

# anarchist fortnightly Freedom

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FIFTY PENCE

"More and more people are coming to suspect that the citizen's real enemy nowadays is the man he sets in power over him."

Edward Hyams

## ONCE AGAIN - AFTER 35 YEARS WE ARE CALLING ALL SOCIALISTS!

We cannot resist quoting from the opening paragraph of an editorial in *Freedom* (weekly) way back in October 1959\* when the Labour Party had just lost the third general election in a row and was going through the usual 'post-mortem' as to why.

While making it clear that "it should not be inferred that we are either interested in resuscitating the corpse or of offering advice on how to win the next elections" we expressed our interest in reaching those socialists among the millions who voted Labour and the millions who didn't vote at all. And we pointed out that "the best time to try to remove illusions about socialism-via-the-ballot-box is surely now and not at election time ... [when] objectivity is pitifully taxed by sentimental political loyalties, promises by one of the parties on issues on which they feel strongly ..."

Thirty five years on our suggestion that genuine socialists should take stock of the political scene as to whether they are proposing to

### KEN 'PIFFLE' CLARKE THE BANKERS' MAN

Last month Ken ('piffle') Clarke went on a ten-day tour of Hong Kong, Indonesia and the Philippines apparently 'promoting British business'. Simpletons, including this writer, would assume that he was selling manufactures produced here - including the favourite British export these days, armaments. No, not even weapons. We quote from *The Independent* of 11th January:

"Mr Clarke's strongest sales pitch was for British bankers. He took along representatives from Barings, BZW, Kleinwort Benson, Morgan Grenfell and SG Warburg, hoping to sell their advice on privatisation and investment."

In other words, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was promoting British investment in the cheapest labour part of the world which can only add to making more and more industries in Britain unable to compete either in exports or on the home markets.

contribute to a repetition of the electoral farce is, today, even more relevant than in 1959.

Forget the sexual 'scandals' which are about the only 'human' side to the Tory politicians (even if they buy their kinky orgies and their mistresses) which get most publicity, but we must expose all the corruption (legalised and otherwise), the nepotism, the freemasonry, the big business deals and the City rackets.

But when Douglas Brown, Labour's Shadow Chancellor, can only oppose the Tories by repeating what even the Toriest millionaire press is saying: that taxes now being imposed are higher than they were in 1979 when Labour was last in government, and by implication that a Labour government would not have imposed similar taxes - then he is as big a

hypocrite as Ken Clarke who in spite of the evidence declares that it is all 'piffle'!

It is a waste of space and paper to underline our arguments by quoting the anti-Tory bombardment on the subject by the media. Election day is far off. But nearer the time that same millionaire press will be doing what they always do, and the gullible public will once more put their cross of slavery for the party that promises them a bigger slice of the consumerist cake.

A recent survey showed that only 18% of those interviewed had faith in politicians, whereas more than 40% believed in God. Yet the Churches are empty and more than  
*(continued on page 2)*

## UNTO THE RICH STILL MORE SHALL BE GIVEN!

The present debate raging in the Parliamentary talking-shop and in the media as to whether the Tories won the last elections under false pretences - as the party of low taxation - is yet another irrelevancy that distracts the public from the real social and economic issues in a capitalist society.

In any society - anarchist or capitalist - the services we all need must be provided and those who are involved in so doing must be guaranteed, by the rest of us otherwise engaged, the basic necessities of life. And vice versa.

It is only in a capitalist society where a minority can afford - that is have a bank balance - to contribute nothing to society, but can afford to pay for everything that society produces and provides.

These parasites are never criticised by the media nor by the politicians. Their criticisms are reserved for those 'lazy unemployed' who haven't the initiative to get on their bikes to find jobs (they never suggest where they should go on their bikes).

At one time, long ago, the Labour

Party looked upon taxation - apart from financing the 'welfare state' - as a means of 'redistributing wealth'. They only succeeded - even if unintentionally - in making the rich richer at the expense of the poor!

The Tories have been in office for the past fifteen years and so far as they were, and are, concerned the rich must be preserved at all costs, and they have been very successful. As an example of the Tories as the 'tax-cutting party' the minister recently gave a list of tax cuts under the Tories which included that for the super-rich from 83% to 40%!

The privatisations of gas, electricity, British Telecom et alia have all feathered the nests of the moneyed class, who could buy shares and within months realise sizeable profits if they so wished. And in retrospect people are aware that the privatisation of electricity without any conditions as to using coal from British mines is responsible for the virtual destruction of the industry and of some 40,000 more miners  
*(continued on page 2)*

# CALLING ALL SOCIALISTS!

(continued from page 1)

70% of the political cynics go and put their cross when the General Election charade takes place!

Yes, a charade. The three main parties are only concerned with votes. They are more than ever aware that the general public has been well brainwashed to be only interested in what they think to be their 'self-interest'. It's not a recent phenomenon. Going back again to the third successive Tory victory in 1959, Freedom commented in an editorial on 'Self-Interest and Voting' (24th October 1959): "The pattern of voting in the recent General Election was, so the political analysts tell us, determined by its self-interest".

We challenged this uninformed, brainwashed self-interest as described by the media. To a correspondent who asked us: "When will you get it into your heads that apathy and self-interest in politics brings a de Gaulle nearer and anarchism yet further away?", we replied:

"Surely such a question is not meant for us but for the leaders of the Labour Party. Self-interest as we understand it presupposes a very active interest in what is going on around us: how else can we know where our real self-interest lies? We don't get excited about 'politics' for three weeks every five years; it is part of our daily lives, influencing our relationships and contacts and informing our attitudes and values. Apathy, superficial self-interest, nationalism, racialism, ruthlessness in human relations, envy and material insatiability, these are the products of party politics. Little wonder that most anarchists and honest socialists refuse to become embroiled in the party game."

Today more than ever the party political game is for votes not for ideas nor ideals. The only 'honest' politicians are the Tories and Liberals. Their 'honesty' is that they wholeheartedly believe in the capitalist system: anything that can make a profit is worth doing no matter if others suffer as a result! But how much better are the Labour lot? Their ideal is that everybody should have the opportunity to 'get to the top' of the capitalist ladder! And as we have been going on pointing out, such a ladder leaves a lot of people at the bottom without 'prospects' in the capitalist society.

We anarchists oppose the Labour Party with the same energy as we oppose the Tories and Liberals for the simple reason

\* Both this article and the next one quoted here were included in a volume of Freedom editorials with the title *The Impossibilities of Social Democracy*, published by Freedom Press in 1978, which covered the thirteen years the Labour Party were in Opposition. *Political Studies*, a non-anarchist journal, commended it to its readers "for exposing the way the Labour Party - from Gaitskill to Bevan and all points between - was busy selling out socialist ideals to the greater glory of the state and personal political ambition". And concluded that it was "wonderful value for anyone who wishes to learn - or be reminded of - the Labour Party's hesitant wanderings in the desert of thirteen wasted years".

A few copies of *The Impossibilities of Social Democracy* (142 pages, ISBN 0 900384 16 6) are available at £2 post free. Warning: plastic binding in 1978 was not what it is now. No claims for faulty binding!

that we consider the capitalist system rotten to the core and it is this system that the Labour Opposition supports without question. 'Calling all Socialists' is directed to all genuine socialists who realise that nothing will change (forget the minor reforms of no real importance) so long as the capitalist system becomes ever more entrenched.

Recall that it is not only under Tory governments that the rich get richer and the poor poorer. It was just the same under Labour rule. One should add the proviso that in 1945 Labour took over with a massive majority after a war of destruction not only of the infrastructure but of industry and, while introducing the Welfare State, had to finance the price of war and the 'appreciative' electorate chucked them out in 1951. The Tories remained in office until 1964 for what since have been called the 'thirteen wasted Tory years' and their massive public debt was again taken over by a Labour government which then introduced draconian measures to get rid of that massive debt and, sure enough, in 1970 was voted out of office! Such are the whims of the electorate in our so-called democracy!

