Scotland and Northern Ireland disconnection of a household's water supply is illegal. But the story is made worse by the fact that the supplier of George Ewart Evans's village, and mine, made record profits last year.

On 5th June Anglian Water, a year after its decision to reduce its workforce by 900, announced increased profits of nearly 65% to £216.1 million. In deference to criticism by the alleged consumer watchdog Ofwat, it also announced a rebate to water users of £6 on

annual bills, and in deference to criticism of the situation of poor households a sum of £2 million "to establish a Water Trust Fund to help customers who fall behind with payments".

A leading article in our local paper comments that:

"Since next year's bills are expected to rise by nearly twice as much, that £6 rebate is a drop in the ocean. It is given with one hand and snatched back with the other. And customers will doubtless feel that Anglian Water is insulting their intelligence, attempting to present this tiny rebate as a major act of generosity. Consumers always expected prices to rise as a result of privatisation. But they were 'sold' the idea with the promise that the additional money would be used to fund the enormous capital projects necessary to restore acceptable standards of quality in both water supply and sewage disposal. The most disappointing feature is that while profits have risen by about £83.9 million after exceptional items, capital expenditure has fallen by about £67.3 million, compared with last year. An awful lot of consumers would have liked to see more of those millions invested in cleaning up the region's disgusting beaches rather than returned to them as an 'efficiency bonus' or given to shareholders in increased dividend."⁶

The story must provoke gloomy thoughts among socialists, let alone anarchists. It took centuries of experience to establish the concept of a natural right to water, symbolised by the parish pump. Fifteen years of government adherence to market ideology have evaporated this concept as though history hadn't happened. The social history of the coming century will be that of a struggle to re-establish something we all took for granted: the fact that water is a communal asset belonging to us all.

Colin Ward

5. Alicia Herbert and Elaine Kempson, *Water Debt and Disconnection* (London, Policy Studies Institute, 1995).

6. 'AW's rebate is just a drop in the ocean' in *East Anglian Daily Times*, 5th June 1995.

No, no, not mamma

Assassination

True Crimes Publication, Time-Life Books, Virginia, USA

The Evolution of the Gospel

by Enoch Powell

Yale University Press, £16.95

Vera, or the Nihilists

by Oscar Wilde

Methuen World Classics

Murder to solve an ideological dispute no longer has the romantic connotation that it once held for those who believed that if X shoots Y or Z tosses the DIY-bomb into the Imperial coach then it will accomplish that which the rational discussion appears to fail to do. But coloured television and tabloid press giving us daily, nay hourly, presentation of the bloodied and broken bodies of men, women and children turns the shouts of huzzas into bile within the mouth and the pathological or neurotic killer is no longer the people's choice. Murder as a PR exercise has always had a short shelf-life, as the slaughter of over a hundred people in the American Oklahoma City federal building demonstrates, for, like the fashionable O.J. Simpson murder trial, they no longer command American television and media star ratings. Time-Life in their major crime series offer a roll call of those prepared to kill or be killed for the cause, for the cause, and it makes sad and banal reading in that nothing was achieved.

In 1947 the partition of India fired ancient social and religious hatreds and the hatred focused on Mahatma Gandhi whom the Hindu nationalists held was, by his non-violent actions, 'selling out' his own people to the newly-created country of Pakistan. Part of the agreement by the Indian government was to pay Pakistan 550 million rupees, but Nehru, on behalf of India, decided to waltz on the deal. It was at this point that Gandhi 'the Great Soul' came into the act to perform his moral blackmailing trick of fasting unto death unless

India paid its debt. Once again the act worked and Nehru dug deep into the loin-cloth and agreed to pay up. A triumph for the elderly Hindu 'Great Soul' but also his death warrant. Godse, a devotee of Savarkar, a political assassin, felt the ol' call to solve the (their belief) religious, social and economic problem by killing Gandhi.

As assassination it was no great theatre, but Gandhi was slaughtered and Godse went to his government-organised martyred death.

Among Gandhi's last visitors was a woman, Indira Gandhi, who in the Machiavellian world and web or politics both political and private in 1966 became India's prime minister and in the fashion of the old familiar was shot to death by her Sikh police bodyguard with the inevitable massacre of 3,000 Sikhs by mobs who felt the call. Indira Gandhi had given her support to a gun-happy revolutionary army formed from the Hindu Tamil minority to take over Sri Lanka (Ceylon) and the inevitable bloody murders of the civilian population took place.

With Rajiv Gandhi now in his mother's bloodstained seat the lad took a dim view of Hindu Tamils, who had now become the 'Tamil Tigers'. It was Rajiv's turn to depart the stage Jacobean style when Dhanu blew herself, Rajiv and fifteen unfortunate bystanders to that never never land where all good causes get blown to. The death count is now over 30,000 as the Tigers engage in a flexing of muscles with the Sri Lankan army in their versions of social hygiene 'ethnic cleansing'. As millions of dollars float around and helicopters, gun-boats, aircraft and armour come into the act on the government side, the kitty-cat Tigers now have surface-to-air missiles and have already blasted down two aircraft carrying a hundred men, plus top-of-the-act suicide bombers, and all for the sake of which god you bend the knee to.