So, can the genuine socialists ever win by the ballot box? We say NO! But why trust the anarchists? Will you trust Labour's most respected spokesman, and Prime Minister during the Labour Party's most 'successful' government? This is what Clement Attlee wrote in *The Labour Party in Perspective*, a 'bestseller' of the Left Book Club in 1937, eight years before his party won the elections of 1945:

"The Labour Party stands for such great changes in the economic and social structure that it cannot function successfully unless it obtains a majority which is prepared to put its principles into practice. Those principles are so far-reaching that they affect every department of the public services and every phase of policy. The plain fact is that a Socialist Party cannot hope to make a success of administering the capitalist system because it does not believe in it. This is the fundamental objection to all the proposals that are put forward for the formation of a Popular Front in this country" (our italics).

The passage we have italicised says it all, apart from, alas, adding a contemporary footnote that the present Labour Party is neither Socialist nor anti-capitalist!

So the anarchist alternative demands that socialists and all thinking people who cannot close their eyes to the social and economic chaos into which the world is plunged, should take anarchism into account as the only serious alternative to the capitalist system. More so since the collapse of authoritarian communism (that is, from above) in the Soviet Union.

And unlike all political, religious, social and economic systems, anarchism needs neither Popes, gurus, inspired leaders of men nor experts for its success.

Anarchism, or something approaching that ideal, depends on a massive movement of the dispossessed and of all people of good will determined to replace greed, the exploitation of the weak, privilege, money power, the consumerist,

wasteful, superficial society, by a society which demands as its first priority that all citizens should have without question the basic comforts of a civilised existence - food, shelter, clothing, education, and an infrastructure second to none, health services, public transport, roads, libraries, all the arts. A society in which everybody will have an opportunity to make their contribution to the commonweal.

Unlike Messrs Lilley, Howard, Portillo, et alia, anarchists are not worried about the problem of work-shy citizens in an anarchist society. Who wouldn't be work-shy faced with a monotonous, repetitious job for forty hours a week, underpaid by (in most cases) an invisible boss who was living it up on the proceeds of his 'slaves' labour? But the idea that the unemployed today are unemployed because they are lazy and didn't take Lord Tebbit's advice and get on their bikes to look for work is quite fantastic in that it does not take into account the vast majority of people who are driven mad by idleness. After all, even the hereditary unemployed wives of the hereditary stinking-rich aristocracy spend hours opening bazaars and hosting appeals for 'good causes' simply because, unlike

most animals in the wild, they cannot spend whole days just looking at the ceiling or the stars!

But seriously, what do we need in our daily lives to make life worthwhile and if not permanently happy at least satisfying, stimulating by what we and our close friends and neighbours contribute to each others' *raison d'être* in this otherwise ghastly world.

Anarchism will not solve the problems of nature in the raw: earthquakes, floods and droughts (all in the news at the moment), not to mention hurricanes, typhoons and lots of other major and minor pests and diseases that afflict the planet at various times. Neither will capitalism nor the scientists nor the technologists who have the pretension to colonise outer space. In this writer's opinion we should pension-off all the scientists who think the pace at which we are exploiting and destroying the planet has still a long way to go.

In the West where we have more than enough to provide for everybody's needs we must learn to want to share that bonanza with that ever-growing minority in our midst who still haven't got the basic

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# UNTO THE RICH STILL MORE SHALL BE GIVEN!

(continued from page 1)

dumped on the labour scrap-heap. And as the advocates of gas and imported coal and nuclear power stations confidently assured the public: *cheaper electricity*. You bet!

The *Guardian's* industrial editor on 26th January reported:

"In an unusually severe swipe at the privatised industry, a committee overseeing the twelve regional electricity companies said shareholders had been favoured over customers and suggested that the power groups were taking advantage of their local monopolies."

The accusation came from the Electricity Consumers' Committee chairmen. The members of the committee, all appointed by the power industry regulator in consultation with Michael Heseltine, the Trade and Industry Secretary, head twelve regional committees in England and Wales.

The new row over prices comes shortly after the regional companies reported record half-year profits and huge increases in dividends to shareholders ...

In a joint statement the chairmen said that against a background of rising profits and dividends, domestic consumers were left wondering if the companies were 'taking advantage of their monopoly position in the domestic market. With lower coal prices, lower interest rates and boasts of large reductions in employee numbers and operating costs, we feel that, although the investor has prospered, the benefits of privatisation for the ordinary, non-investing customers have, to date, been totally inadequate. In our view a significant price reduction is now overdue."

Presumably a minister will emerge to say that all this is socialist 'piffle'! But before he does, another interesting item for those Freedom readers who already have problems paying their electricity

bills even before the 8% VAT is imposed in April.

Our electricity account at Freedom Press last month was accompanied by a leaflet from London Electricity referring to the forthcoming VAT and explaining "how it will be charged on your electricity bill". All quite straightforward on page one: we've all got to pay 8% from April and 17½% from April 1995. But as everything under capitalism, 'some are more equal than others', and the next page refers to "Advance Payments" and the one after to "How to make an advance payment".

Who in their right minds would bother to pay in advance for anything unless a carrot was dangled before their eyes? And here is the 'carrot':

"Any advance payments received on or before 31 March 1994, which result in your electricity account being in credit on 31 March 1994 will mean that no VAT will be charged on your electricity bills from 1 April 1994 until this credit has been used up."

So once more the rich can make a profit just by transferring a few thousand pounds from their deposit accounts, where at the moment they may be getting 3% net, and pass it on to private enterprise electricity and get out of paying 8% this year and 17½% next year on their electricity bills.

Obviously the government knows about this racket and has approved. Or will the minister in about a year's time when the Opposition 'discovers' this racket declare (like the Iraq racket) that he just can't be *au fait* with all that's going on in his department.

When will we the worms turn?



"Anyone with the brains of a nut can see the trend. Free trade is no new refrain."

So who gains? Is it the West? Certainly not all of us. Manufacturing could account for only 10% of the workforce in thirty years time according to Ms Julius and Mr Brown in a prize-winning essay (*Financial Times*, 15th November 1993).

Why the prize? Anyone with the brains of a nut can see the trend. Free trade is no new refrain. In the last century it was the textile industry that was to be the first beneficiary. In the last fifteen years jobs in this area have dropped by 50% in France, according to a recent parliamentary committee, and official figures show that we have achieved similar results in ten years. The pattern is repeated elsewhere. Some benefit. Contrary to the conclusion of prize-winning essays, the outcome is not a transfer of jobs to other sectors: it's unemployment. The usual line is that developed countries will have the high-tech industries and the third world and eastern Europe will do the menial work. But low-tech, medium-tech and high-tech jobs are already going.

Computer programming and software services, for example, are easily based in 'electronic export zones'. Big UK companies

## Free Trade?

Free trade goes beyond democratic control by its very nature. NAFTA, for example, is inherently anti-democratic. As John Negroponte, ex-US Ambassador to Mexico, stated in a confidential memo recently: "The FTA can be seen as an instrument to promote, consolidate and guarantee continued policies of economic reform in Mexico and beyond the Salinas administration ... the FTA negotiations themselves will be a useful lever in prying open the Mexican economy". And if votes go the wrong way ideological support can be brought in.