Over forty years ago Gandhi the 'Great Soul' was shot to death and that bloodline dribbles
(continued on page 6)

1. Ralph Whitlock, *The Lost Village: Rural Life Between the Wars* (London, Robert Hale, 1988).

2. Brian Bailey, *The English Village Green* (London, Robert Hale, 1985).

3. George Ewart Evans, *The Strength of the Hills* (London, Faber, 1983).

4. Robert Malster, *Ipswich: Town on the Orwell* (Lavenham, Terence Dalton, 1978).

No, no, not mamma

(continued from page 5)

through the years down to the tip of India in 1995, to Yugoslavia, Palestine and Northern Ireland, and all in the name of ethnic cleansing, and there in front of the crowd holding his petrol bomb is the fanatic, the neurotic hoping for a better bomb and a real Hollywood gun to have his name carved on the 'causes' Roll of Honour.

Enoch Powell's "rivers of blood" on the streets of Britain has now become rivers of burning petrol as the fresh wave of juvenile fundamentalists play follow-my-leader in the name of the 'true religion', but not for Enoch for the ancient lad has decided to challenge greater authorities than the conniving priests and politicians in Britain's bleak industrial towns and cities. Powell gained his Fellowship at Trinity College and whether one accepts or rejects his beliefs they are indeed worthy of a moment of our fun-filled hours. In any confrontation between men of learning that challenges the state-endorsed and accepted opinions must concern we of the low-brows, for Enoch not only challenges the order of the biblical gospels but that the followers of the beheaded John the Baptist deliberately doctored the Matthew text in their own political interests for salvation-wise they were now bottom of the poll. Enoch also argues, from Greek learning, that Christ was not crucified cross-wise by the Romans but stoned to death by the court of the Jewish High Priest and if that is so then the Christian logo must give way to bouncing stones, and comrades that will not only mess up your Christmas but also the religious card industry, Christian art and interior church decoration, plus dress problems for the Pope. But Enoch has been given the silent treatment by the

church and there is peace in the flowering dove-cots of the rural deaneries.

Even the sainted Oscar felt the call and in 1896 produced his one-act *Salome* that



marked a new low for the English theatre, that caused a blush on the severed head of John the Baptist with Oscar Wilde's shame-making purple prose. But it was Wilde's play *Vera, or the Nihilists* that reflects a writer trapped in the abstract banality of romanticised evil murder

for a political opinion. In 1878 Vera Zasulich wounded the St Petersburg Chief of Police and was acquitted by the court and the young Oscar read of it and lapped up the vicarious excitement of the romantic violence, too far away to hear the sound of the shot. Oscar did his bit for the cause by churning out his first play, *Vera, or the Nihilists*, a title dreamed up by Dostoevski. The nihilists were a group of revolutionary terrorists who worked on the simple principle that everything within the social order to the day is worthless and must be physically destroyed. In its place your guess is as good as the next person's. Wilde's play is pure garbage, though Oscar's version of the nihilists' chanted oath may have been rational to the cult of 1878 or 1995 as in the orthodox 'garret' they declaimed to the paying theatre audience "to strangle whatever nature is in us; neither to love nor to be loved, neither to pity nor to be pitied, neither to marry nor to be given in marriage, till the end is come; to stab secretly by night; to drop poison in the glass; to set father against the son, and husband against wife; without fear, without hope, without future, to suffer, to annihilate, to revenge". One feels that these are not the type of people one would want at the Freedom Bookshop Christmas party, but being Oscar it all ends happily for the Tsar is murdered. Oscar's 'Vera' cannot kill the Tsar's son because he suffers from liberal tendencies and Oscar's 'Vera' kills herself, in a ball gown, for betraying the nihilist cause, and for history the son is killed in his turn by Vera Figner's nihilist group. She lived to be 90 or more, the toast of the Russian nihilist old comrades association, and in that performance of the banality of evil they solved nothing, but in that universal slaughter of the innocent and the uncommitted let us plead 'No, no, not mamma'.

Arthur Moyses

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Anarchists have always expressed a healthy scepticism towards intellectuals. Bakunin long ago argued against, not science, but the kind of scientific socialism advocated by Marx, suggesting that this implied rule by an intellectual or bureaucratic elite. He concluded that "the organisation and the rule of the New Society by socialist savants is the worst of all despotic governments". Science, he felt, though indispensable for the rational organisation of society and human well-being, must, nonetheless, be kept in check, for the "domination of life by science can have no other result than the brutalisation of mankind" (Dolgoft, 1973, pages 295 and 327).

In their original meanings - both terms came into use towards the end of the nineteenth century - the terms 'intellectual' and 'intelligentsia' were neutral words or had radical connotations. Emile Zola, who defended Dreyfus against the prosecution of the French state, was disparagingly described as an 'intellectual', while 'intelligentsia' was associated with the Narodniks, radical intellectuals who opposed both capitalism and the Tsarist regime in Russia. But in recent years this kind of critical intellectual has disappeared, or become marginalised, or has been transformed into an academic or a technocratic type of intellectual. And a wealth of texts have thus emerged on the role of the intellectual - and their various guises. This essay is devoted to a critical review of some of this literature.

In a brilliant, exciting and strident analysis of American cultural life, Russell Jacoby (1987) has bewailed the demise of the radical intellectual. The habitat - urban bohemia - character, and idiom of American intellectuals, has, he argues, been fundamentally transformed over the past fifty years. Critical intellectuals, scholars like Lewis Mumford, Dwight MacDonal, Wright Mills, Paul Baran and Murray Bookchin, scholars who were critically engaged in the political life of the wider society and who wrote in a 'public prose' that reached a wide audience, are now disappearing from the cultural scene. They are, he comments, today becoming an "endangered species". He thus entitles his book *The Last Intellectuals*. Intellectuals are no longer "free spirits" in Nietzsche's sense: they have become academics, almost exclusively professors. He writes of the new intellectuals:

"Campuses are their homes; colleagues their audience; monographs and specialised journals their media. Unlike past intellectuals they situate themselves within fields and disciplines - for good reason. Their jobs, advancement and salaries depend on the evaluation of specialists." (1987, page 6)

Independent intellectuals are thus dying out; their place is being taken by academic specialists who write in obscurantist jargon and with elitist pretensions. Marxist scholars are

The Role of the Intellectual

particularly prone to this academic fetish and have a "penchant for bloodless schematas" and "post-structuralist" meta-interpretations. The latter are quite divorced from empirical research, concentrating on texts, signs and signifiers. Jacoby has a refreshing critique of the literary pretensions of that doyen of Marxist cultural studies, Frederic Jameson. He points out that in his eulogy of the Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles, as an example of 'post-modernism', Jameson quite overlooked the fact that its postmodern 'hyperspace' was specifically designed to keep out the local population, predominantly poor and Hispanic people (1987, page 171). In contrast, Jacoby writes glowingly of the engaged, committed and readable scholarship of Wright Mills, Mumford and Bookchin.

Camille Paglia's critique of the American 'academic', entitled *Junk Boards and Compare Raiders*, presents an even more disparaging portrait of the American intellectual. Paglia's essays are strident, passionate, arresting, full of invective, to the extent that she is often downright abusive of other scholars, and she has a strong sense of her own importance. Some would describe her as arrogant. Her description of the contemporary 'academe' in the United States is totally dismissive. It is said to be dominated by "conformism and empty pieties" (page 247) and to be inhabited by "poseurs" "born-yesterday French-besotted faddists" and "privileged opportunists", scholars who, like businessmen, are "mobile merchants on the make". Academic scholarship is now akin to "yuppie entrepreneurship"; the university like a "wasteland where wolves run free", a 'fast-track' where unbridled greed for fame and power has all the characteristics of Wall Street (page 191). The primary causes of the 'corruption' of the academic profession during the last two decades Paglia puts down to the development of the conference circuit and the invasion of the American academe by French post-modernism. With regard to the latter, American intellectuals, particularly feminists and Marxists, have, she suggests, been completely besotted and misled by a group of French intellectuals - Foucault, Lacan and Derrida - whom Paglia describes in disapproving terms as the "real fossilised reactionaries of our time" (page 210). Paglia pours scorn on all their basic notions: the "decentred" subject who is simply an 'effect' of power/knowledge or the 'symbolic'; the idea that "sexuality is a modern invention"; the complete exclusion of nature, biology and psychology from their writings; as well as on their obscurantist jargon. Lacan wrote

"gibberish" that seems to have turned many feminist brains to pudding, she suggests (page 262); Derrida's method of deconstruction is "masturbation without pleasure" (page 241); while Foucault is described as an "absolute ninny" who represents the final decadence of Western rationalism - "a cold desiccated fetishism" that is divorced from humour, compassion, ethics, eroticism and wisdom. Writing in a rather chauvinistic fashion she suggests that it is "revolting to see pampered American academics down on their knees kissing French bums" - the "wordsmiths" Lacan, Derrida and Foucault (page 211).

Paglia critiques the "yuppification" of academia, and makes a plea for a broad liberal scholarship that includes science, comparative religion, anthropology, history and psychology. The present system, she concludes, is producing "careerist academics" rather than scholars and intellectuals (page 235).

There is a good deal of substance in Paglia's critique, for academic scholarship on this side of the Atlantic, has been equally beguiled by French obscurantist texts, much of it misunderstood re-hash in language that borders on gibberish, of Nietzsche's essential thoughts. But Paglia is no radical - she applauds American capitalism for its efficiency and for making her "the freest woman in history" (page 246).