Michael Prowse for the *Financial Times*, for example, on 15th November 1993: "With luck, the US ... will vote ... in favour of NAFTA ... Yet the vote could still go the wrong way" which will "... raise serious questions about the US political process ... Mexican misgivings about NAFTA, while misguided, are understandable. The treaty would expose sensitive Mexican sectors ... to an economy that is 25 times larger" (emphasis added). Putting aside racist patronage, Prowse doesn't bother to address these 'misgivings', he is only concerned with the American debate where he points out that there had been arguments against Japan. So if both countries are a threat with whom can the US trade? "... presumably only a country with exactly the same level of wages, exactly the same working practices and a bilateral trade account that is always precisely in balance." Anarchists would share neither his elitism nor his sarcasm, but his seeming belief that there is a level playing field between a country with eighteen times the GDP of Mexico is laughable. But his real agenda is elsewhere. He continues: "NAFTA provides a classic example of a serious failing of modern democracies". It had been felt that representatives would support "the interests of the nation as a whole". However, they support "narrow sectional interests of their regions or the groups, such as unions or professions, that lavishly financed their campaigns". We need "general rules, perceived to be in the nation's long-term interests, that must be applied in particular circumstances regardless of the consequences for specific groups". This is language being used to mask a reality. Such writers use the term 'sectional interests' to refer to unions / unemployed / people of colour / women and 'nation's long-term interest' to refer to corporate interests. Thus translated, democracy is okay when it supports the establishment.

# Focus on ... Trade and Aid

are reported as using Indian computer programming. Given that Indian programmers reportedly earn less than £2,000 a year, it's not hard to see why.

It is not the West that will gain. Although the UK has grown richer over recent decades it is common knowledge that this wealth is becoming more unevenly distributed. Those at the bottom of the pile, say the bottom 10%, are worse off as income differentials have widened, partially but not wholly, because of the 100 or so who have been put out of work every day since May 1979. The '80s set the trend that will continue with or without the trade agreements. They can only exacerbate the problem. The UK is already a low-wage economy in Western terms, which should make us an investors dream, except Mexico has labour costs about one sixth of ours (35 pence an hour in one television plant).

Throughout the world, governments are emulating Britain and Mexico aiming to lure multinational investment. Hence the rise of the so-called export processing zones - bits of national territory using cheap labour to produce consumer goods for the industrialised countries. There are now an estimated 260 such zones in 67 countries.

**"Between 1982 and 1990, the Third World gave the West \$418 billion - six times what the US gave to Europe after the war under the Marshall plan."**

Clearly then we are not going to gain. We look forward to the prize-winning essay which points out that the main winners are the big multinationals - the 500 companies that already control two-thirds of world trade - and who will have an even wider choice of cheap locations for their factories. Other winners in the West will find the return on their original stake somewhat marginal and somewhat offset by deteriorations in working conditions. Generally, however, the south will continue to be the major losers. The impression given by the Western media is that the rich world subsidises the poor world. This is false. Between 1982 and 1990, according to the OECD, the Third World gave the West, after all aid and investment is taken into account, the staggering sum of \$418 billion - six times what the US gave to Europe after the war under the Marshall plan (*The Independent*, 12th December 1993). This is free trade.

However, we are not pessimistic. To see the GATT as a setback is to see it as important. As we have demonstrated, it is simply part of a process which contains within itself its own antithesis.

Western states are living on borrowed time. Huge sums of money are now going on social security, unemployment all over the West. As the problem grows their petty budgetary solutions make King Canute look like Red Adair. The system will crack and alternatives will impose themselves, either fascist or

libertarian. However, as we say, we are not pessimistic. A more local economy has always been the anarchist refrain as a social and political solution for it is in small communities that state intervention is last required.

Governments can't stop it happening, indeed it is already happening throughout the world where the informal economy is established ... but that is the subject of a future 'Focus ...'

**Another round-up of GATT is concluded, NAFTA is in the bag and APEC is up and running. Has much changed? How will the future be different?**

**The Trade Agreements are simply tracing the path that capitalism is already taking as we move towards the next millennium. It is a process already on the go ...**

By increasing world trade, we are told, tomorrow's jam is assured. No doubt GATT will increase world trade. But world trade has increased more than eleven-fold since World War Two and on a global scale there is now more poverty, more unemployment and more environmental destruction than ever before. In the West the welfare state was constructed to stifle demands for an egalitarian society, but it can't cope under the monstrous strain of trying to hold back a sea of deprivation.

Without a GATT, more than a million new jobs a year will be needed in the medium term future just to cope with the growth in the labour force within the confines of the European Union. But the global market, with or without a GATT, means you can get labour cheaper elsewhere ... no wonder the UK's top 1,000 companies are widely reported to have shed about one sixth of their workforce in the year to last March.

So are we scaremongering when we speak of the unemployment, etc., already caused by free trade? Let's flesh out the bones. With the NAFTA agreement a new trade relationship with Mexico is supposed to be in the offing. Yet in the town of Laredo, Texas, no one has been waiting for the NAFTA. There has been a build-up in US-Mexican trade since the mid '80s.

And there's no slow-down. '89 to '92 saw a doubling in the merchandise going through the town. Peter Vargas, the town manager, says: "I don't think NAFTA will be a dramatic increase". We agree.

**"Cheap labour is the bread and butter of free trade."**

Over the border, Nuevo Laredo has seen what US investment means. Under the Maquiladora programme assembly plants can receive components from the US side tariff-free, provided the finished articles are re-exported

to the US. Cheap labour is the bread and butter of free trade.

Twenty thousand people work in the 70-odd Maquiladoras in Nuevo Laredo. Most of the jobs have come since 1986, when there were only 22 plants employing a total of 4,000 people. The set up is already worth \$27.6 billion and gives 290,000 jobs to the Texan economy (*Financial Times*, 15th November 1993).

**"These people throw their waste into the street. Each evening there's a smell like paint-thinner, but worse ..."**

Colonia Moreno, also in the scheme, is an environmental disaster. A decade ago Presto Lock from the US opened a factory. Residents' leader Mr Mendoza said: "These people throw their waste into the street. Each evening there's a smell like paint-thinner, but worse. People complain of headaches, vomiting and skin allergies." Tests on the drains revealed heavy metals up to ten times permitted levels (*The Guardian*, 19th November 1993).

## DOLLAR IMPERIALISM

**The Chinese 'success story' - at a price in human misery**

To the peasants who farmed the cabbage fields, the opening by a South Korean firm of a new shoe factory in the village of Hexinzhuang, on the outskirts of the north-eastern city of Tianjin, brought the hope of decent jobs and high wages.

They were wrong. They were required, until recently, to work from 8am until 9pm, with an hour off for lunch. They were paid an average 14 cents (9p) an hour for sewing leather shoes by hand for export to the US. Unlike Chinese state factories, the South Koreans provided no housing, no medical benefits and no job security ...

The workers at the Hanbee Shoe Company went on strike for three days in late February. Several hundred went on strike again in June. They were among the largest labour protests in a country where strikes are almost unheard of.

The factory is a microcosm of a growing problem between Chinese workers, brought up in a cradle-to-grave welfare system, and foreign companies from capitalist economies in Asia and the West.

Foreign interest in China has soared as the economy has recovered from a slump in the late 1980s to become the fastest-growing in the world. In 1992 foreign investment hit \$11 billion (£7.38 billion), up from \$4.2 billion the previous year. US officials predict it will reach \$23 billion in 1993. The biggest investors are from Hong Kong, Japan, the US, Taiwan and South Korea.

To attract more foreign investment, the authorities have relaxed restrictions on wholly foreign-owned enterprises in recent years. But most labour disputes are at foreign-funded enterprises, according to official reports.

Some foreign-funded enterprises delay payment of wages and impose long hours and poor working conditions ...

In 1992 China approved more than 40,000 foreign-funded enterprises, almost equalling the number approved during the previous thirteen years. By the end of last year only one per cent of foreign-funded enterprises had a union ...

Hanbee's South Korean workers earn \$400 to \$500 a month, compared with its Chinese workers' \$30. Hanbee's president, Dong Joon Lee, said South Koreans were more efficient. "South Korean workers can hand sew 70 to 80 pairs of shoes a day," he said. "Here a Chinese worker at most can sew 30 to 40 pairs."