Another writer who has bewailed what is happening to American intellectual life - American universities in particular - is Allan Bloom. But as a conservative scholar what Bloom laments is the fact that universities are no longer elite enclaves where aristocratic recluses can live the comfortable, detached life of a traditional scholar - upholding the exploring the virtues of the American way-of-life. The latter of course revolve around private property, capitalism and the United States constitution. Both Jacoby and Bloom have a nostalgia for a past intellectual tradition: Jacoby for the radical scholar working outside the university setting, Bloom for the American equivalent of the cloistered Oxbridge scholar. Both types, it would appear, now seem to be marginalised. But for Bloom it is cultural relativism, the "education of openness" and the anthropologists and the progressives who have undermined beliefs in American democracy. And, as Bloom writes, "the United States is one of the highest and most extreme achievements of the rational quest for the good life according to nature. What makes its political structure possible is the use of the rational principles of natural right to found a people, thus uniting the good with one's own" (1987, page 39). (continued on page 7)

The Role of the Intellectual

(continued from page 6)

If one reads the refreshing histories of the United States by Zinn (1980), Chomsky (1993) and C.L.R. James (1993) one soon realises that the adoration of the American democratic ideal hardly matches the realities of American political life – the genocide of Native American people, the upholding of slavery until the civil war, and a foreign policy that upholds what Chomsky calls the “fifth freedom” of the US constitution, namely the freedom of US state power to construct a global system in which US-based corporations can operate freely, and in which human and material resources can be exploited for their benefit.

Intellectuals, of course, are not a new phenomena. They have been around since history began. Shamans, diviners and herbalists were in a sense intellectuals, articulating through their therapeutic procedures, cosmological frameworks and aetiological schemas. Both Pythagoras and Plato, two founders of Western philosophy, were kind of shamans, and the whole idea of an ontological realm independent and prior to the empirical world of becoming, has religious roots. The Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci, argued that every person is an intellectual, but that not everyone in society “functions” as an intellectual. He distinguished between two types of intellectuals: the “traditional” and the “organic” intellectual. The first type were predominant in pre-capitalist societies; they were the clerics, priests and scholars who monopolised the dominant forms of discourse and were the “bearers”, as literati, of the cultural “world views”, the various hegemonic ideologies that justified aristocratic power and dynastic rule. The Brahmin priest, the Confucian scholar, the Islamic ulama and the Catholic monk were typical ‘traditional’ intellectuals. Although articulating transcendental or religious values, and appearing to be detached from class interests, Gramsci suggests that they were in fact not completely autonomous from class interests. Nevertheless, critical elements often emerged within this ‘traditional’ intellectual strata, often challenging the status quo.

The second type of intellectual suggested by Gramsci was the ‘organic’ intellectuals, who were directly connected with class interests. Such intellectuals could be closely associated with radical or working class movements, or form a technocratic elite that served capitalist interests. The latter thus came to perform a vital function in bolstering state power and maintaining corporate class domination. Organic intellectuals are therefore essentially of two types: critical and technocratic.

In his lucid discussion of intellectuals and the crisis of modernity, Carl Boggs (1993) discusses a fourth type of

intellectual – distinct from the traditional, technocratic and critical types – the intellectual Jacobin. This kind of intellectual had its origins in the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, and is seen by Boggs as deeply embedded in the Western intellectual tradition. As he writes: “From Plato to Machiavelli to Hobbes, the leitmotif of political theory was often ‘Jacobin’ insofar as it looked to the supreme role of intellectuals in shaping political outcomes in determining the course of history” (1993, page 15). Central to the ‘Jacobin’ image was the role of the intellectual as a ‘Promethean’ figure, as an agent in social transformation. The intellectual thus plays a key role in creating and sustaining ideological hegemony, and in initiating radical social change or revolution. The Jacobin style of politics is therefore fundamentally elitist and statist, and as Boggs recognises, it was critiqued long ago by Bakunin and other anarchists. Author of an important and substantial study of Gramsci (1984) – which offers a searching critique of Gramsci’s thoughts on the role of the intellectual – Boggs gives, in his more recent study, an excellent outline and critique of Jacobinism, whose prototype figures are Rousseau, Mazzini, Saint-Simon, Herzen and of course Lenin. The Bolshevik revolution, he suggests, is arguably “the first true Jacobin conquest of state power in European history” (1993, page 35). While Bakunin essentially interpreted Marx as a Jacobin intellectual in his emphasis on scientific socialism and in his advocacy of statist politics, Boggs sees Marx’s legacy as an ambiguous and divided one. Thus, within classical Marxism, he suggests, there emerge two distinct traditions, and thus two divergent and contradictory views on the role of the intellectual. One emphasises the “primacy of mass self-activity” and of factory councils, which he associates with the writings of Gorter and Pannekoek (which Boggs refers to as Spontaneism), the other advocates a state-centred politics, a Jacobin approach to revolutionary transformation. This approach Boggs refers to as Vanguardism, and is typified by Lenin and the Bolsheviks who linked, as a political strategy, the Jacobin role of intellectuals with a centralised, disciplined vanguard party. As with Bakunin, Boggs suggests that this style of politics inevitably gives rise to “a New System of domination – namely bureaucratic centralism – with Marxism as its main legitimating ideology” (1993, page 61). As the Jacobin side of classical Marxism became dominant – and found expression in the Soviet Union, China and Cuba – so the ‘spontaneist’ side of Marxist theory became increasingly marginalised, surviving mainly as a “nostalgic and suppressed heritage” (page 62).

Luxemburg, Lukacs and Gramsci all offered critiques of the

Jacobin conception of politics and of the intellectual, but none of these Marxist intellectuals could bring themselves to abandoning the Leninist conception of the Party, and the role of the intellectual as a Jacobin scholar – as a “Modern Prince” in Gramsci’s terms. Among Western Marxists, even within a university setting, Marxism, Boggs suggests, has usually followed a “Jacobin logic” (page 61).

Brian Morris

(to be continued in our next issue)

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142 pages ISBN 0 900384 81 6 £5.00

FREEDOM PRESS

84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

Recent arrivals at the Freedom Press bookshop.

The Freethinker: secular humanist monthly, June issue, G.W. Foote and Co. At a point in time when Premier Radio – a dire unashamedly Christian broadcasting outfit – can get on the air full-time in the face of declining belief and church attendance, I have the feeling that we are going to need this magazine more than ever. Why is it that while fewer and fewer people believe in the nonsense of Christianity we're being force-fed more and more of the stuff? And it's going to get worse: a new lot of bible-bashers are due to take to the air soon in the form of a television station called 'Ark 2'. By the same yardstick anarchists, who number even fewer than Christians, should be getting hours and hours of programmes on anarchism, on all available frequencies. This issue takes to task the BBC's 'God Squad' who have yet again repulsed attempts to abolish *Thought for the Day* on Radio 4 – a mere ten-minute God slot compared with the half-hour of prime-time drivel put out on BBC 1 as *Songs of Praise*. Does anyone seriously believe that Thora Hird and Harry Secombe who sing the exquisitely brainless hymns are real people? One or two nice tunes do not compensate for such torture. Speaking of torture, also in this issue is a very good article on capital punishment, patently motivated by the ancient Christian principle of revenge, as laid down in the Old Testament. Almost 3,000 people are awaiting murder at the hands of the state in the USA alone, and the list grows longer every day. Even executing them at the rate of ten a day it would take nearly a year to clear the backlog in the land of the brave and the home of the free. 16 pages of antidote to superstition, £1.00 (and also still available are five back issues covering a wide range of topics – send for a selection).

Lesbian and Gay Freedom Movement Newsletter No. 10, LGFM. Guaranteed to give the God Squad collective apoplexy is this latest offering from our comrades in the LGFM. But while some of the Chosen Ones are busy trying to suppress sexual

Food for Thought ... and Action!

thought-crimes this small but perfectly-formed magazine will outrage the others for different reasons. Not because of its advocacy of unfettered sexual freedom (or fettered, if that's the way you like it): they are already finding – often to their cost – that their desires are annoyingly stronger than their beliefs and would probably hide copies of this under their cassocks. No, they would take much stronger exception to the fact that this is an openly anarchist magazine and it represents what they fear most: a society with no church and no state, where their jobs would become irrelevant and where they would have to find useful work such as caring for those brain-damaged by religious neuroses and guilt complexes (not to mention unscheduled choirboy 'solos', if you catch my drift). My only quibble with this publication is the title – but they've pre-empted me there by announcing a competition to find a new name which better represents what the group stands for: sexual liberation for all, whatever your inclinations, not just lesbians and gays. Amen to that. And just in case you need extra encouragement, whoever wins this competition gets to spend the night with the editor. Lest that should put you off entering (the competition, not the editor!) you are also given the choice of any of his/her “delectable, beautiful colleagues”! By all means read the articles on the Criminal Justice Act, incest, the LGFM meeting at the Anarchy in the UK festival and the police raid on the ‘Whiplash’ fetish club, but don't miss the unusual, not to say highly improbable centrefold. Cheap and cheerful production. 16 pages, 40p.

The Misery of Football: considered in all its forms, and a few remedies offered by F.A. Kicker, Hat

Trick Folio. Just what this pamphlet is trying to say is unclear. For someone who claims not to like football the author seems to know a lot about it, rather like a disillusioned fan, but I didn't learn anything new that was very interesting, mainly because most of this publication is nothing to do with it. There's no apparent logic to the content or layout. It begins with the unoriginal remark “football is a safety valve”, then after an observation by Aldous Huxley and a brief mention of Eric Cantona's recent flying ballet exhibition, we're suddenly surrounded by Margaret Thatcher, the Falklands War and Napoleon. By page five the Nazis, Rudolph Hess, James Bond, Aleister Crowley, Hitler, Stalin and Hirohito are brought in. Next it's Cantona again and Wilhelm Reich. Then Alcoholics Anonymous and, ah here's a long list of footballers past and present, followed by Guy Debord, Stuart Home and Bob Black. Who knows where we're going. Still, what's next? Ah yes, of course, the Labour Party, Clinton, Salman Rushdie, the *New Left Review*, the *News of the World* – then all the Ms: Madonna, Mitterand and Marilyn Monroe. Hope I'm not going too fast. We're on page nine, do try to keep up. Next up is “anarchist boneheads”, MI5, Tony Blair, P.J. O'Rourke, Grateful Dead and Billy Bragg. Then finally, again football. The whole thing reads like a disjointed name-dropper's rant, a rambling diatribe against everyone and everything the author dislikes. It is typeset in tiny print and on the cover is a picture of ... Meryl Streep!? Well, why not, everyone else is in there. But hey, what about the misery of the reader, F.A. Kicker, considered in all its forms? Any remedies for that? I know what mine is. A5, 14 pages, £1.60.