Source: *The Washington Post*

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## Mexico: magical realism confronts heroic materialism

— PART 2 —

OCTAVIO PAZ

### El nudo de Chiapas



EL PAÍS, viernes 7 de enero de 1994

International Monetary Fund and World Bank tight money policies of the 1980s, and has been remade into a development package for the 1990s. To bring in overseas capital Mexico has promised to curb wages and 'discipline' the labour force. The pay of its industrial workers, in real terms, dropped 40% in the 1980s. Even NAFTA supporters, says Birns and Nagel, "admit that since 90% of Mexican companies employ fewer than 100 workers, unemployment will skyrocket as withering competition from foreign multinationals causes massive plant closures".

With the relative decline of US global economic power, Birns and Nagel claim: "Washington seems to have fashioned a new strategy based on freeing markets and utilising cheap labour while breaking down barriers to commerce and investment". They add: "this approach has further disadvantaged Mexico's already marginalised population, Washington hopes to use the hemisphere as a springboard for its re-emergence as a more competitive player in the world market."

## Raven 23

on  
SPAIN SINCE FRANCO  
and  
EMMA GOLDMAN

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On the map Chiapas is well to the south of Morelos, the site and base of the original Zapata rebellion. At the end of 1914 it was outside the control of both the armies commanded by Villa and Zapata and of the constitutional forces of Carranza and Obregon. In the 1910 Mexican Revolution it looks like the jungle areas around Chiapas and the frontier with Guatemala were not of central concern to the main participants in that conflict.

Yet today the rough outline of life in Chiapas presented by Octavio Paz seems to fit the model of peasant rebellion described by Eric Wolf:

"Peasant anarchism and an apocalyptic vision of the world together provide the ideological fuel that drives the rebellious peasantry. The peasant rebellions of the twentieth century are no longer responses to local problems, if indeed they ever were. They are but the parochial reactions to major social dislocations, set in motion by overwhelming societal change. The spread of the market has torn men up by their roots and shaken them loose from the social relationships into which they were born... A peasant uprising under such circumstances, for any of the reasons we have sketched, can 'without conscious intent - bring the entire society to the state of collapse.'"

We arrive now at the market place, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), to what some call capitalism and Kenneth Clarke, the art historian, described as "heroic materialism" - the glorious system which is cheerfully wrecking lives, customs and culture in the name of economic self interest.

#### Culture and the market

The problem which NAFTA seems to set out to solve is the issue of the historic US-Mexican relationship - the yankee and the gringo dominating the native Mexican, the illegal immigrant and the US border guards, the North American culture of 'heroic materialism' and the 'magical realism' of Latin America.

Larry Birns and John Nagel (*Why Some Prefer Zapata to NAFTA*) say:

"Hardly anywhere in the world has a nation so rich bordered on one so poor, with one being so strong, the other so weak, so exotic, so incomprehensible."

The NAFTA deal is inspired by the

## Death of Federica Montseny

Federica Montseny, the influential figure in anarcho-syndicalist circles in Spain before and during the Spanish Revolution, has died in Toulouse (France) at the age of 88.

There will be a longer, critical article in a future *Freedom*, but here we wish to summarise some of the points of importance and controversy surrounding the life and work of this person - an associate of Durruti's - "who never in her long life, even nearing death, renounced her anarchist ideals" (*El Pais*, 16th January 1994).

From an anarchist point of view she sacrificed her beliefs when she joined the Republican Government, from a feminist point of view it was a victory and as a Spanish national in her later years she has become a symbol of reconciliation.

Although *El Pais*, the main Spanish newspaper, has devoted many pages of articles and a thoughtful editorial, otherwise there has been a deafening silence, notably in Catalonia, marking her death.

For Federica has also become an uncomfortable reminder of the unifying force of anarchism in the new political climate of separatism.

But whatever reservations we may have about her political ineptitude, she is remembered in Spain with great affection for her work on abortion and prostitution, and at the same time reminding us of the importance of anarchism as a living and renewing force in history.

The recent rising has knocked the wind out of stock market expectations; prices on the Mexico City stock market fell dramatically this week after bombs went off both there and in Acapulco. A picture of Mexico City is given in Luis Buñuel's autobiography:

"... since the country's natural resources are so unevenly distributed, millions have fled the countryside and poured into the cities, creating the sprawling and chaotic ciudades perdidas (shanty towns) on the outskirts of all the big urban centres. No one knows how many people live in these teeming 'suburbs', although some say the sprawl outside Mexico City is the most densely populated area in the world. Whatever the case, its growth is vertiginous (close to a thousand peasants arrive every day), and predictions claim that there'll be 30,000 people living in these slums by the year 2000."

What have the Mexicans got to look forward to?

Well, they have been getting the cream of North American culture. As B. Traven, in his Mexican book *The Bridge in the Jungle* (1940), says: "... international borders ... weren't barriers against the spread of our mighty culture". Crooners like Bing Crosby and composers like Berlin have reached into the depth of the Latin American jungles. Then, if things go well, Traven hints: "Over this trail blazed by our dance songs, there would soon arrive Fords, vacuum cleaners, electric refrigerators, air-conditioned grass huts, jungle-coloured bathrooms, windmill-driven television, canned alligator stew and pulverised hearts of young palm trees."

With all this junk food and market economics, is it any wonder the peasants are getting indigestion, and some are turning to rebellion.

Traven thinks the peasants should have been given the Gettysburg Address and genuine democracy instead of all this muck and consumerism - man as a mere extension of a plastic banker's card. But many would now

see the modern centralised nation state and democracy as part of the problem rather than the solution.

The Mexican rulers are trying to present the nation as a modern unified nation state, which is aiming to hitch a lift on some kind of medium to long-term economic miracle through NAFTA and the US. The Zapatistas stress a more ethnic nationalism appealing to indigenous Indian peasants, and are now calling for an end to United States military and economic aid to Mexico.

The loss of community and the growth of what Patricia Mayo, the anthropologist, has called the modern 'Jacobin' state with its economic planning controls, seems to be at the heart of many of the conflicts now besetting modern societies. This view suggests that today's ethnic revival stems from the twin pressures of centralising administration and government by a modernising elite determined to educate the ignorant masses. Political parties of right and left, with few exceptions, have failed to halt disorientation and disgruntlement and have generally favoured centralisation and state control, particularly when in office.

At least the Mexicans have their 'magical realism' to fall back on. What have we Europeans got left?

The moral and intellectual failure of Marxism, according to Lord Clarke, has left us with no alternative to 'heroic materialism'. And, he says, "that isn't enough".

And what if, as some think, even 'heroic materialism' is a civilisation suffering from the complications of old age? Will we get again what Burckhardt called the coming of the "terrible simplifiers": those like the Nazis who reject even what is good in modern society in order, as Mumford suggests, to restore the capacity to act?

Perhaps the alternative is to find some benign method of simplification which will, as Lewis Mumford says, "assert the primacy of the person and that will re-endow the person with all its attributes, all its heritage, all its potentialities".

This is clearly not a job for 'heroic materialism' but for some form of anarchism, or perhaps Tolstoyanism.

Brian Bamford

## Inside India

Opposition to and mobilisation against the Dunkel Draft and the practical implications of GATT continue to emerge in India. Furthermore, in a recent development farmers and scientists' movements against the Dunkel Draft have been joined by popular movements campaigning against cultural invasion.

The alliance intends to intensify its agitation throughout 1994 with the action plan including, on the one hand, boycotting seeds produced by transnational corporations and developing the exchange of seeds among farmers through farmer-run seed banks, and on the other hand, calling on Indian people at large to boycott McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken and satellite television.

All this was announced at a recent press conference addressed jointly by M.D. Nanjundaswamy of the Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sangh (KRSS), Swami Agnivesh of Bhartiya Sanskriti Abhiyan (BSA) and Vandana Shiva from the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Natural Research Policy.

It is intended that the seed boycott will be supported by a positive programme in regard to the protection and conservation of seeds, although the main thrust of the campaign will be to meet the multinational corporations (MNC's) head-on. The alliance is in the process of identifying key MNC's involved in agriculture, agroprocessing and the food trade with a view to direct action campaigns. Already the slogan 'Yesterday Cargill,

tomorrow the rest' is in vogue.

At the press conference Vandana Shiva argued that the struggle for the seed is amongst the most crucial issues facing Southern countries. Basically farmers using company seeds, in the aftermath of the acceptance of the Dunkel Draft, will have to give up the age-old practice of saving seeds for next year's planting. This will lock them not only into perpetual economic and financial dependence to corporations, but also into the technological package that accompanies the characteristic of the seeds. As most corporation seeds are deliberately made to require heavy doses of inorganic fertiliser and chemical pesticides and herbicides, farmers will be forced to buy these inputs as well, driving their costs upwards and squeezing their net income.

Moreover, the technology that is pushed with the patented seed is environmentally unsound. Both the Green Revolution package with high chemical doses and the new biotechnologies with unpredictable risks of introducing new genetically-engineered organisms into the environment are highly threatening. They will complete the task of wiping out the great diversity of seeds and crops in farmers' traditional and ecological systems, to be replaced with agricultural monocultures and all their attendant risks. However, if the mobilisation by the KRSS is anything to go by, a mighty struggle lies ahead.

John Shotton

Think globally, act locally, is a slogan presently popular among environmentalists and many on the libertarian left. The second part of this sentiment at least is practised by most of the inhabitants of Hebden Bridge and the surrounding settlements in this Pennine valley. A proposal by National Wind Power, a company jointly owned by National Power plc and Taylor Woodrow Construction Holdings Ltd, to build a wind factory (sorry, farm) on the moors above the town has provoked passionate opposition from almost everyone. It is the main subject of conversation in shop and pub. Local newspapers have no difficulty in filling their pages with letters and comment. The £20 million proposal is to build 44 wind turbines, each 40 metres high with 40 metre diameter blades at the top, on 605 acres of common land. As high as a ten storey block of flats these turbines will, many believe, desecrate a wild landscape and be visible 40 miles away.

The plan, prepared over months of secret consultations with planning officers of Calderdale Metropolitan Borough Council (CMBC), only became public knowledge a few weeks before the date fixed for council approval, leaving little time for opponents of the scheme to express their views. This subfuscation was compounded by identifying the site as Flaigh Hill when it was known to the locals as Cock Hill Moor.

Local government, being closer to the people and more likely to respond to their wishes than the national variety, can be considered less objectionable, but the CMBC, although smaller than most similar units, appears to have made no attempt to find out the views of the people most affected by the proposal. There are two lower levels of administration. Hebden Royd Town Council has expressed severe reservations about the scheme, but it was only at the lowest, almost powerless Parish Council level, closest to the views of the people, that opposition exploded. Wadsworth Parish Council, in whose area lies the proposed site and who had not previously been consulted, expressed almost unanimous opposition and was supported by all the surrounding Parish Councils. This was followed by the setting up of Flaigh Hill Wind Farm Opposition Group.

This is not a reactionary or backward part of the country and there is general support for the use of non-fossil fuel sources of energy and

# Pennine News and Views

rejection of the use of nuclear power, but there is a feeling that the harnessing of wind power, promoted and developed by alternative energy groups who visualised the use of small-scale non-intrusive generating units, has been hijacked by big business interested only in profits. A smaller wind farm which opened recently on nearby Ovenden Moor attracted little opposition but, now that people realise where this policy is leading, views have changed. The present rash of developments which threatens to cover the moors of Northern England and parts of Wales and Scotland appears to be stimulated more by financial greed than any concern for the environment. The rewards are considerable, for the landowner a minimum estimate of £2,500 per wind turbine per year and for the company the prospect of quick profits based on a government subsidy. Regional electricity companies are committed to buying non-fossil-fuel-produced electricity at over four times the price of the fossil fuel equivalent, financed by a hidden 10% levy on

everyone's electricity bill. These moors, although designated a Special Landscape Area, are particularly vulnerable lying as they do between the protected Yorkshire Dales and Peaks National Parks and could end up with a wind farm on every hilltop, the result of a dash for cash while the subsidy lasts. Faced with a government that destroyed the coal mining industry to spike the militancy of the coal miners, and which now has to cope with the increasing unpopularity of the nuclear industry, conspiracy theorists might be forgiven for seeing this as part of a plan to divide and confuse environmentalists. Should anyone have expected Labour Party support for this grassroots campaign they would have been disillusioned by the words of one CMBC labour councillor who accused the people opposing the scheme of being middle class interlopers, telling them to stop their bullying

and let those "properly appointed deal with this properly". On a cold Sunday, 12th January, several hundred people, of all ages and no doubt classes, walked three miles up the valley from Hebden Bridge on to the windswept moor, the proposed site, to hear speeches from representatives of many different sections of the community and express their own opposition to the plan. It would be easy to dismiss all this as an example of NIMBYism (Not In My Backyard), but no part of the environment movement can ignore such an upsurge of public feeling without discrediting itself and appearing to be a know-all and as arrogant as the nuclear industry, claiming to know what is best for us. If green proposals are not people-friendly as well as environmentally friendly and if there is no local community benefit or involvement, then public opposition is more, much more, than mere NIMBYism. A decision would have been made by the council on the day after the demonstration, but a few days earlier National Wind Power had asked them to postpone their deliberations to give the company more time to consider the objections. But who can doubt that they will be back with an ever so slightly scaled down plan which they hope will split the opposition. But it won't.

HS

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## Through the Anarchist Press

Readers may remember a new year resolution of mine that I would endeavour for a year not to read anything else but the anarchist press and see whether by the end of the year I shall be any wiser. I have kept to this resolution, which has resulted in two unforeseen boons – one that I had a lot of extra time reading books, and the other that I have been able to concentrate a bit better on anarchist matters as raised in *Freedom* and in other vital periodicals.

One book which I had at last finished reading and enjoyed immensely is *Tristram Shandy*, which I would recommend to comrades to while away the time as they are manning barricades or worse. Another author whom I found soporific is Thomas de Quincey, whose great wish was "if I were dug up two centuries hence, I should be found a perfect specimen of a fossil Tory" and I found this to be a true prophecy. He is best when he quotes others such as "*Gaudensque viam fecisse ruina*" (referring to our rulers no doubt, to a race of man of furious destroyers exulting in the desolation they spread).

Asbestos in the underground, read all about it, I found documented in a scholarly work by Ellis Hillman in his *London under London: a subterranean guide* (John Murray, 1993) which is full of interesting snippets on London's lost rivers, its decaying sewers and other such wonders. But clearly the bit of news which ought to become a screaming headline in newspapers I will not see, on which questions will be asked in Parliament and will become a source of much television drama and perhaps will result in a demand for the shutting down of the whole system of London Underground transport until the situation is remedied, is contained in the following comment brazenly printed on page 129 of the aforementioned book: "London Underground at night can be a terrifying place, especially if we were to encounter what London Transport night crews call the 'Asbestos Train', which resembles a vast vacuum operated snow-plough, and travels very slowly – less than a mile an hour – through the tunnels sucking up rubbish. Officially that is its only function. It does have another role however. For over fifty years London Transport's engine brakes have been lined with asbestos.

The asbestos content of the brake lining is less than five per cent, but each time a brake is applied tiny particles of asbestos are released into the atmosphere. Over the years, a film has built up on the tunnel lining which, each time the air is disturbed by a train, is blown from the walls into the faces of the passengers waiting on the platforms. Soon a new Swedish brake lining which does not use asbestos will be available, but for some years yet the systematic vacuuming of the tunnels – removing the asbestos along with the rubbish – must go on, preferably at night when as few people as possible know about it" Such is the paternalistic society we live in today. I can but print this and wait patiently for an anarchist society. In the meantime, any comment?