Nationalism and Culture* by Rudolf Rocker, Michael E. Coughlin. As mentioned a few months ago, our latest delivery of this title arrived with varying amounts of damage to about half the books, so we are offering them at reduced prices depending on the extent of the damage. When ordering please state whether you want a £12, a £15 or an £18 book, and which you would accept as a substitute if your preferred range has sold out. Bear in mind that this book is a libertarian classic on the origins and development of the nation state and nationalism, which is on the rise everywhere, and it goes into great detail over a wide range of aspects of society – from ancient Rome to modern theories of race – bearing upon the growth of nationalism. Rocker examines the links with the Middle Ages, the Reformation, religion, liberalism, socialism, democracy, absolutism, art, architecture and culture, and much else besides. So even for a book which is damaged you'll be getting very good value for money. And we pay the postage (itself over £3 per book). Apart from the publisher's preface there is Rocker's own preface to the English edition, and another by the translator Ray Chase. The index alone runs to 24 pages, and in addition there is an epilogue, a bibliography and the publisher's additional bibliography, a substantial list in itself. The dust jacket (which unfortunately in most cases were so badly disintegrated that they had to be thrown away) is covered with praise by noted writers from around the world, including Lewis Mumford, Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell, and the book has been translated into many languages. As a tool for long-term understanding of what is going on and why, not just in the current Bosnian conflict but many others worldwide, I doubt that this book can be bettered. 614 pages, hardback only (undamaged copies still £21.00).

KM

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Who pays for Iraqi weapons?

Gunrunners Gold: how the public's money finances arms sales

World Development Movement
101 pages A4, £3.50*

Roger Freeman is Minister for Defence Procurement. The name of his office suggests that he is in charge of procuring weapons, presumably for British forces, but in fact his job seems to be selling British-manufactured weapons to people in other countries. In December 1994 he boasted:

"In 1993, the UK won new business in the defence export market worth about £7 billion ... No other sector of UK industry is as successful as the international market place."

The boast was not quite true. £7 billion was the value of *firm offers* made by British arms exporters in 1993. Actual *orders*, according to published (but less often quoted) Ministry of Defence figures, totalled 'only' £1.9 billion – a horrifying statistic of killing machines being hawked round the world, but only a fraction of the boasted £7 billion.

In fact weapons constitute only 1.7% of UK exports, but 8.4% of exports to 'developing' countries (i.e. countries with needy populations).

It is generally easier to buy weapons than other kinds of manufactured goods from Britain, because the British government subsidises the arms trade more than any other trade. This is part of the famous Thatcher legacy.

Mrs Thatcher began her premiership convinced trade should be regulated by market forces, and not subsidised. But in 1985, she decided that an exception should be made for the arms trade. This was the year she personally tried to sell military communicating equipment to President Reagan, and was pipped by a French dealer with a subsidy to offer. Special relationship and shared politics notwithstanding, when it came to business the Pentagon went for the best deal.

Thereafter the British government tried to offer better arms deals than anyone else.

It was already true that every British embassy had a military attache, like other military attaches an arms salesman. The rationalisation is that selling weapons to foreign forces increases the manufacturing run, and so reduces unit costs to home forces, at least when they decide to buy British.

It was also true, with similar rationalisation, that the Ministry of Defence pays for weapons research.

The new development in 1985 may be exemplified by what happened between Britain and Malaysia. Relations between the two countries had deteriorated in the early 1980s, and Malaysia had received very little overseas aid since 1982. But in 1985 Mrs

Thatcher visited Malaysia and agreed Aid for Trade. Malaysia bought some weapons from British firms, and got £59 million for its Rural Water Supply Project, to fund which the aid ministry was allocated £21 million of British tax money in addition to what had already been voted.

Then in 1988 Mrs Thatcher signed a Memorandum of Understanding with Mahathir Mohamad, that if Malaysia bought British arms Malaysian Airlines would have improved landing rights at Heathrow Airport and Overseas Aid would be provided to the value of one-fifth of the arms purchased. This led to the Pergau Dam project, costing £234 million to the British aid budget, *plus about £100 million to Malaysian taxpayers*. Sir Tim Lankester, the top aid official, refused to take responsibility for the payment and demanded a written direct order from the Foreign Secretary.

Most aid-giving countries have cut back on aid to Indonesia following the invasion of East Timor, but Britain has increased aid. It may be suspected that this is connected with the fact that Indonesia buys its weapons from British firms.