I had a letter from the indefatigable Ian Bone who is organising Anarchy in the UK '94, reminding me of a conversation we had at the anarchist bookfair about my being, strictly speaking, still the acting secretary of that august body the Anarchist Federation of Britain. As there is talk of its revival at the moment, he has asked me and I have agreed to initiate a debate within the Anarchy in the UK event. On the other point that I should contact interested parties, I feel this is outside the duties of an acting secretary who is no more than a letter-box, until such time as the Federation is revived and becomes a functioning body. Personally I have an open mind on this subject. Clearly the AFB was needed in the '60s because of the numerous anarchist groups which sprouted at about that time.

The provisional programme for October 21st to 30th events in London is due out for the Anarchy UK by 1st March and is available from PO Box 96, Bristol BS99 1BW (s.a.e. plus £1). It will be interesting to see how much 'mutual aid' will be offered to Ian Bone in his single-handed effort to 'shake the world in ten days'.

Which leads us to yet another quote, this time from Hugh MacDiarmid: "What happens to us / Is irrelevant to the world's geology / But what happens to the world's geology / Is not irrelevant to us."

John Reo

## Peace activists sued by arms company

Two London-based peace activists are being sued for damages in the High Court by Britain's largest arms producer, British Aerospace (BAe). Chris Cole and Milan Rai, both from London, have been involved for several years in a campaign to stop BAe's military production. Recently, they have been involved in non-violent action to halt the sale of BAe Hawk jets to Indonesia.

Rai and Cole are each being sued to a specific action. Cole's suit relates to his January 1993 ploughshare action at the company's Stevenage site, whilst Rai's suit relates to a

commemorative action at the company's London headquarters on the anniversary of the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia. Both have been convicted of criminal damage and sentenced for the acts for which BAe are now suing them. Cole's action allegedly caused over £90,000 of damage to military equipment including military aircraft and missile nosecones, whilst Rai's action allegedly cost the company £850 after he sprayed 'No Hawks to Indonesia' and other messages on the company's London building.

British Aerospace formally announced the deal to supply 24 Hawk aircraft ("designed with a significant ground attack capability" according to company literature) to the Indonesians in June '93, whilst in December '93 Reuters quoted Indonesian airforce sources saying that the talks were continuing on 16 further Hawk aircraft following the visit of Sir Michael Graydon, Britain's chief of air staff.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in December 1975 and has occupied the country ever since. Experts estimate that 200,000 Timorese, nearly a third of the pre-invasion population, have been killed since the invasion.

Both Rai and Cole pledged to continue their work and not to be intimidated by the company.

British Aerospace Campaign

## CALLING ALL SOCIALISTS!

(continued from page 2)

necessities. So long as hospital beds are not available for emergency cases, so long as we have cardboard cities in a society where some have two and three homes, so long as the Salvation Army serves up thousands of free meals a week when restaurants can advertise dishes at £10 a time, then surely not just for anarchists but for people with a conscience there is something rotten in the state ... of capitalism!

## At War With the Truth: the true story of Searchlight agent Tim Hepple

by Larry O'Hara

published by Mina Enterprises, 1993, 28 page A4 illustrated pamphlet, £2.00

This pamphlet is partly an analysis of the ostensibly anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight's* publication *At War With Society* (an 'autobiography' by their asset Tim Hepple about his activities within the British far-right); partly an update on Larry O'Hara's previous pamphlet on the same subject, *A Lie Too Far\**, and also an analysis of *Searchlight's* response to that pamphlet.

*Searchlight's* response to the first pamphlet was instructive: smears against its author and attempts by Gerry Gable (the magazine's editor) to get radical bookshops to censor the pamphlet. *Searchlight* are, of course, past-masters when it comes to smears and disinformation, having attacked anarchists, greens, animal-liberationists, squatters and 'rival' anti-fascist groups, amongst others, in their pages.

Before examining the author's claims in this pamphlet it may help to recall the history of Larry O'Hara's dispute with *Searchlight* in some detail. During the build-up to the Gulf war a split developed within *Searchlight* over the editor's opportunist anti-Arab racism and militant pro-Zionism. This led to The Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (CARF) splitting off to form their own magazine. A subsequent debate developed concerning *Searchlight* and its dubious politics. At this point Larry O'Hara, a long-time leftist and independent researcher into British fascism, entered the debate (in the pages of *London Labour Briefing*) and reminded everyone of *Searchlight's* known links to the British state: more specifically of the 'Gable memo' which proved that Gerry Gable was willing to pass (false) information to the state about leftists (see the article by Duncan Campbell et al in the *New Statesman & Society* of 15th February 1980, and/or issue number 24 of the para-politics magazine *Lobster*, which reproduces the 'memo' along with a short article concerning it and *Searchlight* in general). In the July '92 issue

\* *A Lie Too Far* available from Freedom Press Bookshop at £1.80 plus 10% postage inland, 20% overseas.

# At War with the Truth

of *Searchlight* there was an article, ostensibly by the ex-Nazi and now *Searchlight* asset Ray Hill (but more probably by Gable) which denounced O'Hara as "a political errand boy for [ex-National Front] Patrick Harrington". The 'grounds' for this claim were that O'Hara had interviewed Harrington and other fascists as part of his research into the far-right! These events were the beginning of a long and nasty smear campaign directed against O'Hara by *Searchlight*.

During the summer of '92 *Lobster* magazine (number 23) carried the first of a series of articles on aspects of modern British fascism by Larry O'Hara. The following issue (number 24) contained the second article in the series. This raised serious questions about the supposed activities of British fascists as put forward within the pages of *Searchlight*, particularly concerning the revelations of ex-Nazi Ray Hill. He was supposed to have prevented an alleged bomb plot by elements of the fascist right aimed at the Notting Hill Carnival in the early '80s. *Searchlight's* reaction to this was yet more Stalinist-style mud slinging – Gable is an 'ex'-Stalinist after all – directed not only against O'Hara but also against *Lobster* magazine. After *Searchlight* refused to print O'Hara's letters defending himself, he published the pamphlet *A Lie Too Far* in April last year. This work exposed the activities of *Searchlight* 'mole' Tim Hepple and his infiltration of, and attempts to set up for attack, *Green Anarchist* amongst other things.

Next came the *Searchlight*-published 'autobiography' by Hepple, *At War With Society*, about his activities within the far-right. This work was extracted within the *New Statesman & Society*, leading to a dispute which ended when the editors of *New Statesman & Society* (15th October issue) came out in support of O'Hara. The Hepple pamphlet substantiated many of the claims made by O'Hara in *A Lie Too Far*: for example, that Hepple had attempted to pass falsified lists of Combat 18 members to *Green Anarchist* magazine, with the obvious intention that when they printed them – which they did not – they would become targets for attack by fascists. These same lists were later

passed on to Tim Scargill of the Class War Organisation, who published them in his internal bulletin with predictable results – attacks by fascists and smears on him by *Searchlight*.

Thus we arrive at the present point in time and the pamphlet under review. The first thing to say is that this work is a big improvement on his last pamphlet on the same subject, in that it has been professionally edited, proof-read and nicely printed, and also in terms of content being much more detailed.

What O'Hara shows beyond doubt is that Hepple:

1. infiltrated left and anarchist groups whilst a *Searchlight* 'asset' and, whilst in these groups, did everything possible to encourage violent conflict with fascists and others, encouraging moves towards armed-struggle type actions;
2. was very likely not simply a fascist who saw the light. His known activities on the far-right strongly suggest the actions of an *agent provocateur*, encouraging violent conflict with political enemies (easy enough amongst many fascists!);
3. played an important role in the pagan-Nazi cult The Church of the Creator, setting up and editing its newsletter, which encouraged violent racism and attacks against named individuals, whilst he was an admitted *Searchlight* asset;
4. has a very suspicious 'career' which points to him being, beyond a (long-term) *Searchlight* asset, some sort of state agent. Although O'Hara possibly overplays this last point on the present evidence, it would certainly fit all the evidence available.

There are many other revelations in this pamphlet which totally discredit *Searchlight* as a source of information in the far-right, and raises the question of just how far the magazine's (undoubted) links to the state go. *Searchlight* is exposed as a listening-post on the left and a conduit for state disinformation.