The stated aim of British aid is the reduction of poverty, but there is no obvious correlation between the extent of poverty and the amount of aid to a particular country. Much aid goes in Aid for Trade projects, aid given to enable people to import British goods, which mostly means weapons.

We have been hearing a lot recently about illegal exports from British arms dealers to Iraq by way of Singapore and Jordan. Iraq is now unable to pay for these goods, but not to worry the ECGD has paid. It has also paid for arms for the military government of Nigeria and other military rulers.

The biggest arms buyer is Saudi Arabia, which has a ridiculously disproportionate arms budget to defend the absolute monarchy against anyone of moderately democratic leanings, but pays promptly and gets no aid.

Elsewhere, however, subsidies are such that British taxpayers pay about a fifth of the price of total overseas arms sales. Or to put it another way, the buyers pay the cost of production but without the subsidies there would be no profit to the dealers.

All the above information culled from *Gunrunners Gold*, a closely researched book of precise and exhaustive information which deserves a place on the shelf of everyone interested in arms sales, and is amazingly cheap for this sort of publication.

Donald Room

* When ordering by post from Freedom Press Bookshop, add 35p to a UK address, 70p abroad.

ENEMY WITHIN

Enemy Within

by Francis Beckett
John Murray, £19.99

"None sees a religion die" said Charles Bradlaugh in 1889. Everyone saw a religion die a century later. The secular faith which was theorised by Marx and Engels and practised by Lenin and Stalin, which flourished until a third of the world was ruled by people who called themselves communists, suddenly died in view of the whole of the world when the Iron Curtain was drawn and the Soviet empire disintegrated. It hasn't disappeared. The spectre of Communism haunts the groves of academe, its ghost stalks some corridors of power and its spirit inspires the sects of the far left. But, from the point of view of world history, it is over.

The time hadn't yet come for the full story to be told, even for proper biographies of the Communist Parties of various countries; the material is still being accumulated and evaluated. Meanwhile there have been several obituaries, of which a good example is *Enemy Within* (a silly title). It is not "the full story" of "the rise and fall of the British Communist Party" claimed by the publishers, nor a work of scholarship – though Francis Beckett has done a great deal of research in archives and through interviews – but a journalistic rush through documents and anecdotes over a period of seventy years in 240 pages, with 25 illustrations. It is a combination of melodrama, tragedy and farce. The melodrama was the attempt to bring world revolution to a non-revolutionary country; the tragedy was the problem that almost everything went wrong from beginning to end; the farce was the series of ironies and absurdities created by the inevitable and irreconcilable conflict and confusion.

When the Bolsheviks seized power in the Russian Revolution and held it in the civil war, they inspired the formation of Communist Parties in other countries. The Communist Party of Great Britain was founded on Lenin's orders from existing revolutionary socialist groups. Its double aspiration was to join the Labour Party and to lead a revolution, but its double action was to follow Russian foreign policy and to make trouble on the left. Beckett traces the twists and turns of the party line and the ups and downs of the main figures vividly enough, though he misses the wider implications and deeper resonances, especially the social and cultural aspects of British Communism. He covers the formation of the party in 1920, the secret Russian subsidies (in the early years and again during the Cold War), the Members of Parliament (up to two at a time, plus a dozen or so

crypto-Communists), the Russian purges, Fascism and the Spanish Civil War, the Second World War (which the Party supported and opposed and supported again on Stalin's orders), the spies and rumours of spies, de-Stalinisation and the Hungarian Revolution (which damaged the Party more than anything else), relations with other left-wing parties, Trotskyists and other defectors, front organisations and other movements (unemployed, homeless, disarmament), the New Left and Euro-Communism, trade unions (the party's greatest success), the various quarrels and splits, and the end in 1991 (when the party became a discussion group called the Democratic Left).

Beckett tells the sad story clearly and fairly, though he can't help saying what everyone now says about the Stalinist regime, and he tries not to take sides in the various disputes and divisions. If he has a hero it is Harry Pollitt, and if he has a villain it is Rajani Palme Dutt; but he finds many things to say against the former and even some things to say for the latter. The real heroes are the people who joined or supported the Party and were exploited and betrayed by it. There were a lot of them. At the beginning the Party had about 5,000 members. At the peak, in the 1940s, it had 56,000 members, the *Daily Worker* sold 120,000 copies, about half a million electors voted Communist, and there were many more fellow-travellers and sympathisers. At the end, the Democratic Left kept 1,600 members. The rest had scattered in all directions – into Trotskyist or Maoist or other Communist sects, into Labour or other mainstream parties, into trade union or community or peace or other activities, out of politics altogether, into the media. Some Communists became anarchists, especially at the time of the Spanish Revolution, just as some anarchists had become Communists at the time of the Russian Revolution, and anarchists have often found themselves working with or against Communists in various places on the left.

The Communist Party acquired an evil reputation, partly deserved and partly undeserved, and achieved almost nothing or less than nothing. Even at its best, in the struggle against Fascism, it was fatally compromised by its allegiance to Stalinist interests and party advantage and its tendencies to bureaucracy and dictatorship. It included some of the worst and many of the best people of their generation, but the only possible verdict is that it wasted them all. Francis Beckett tries hard to avoid extreme judgements, but *Enemy Within* leaves a final impression of deep despair.