All the sordid goings-on examined in O'Hara's pamphlet have taken place within the more general context of political anti-fascism, and its degeneration into a squalid collection of mutually hostile rackets. *Searchlight*, it seems, is just a particularly

nasty example of a phenomenon all too common within the anti-fascist milieu – which resembles a mass psychosis rather than a liberatory mass movement, more often than not. What is striking amongst anti-fascists is an unwillingness to analyse what exactly fascism is. A serious analysis of fascist ideas seems to be Larry O'Hara's primary 'crime' in the eyes of *Searchlight*.

This raises questions about the roots of anti-fascist ideology – how can an anti-anything strategy be grounds for unity anyway? To oppose something says nothing of what one believes: it's quite possible to be an anti-fascist at the same time as being a nationalist, racist, etc., etc. In an excellent and provocative article in the magazine *Here and Now* (issue #14, pages 40-44), Don Keoghty takes a critical look at the anti-fascist milieu. His conclusions are not encouraging:

"The spectacle of resurgent Nazism in the guise of the BNP works wonders for the morale of the left, who would otherwise face disorientation and the need to rethink fundamental contradictions in their own theory and practice. The old enemy appears and everyone has to close ranks: all decent people must unite, that is the symbolic function of fascism. Anti-fascism simplifies difficult issues and demands instant action, which understandably appeals to those who appear powerless."

The problem of anti-fascism is, of course, nothing new. A classic example of the anti-fascist strategy and its dismal failure was the Popular Front in Spain during the '30s. While the 'progressive' forces united against fascism people were supposed to turn a blind eye to Stalinist death squads murdering their political opponents, 'anarchists' entering the government and leftist labour bureaucrats (including syndicalists) imposing draconian labour discipline on rank-and-file workers who had a different interpretation of direct action. Political anti-fascism has *always* been a failure, even when the fascist threat has been a credible one – something that cannot be maintained in Britain today, despite recent storms-in-a-teacup.

The real fight is against the state, the wage system, racism and the 'fascism' of everyday life, not a tiny bunch of would-be Hitlers and fascist bootboys – dangerous as they are in some areas – with no credibility within the ruling class, or any large section of the general population for that matter.

S. Panza

# A Free United Europe

— PART 2 —

In the first part (22nd January 1994) the author discussed the concepts of municipal autonomy, the province and federalism.

Before discussing the New Europe from an anarchist point of view it is useful to look at the definitions of concepts. Anyone who follows the debate knows that the British government, especially, protested against a federal character in the European Political Union (EPU). The English government found it too centralistic, in the sense that the national entity would be affected to much by the federalistic structure. So it is important to make clear the theoretical difference between a so-called federation and a confederation.

As opposed to a confederation, a federation has its own constitution. Single members can withdraw unilaterally from a confederation. The sovereignty of each member remains complete. However, in a federation sovereignty is partially assigned to the supra-nation organs of the federation. The Dutch don't bother about this, the English do.

What is called a 'federation' in the present debate about Europe unquestionably shows a centralist tendency, by which the possibility grows that everything will be directed by and from Brussels. This could result in precisely what anarchists oppose: an even larger version of the unitary state. Does this mean that anarchists should support the resistance of the British government of John Major, or of various extreme right-wing parties concerned with the protection of a cultural identity?

We cannot deny that there are parallels in respect of some

of the values they defend. But the differences are obvious, because Major's England and the extreme right-wingers do not reject a capitalist economy and are not by definition 'democratic'. By this I mean that, for instance, they have a high esteem for monarchy, while anarchists present themselves as fiercely anti-monarchist.

## Principles

How can anarchists present their profile more sharply in relation to the present debate about the New Europe? For an answer to this I want to start from at least five principles. With these I reinforce the thesis that anarchism is a rational political theory. The principles are:

1. the principle of the original authority of the individual;
2. the principle of delegated power;
3. the principle of diversity;
4. the principle of cooperation;
5. the principle of solidarity.

The principles of delegated power and the principle of diversity can just as well be derived from 'constitutionalism', as constitutional lawyers call it. They are also known as the principle of separated power and the principle of differentiation. Constitutionalism helps to express the idea that power is always transferable power, and that the differentiation of power is needed to avoid a concentration of power. The principle of cooperation is a principle that is also used in international law. It says that nations establish international organisations to achieve common goals. The first principle, which says that original authority is with the individual, is not generally accepted outside anarchistic circles.

## Confederal structure

Because only individuals possess original authority, all other authorities are diverted authorities. So any form of political organisation commands, at the utmost, diverted, non-original authority. People have to cooperate in order to survive. This cooperation leads to institutionalisation and organisation. A growing cooperation always has to expand from the basic organisations, for example municipalities (as territorial entities) and companies (as functional entities). Cooperation leads to professionalism. In this way the principle of delegated power and the principle of cooperation unite. Society is built up from the bottom, and because of the many, relatively small, groups, society takes on a pluralistic character.

Anarchists apply the principle of diversity to fight the concentration of power. One of the reasons for organising society according to this principle has been known for a long time: power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Anarchists want to block the concentration of power with the help of this principle of diversity. If you complete the picture of society that arises from the combination of these principles, you arrive at a confederal structure. When classical anarchists, like Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin and later thinkers speak about the big social entities, they speak – not very surprisingly – about 'confederation'.

## Regions

Strikingly, the argument between a number of parties in Europe deals with this subject. Will Europe get a centralistic or a confederal structure? Will the notion of a polycentric (many-centres) or a monocentric (one-centred) state system dominate? In the first case the starting point is at the level of the municipalities that form the regions that make up Europe. In this case we might speak of a 'federalism without Brussels'. The notion of communalism that we saw from the Swiss lawyer Gasser, through which municipality serves as the base

(continued on page 7)

## — ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

## Rescuing Railways after British Rail

One of the forgotten poets of the 1940s, Day Lewis wrote some relevant lines: "It is the logic of our times / No subject for immortal verse / That we who lived by honest dreams / Defend the bad against the worse." He expresses precisely what I feel about the coming sell-off of British Rail. In the late 1950s the four railway companies (the result of enforced amalgamations in 1921) conducted a campaign to 'Give the Railways a Square Deal'. Their case was that bus, coach and road transport companies had an unfair advantage since they used the public roads built and maintained by the taxpayer, while they had to maintain and renew the 'permanent way' laid down in the nineteenth century and already at the end of its useful life.

The argument became unimportant as the wartime government took over control of the railways, including their debts, and because the post-war government nationalised them in 1948, together with road freight and passenger services and air transport. In the following decades road services were subject to de-nationalisation and re-nationalisation, according to the flavour of succeeding governments, but railways were left alone as there was no way in which they could be made to pay their way without government subsidy, until the Thatcher regime with its absolute faith in market forces insisted that they should be 'deregulated'.

As an anarchist, I find it hard to break into the discussion of railway futures, which is a matter of defending the bad against the worse. Socialists, believing in a centrally planned economy, thought that central planning would give a rational and economic transport system, but I learned almost by chance (it was at the Public Enquiry in the 1970s into proposals about the siting of a third London airport) that the government's Department of Transport never had and saw no need for a national transport policy. Nor had British Rail a definable policy. Its whole life has been a story of bringing in 'experts' from private industry to give one solution after another to the problem of running an operation on this scale which in the end was dependent on subsidy from the taxpayer and was not allowed to borrow money elsewhere for development. As an employer, its record is bad (see my Freedom Press book *Freedom to Go*).

But I have an automatic bias in favour of railways on several grounds. The first is a matter of the value we put on human life. Rail transport is infinitely safer than road transport. A railway accident is news. Road accidents are just a part of everyday life. The second is a matter of the laws of mechanics. The engineers who built the canals in the eighteenth century discovered that one horse could pull two tons on a level road, ten tons on rails and eighty tons on water. What applied to horses applies to any kind of motive power. If we take energy conservation seriously, water is best, road worse, but rails invaluable.