MH

Max Nettlau

Max Nettlau: A Contribution to an Anarchist Bibliography of Latin America
First English translation by Paul Sharkey
KSL (Kate Sharpley Library), £4.00*

To review a bibliography is always a difficult task; if it concerns, as in this case, a work originally finished seventy years ago, things do not necessarily become easier. Bibliographies – more or less incomplete – are essential for whoever wants to write about a historical subject. Sources for anarchism in particular are awkward to find since anarchist publications, certainly older ones, are not usually to be found in your local library. To trace them, to make use for example of national or international interlibrary loan facilities, one has to have some sort of means to prove that what one is looking for actually does or at least did exist. A bibliography is usually the first or foremost tool to find out *what* to look for, and ideally also, *where* to look for it.

Max Nettlau published the first ever bibliography of anarchism nearly a century ago. Incomplete and occasionally incorrect,

its insufficiencies are due to the fact that it was written in just a few weeks. As Élisée Reclus remarked in his preface of 1897, the *Bibliographie de l'Anarchie*, however incomplete and preliminary, showed how rich anarchist literature already was by then. Nettlau continued to work in the field for another forty years, and he wrote much to complete or correct his first effort. The *Contribution to an Anarchist Bibliography of Latin America* was written in November 1926, to be included in a special publication to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the Argentinian anarchist paper *La Protesta*, established in June 1897 under the title *La Protesta Humana* by among others Dr. John Creaghe of Sheffield fame. The *Certamen Internacional de La Protesta* was serialised in the paper's fortnightly supplement in the summer of 1927 and then published as a separate book (the indication 1926 on the titlepage of the English translation is incorrect!).

Nettlau's bibliographical contribution was reprinted as a separate publication in 1975 by Carl Slienger (and for years also sold at the Freedom bookshop); it was therefore not exactly inaccessible. And while it is certainly laudable that the friends who run the Kate

Sharpley Library make accessible otherwise unobtainable or inaccessible texts (like George Cores' recollections), one wonders in this specific instance what practical use the English translation of a bibliography of publications mainly in Spanish (and some in Italian and French) can possibly have? Those who can make use of it, should in any case be able to read Spanish (though nowadays one sometimes wonders, if some writers on anarchism can read at all!).

These remarks apart, it is somewhat surprising that the admittedly sympathetic and even (deservedly!) somewhat enthusiastic short biography of Nettlau, which has been added, is marred by a number of inaccuracies. Nettlau did not read philosophy but philology; the idea to write a biography of Bakunin came to him not in 1880 but only nearly a decade later; the *Bibliography of Anarchy* was compiled in 1897, not in 1895, and so forth. A table of contents has been added, but without page numbers – which is not much of a help.

Another inconvenience, which annoyed Nettlau himself, was caused in the original publication by a lack of typefaces at the anarchist printers who produced *La Protesta*: the names of authors are not clearly

distinguished by a different typeface (in bold), so that it mostly remains unintelligible which titles belong to which authors' name. Therefore only one who already knows quite a bit of anarchist literature and writers, will know how many titles following a name like Kropotkin are really written by him, or will realise that e.g. *Por qué somos anarquistas?* and *La difesa di Gaetano Bresci alla Corte di Milano* (page 17) are also by F.S. Merlino.

Finally, as this concerns a work done nearly seventy years ago, one would and could have expected some indication if there are other publications produced in the interim that have replaced, or at least complement, what Nettlau calls in his preliminary observations one of the most modest contributions towards a bibliography. But nothing of the sort. There is no mention of Diego Abad de Santillan's similar publications (in the 1930s), nor of Carlos Rama's efforts, nor of the specifically anarchist bibliographies by Leonardo Bettini or René Bianco (which incidentally indicate *where* to find the publications listed!). Altogether, this little publication is, if not superfluous, then certainly not very useful. What a pity!

HB

London Anarchist Forum

Meets Fridays at about 8pm at Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Square, London WC1R 4RL. Admission is free but a collection is made to cover the cost of the room.

- 1995 PROGRAMME -

23rd June General discussion

30th June Anarchism and Sociology: the ideas of Norbert Elias (speaker Peter Neville)

7th July General discussion

14th July Arguments in favour of Government (discussion led by Michael Murray)

21st July General discussion

28th July Anarcho-Syndicalism: an outdated myth? (speaker Dave Dane)

It has been suggested we continue meetings over August, a time we know many international comrades come to London and want to meet 'the British anarchists'. Anyone interested in coming, especially those interested in giving a talk or leading a discussion, please contact either Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (telephone number 0181-847 0203, not too early in the day please) giving subject and prospective dates and we will do our best to accommodate. A collection is made to pay for the £15 cost of the room. Donations are accepted from those who cannot attend regularly but wish to see the continuation of these meetings. August continuation will depend upon demand.

Peter Neville / Dave Dane
London Anarchist Forum

FREEDOM fortnightly

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