In the nineteenth century, when the only

competitors were canals and stage-coaches, with walking or the carrier's cart for the poor, investors poured their capital into building a railway infrastructure which covered Britain, dug and hewed out of the landscape by gangs of underpaid navvies. Moralists like Matthew Arnold ridiculed the democratisation of travel. His father, Thomas Arnold, had been far more prescient. He remarked that "I rejoice to see it, and to think that feudality is gone forever; it is so great a blessing to think that any one evil is really extinct."

Take, for example, the area where I live. In 1845 sixty per cent of all the inhabitants of places like Polstead in Suffolk were paupers in a situation of 'famished dependency'. In 1849 the station two miles away at Hadleigh provided a way out. It was closed in 1931, but the building is still there, and the tracks have become a natural history Railway Walk. A vast shift in priorities in the future could still re-open the links with the system, and even extend it with tramways to the village hinterland.

I don't suppose I will ever see the great railway revival, but you have only to look at maps of the rail network before the internal combustion engine shifted public investment to roads to see what we have lost.

All through the BR years we saw a concentration of investment on the main lines, ending in London, from Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham or Bristol, which automatically made a profit, and a neglect of provincial links accompanied by a cutting off of little local connections. Vast sums were spent on bringing in expertise from private industry, like that of Richard Beeching, to advise that the way to make the enterprise economic was to cut out uneconomic services: advice that you and I could have given without a fee. But that wasn't the point.

Even in Victorian days, government insisted that in return for the right to drive through a railway track, operators should 'take the rough with the smooth' and operate services that did not pay as well as those that did. They were actually known as 'Parliamentary Trains'. But all through this century, as road vehicles for freight and passengers and the increasing dominance of the private motor car destroyed the transport monopoly of the railways, local links have been closing. It has happened all through the British Rail era, with different regional departments following unrelated policies, most of which resulted in cutting out

branch lines with their high overheads and low earnings.

Sometimes it amounted to a conspiracy against both passengers and those who still wanted to use the railway as a goods carrier, by manipulating fares, goods rates, stopping schedules and timetables, to ensure that the threat of closure became a self-fulfilling prophecy, and to silence the protest groups of train users, belatedly campaigning to save 'our' railway.

British Rail has for years been preparing itself for the big sell-off, with a splitting up into components like Intercity, Network South-East and Regional Railways. Paul Salvesson is one of those authorities on railway operation who has been looking for a long time for ways in which the public interest can survive the break-up. In the 1980s he wrote the report *British Rail: the radical alternative to privatisation* (Centre for Local Economic Strategies, Manchester, 1989) and has recently completed a voluminous report for the research organisation Transnet on *New Futures for Rural Rail* (a summary version costs £12 from Transnet, 16 Warren Lane, London SE18 6DW).

Most rural lines today are in the hands of Regional Railways, together with most provincial and urban services outside London, their finances topped up by the Public Service Obligation subsidy from the taxpayer, which is not tied to any particular services. This subsidy was £1.14 billion in 1992/3, reduced to £950 million in 1993/4, and will fall to £580 million in 1994/5. There is also, in effect, a cross-subsidy from the more profitable urban parts of Regional Railways' business, and specific subsidies from county councils for particular projects, as well as extra support from some district councils.

Dr Salvesson points out that local authorities are already involved in paying out money to keep services going since "both rail and bus services in rural areas make heavy financial losses. Most bus services are provided on a tendered basis by the county councils ... Some rural rail services do not even cover their direct operating costs for fuel, wages and other services - let alone contribute towards the high infrastructure costs which railways carry".

In these circumstances it is almost academic to consider who 'owns' rural railway lines, since the taxpayer and council taxpayer have to meet the deficit, or see public services disappear. But chances arise for citizens to have an impact on rural railway services. For

example, decades ago I wrote in this paper about the paradox of uneconomic branch lines saved by volunteer railway enthusiasts. ("When we have in Britain more than one railway line running scheduled services on time, co-ordinating with British Rail and operated by a bunch of amateurs, who dare say that the railwaymen could not operate their services without the aid of the bureaucratic hierarchy?", I am happy to see Dr Salvesson's comment that those privately preserved lines "have come a long way from their early beginning as lines run on a shoe-string by teams of enthusiastic amateurs".

The historians of the country railway station which brought an end to rural feudalism in the nineteenth century confirm that it "was literally a lifeline, a vital and potent source of contact with the outside world. It was also a community centre ...". They cite places where it doubled as a village hall, library or meeting-place for the parish council. Today the buildings have been pulled down by British Rail as a cheap alternative to maintaining them. This report promotes the opposite: what we need, it says, is a "community enterprise station" taking advantage of the existing or potential rail links with everywhere else.

The two strategies behind the report are, firstly "to bring together a range of agencies to establish railway development partnerships for specific rural lines" and secondly to find ways in which the proposed franchising system can allow for the possibility of "a strong local community input into the actual running of rural trains, and buses".

So it describes the network of organisations which saved the Settle-Carlisle Line from closure, the Esk Valley Line, the rebirth of the Ribbles Valley Line, the Cotswold Line and the North Warwick Line.

The message is that "there is no single blueprint - either in the form of ownership or control - that is the route to success" and this applies in many other countries too, but that when local communities feel they have a stake in the railway, not only increased use but wider social, economic and environmental benefits can follow.

Government, as usual, has set the agenda. Forty-five years of nationalisation with endless experiments in different styles of management are to be replaced by a bodged sell-off on ordinary commercial criteria. Community enterprise has to creep into the space left over. Let's hope it will.

Colin Ward

*Freedom to Go: after the motor age* is available for £3.50 (post free in the UK, add 15% postage overseas) from Freedom Bookshop. It is also available in Italian as *Dopo L'Automobile* from Editrice A. Milan, and in French as *La Liberté de Circuler* from Atelier de Création Libertaire, Lyons.

## A Free United Europe

(continued from page 6)

of the social structure, can now be supplemented with the idea of confederation. In the second case (the monocentric state system) the image of a 'Brussels-centred federalism' will arise, resulting in a loss of function for the participating states.

Anarchists, like others, reject a 'Brussels-centred federalism'. Those others, however, stick to the idea of the nation state, and their one and only goal is to arrive at an international common market, ruled by a capitalist economy. Because they think the loss of function of the nation state unacceptable they resist the idea of a United Europe. Anarchists, however, who feel no bond with a nation state, will agree with the idea of a United Europe on the basis of a confederation, elaborated as a polycentric political system. This would mean that the regions, formed by the municipalities, represent the multitude of centres. Because of this, people sometimes speak of a 'Europe of the regions'. The traditional nation state loses its functions; it has dissolved.

Questions arise for some anarchists. Why is it necessary to think in terms of large structures? There are various reasons. First, it is necessary to tackle problems like pollution that do

not stop at territorial borders. Secondly, anarchists can have no objection to the demolition of national frontiers. If anarchists take the principle of solidarity seriously, the fight against economic and social poverty must have a 'cross-frontier' character. In a certain way, of course, this stimulates centralising powers. But two trends develop out of the anarchist principle. On one hand a communalistic tendency in which the importance of the municipality grows, on the other hand a confederal tendency through which the issue of transnationalism is served.

## Minorities

Is it possible to stimulate cultural diversity with these two trends in mind? I think so. In an organisational way this can be done by elaborating regional thinking in more detail. This can be done with instruments which lawyers devised a long time ago for other situations. I will mention some of these instruments.

As already envisaged, municipalities will form regions which will weld themselves together with confederal bonds. Treaties will be used for this (contracts, statutes, covenants or whatever they are called). This is no wishful thinking. It already happens, in terms of intercommunal structures and in terms of cross-frontier cooperational bonds.

In the first place, the confederal structures themselves guarantee the autonomy of the participants. The autonomous participants themselves take care that they are not snowed under by the confederal level. Here the old principle of subsidiarity can be applied: what a smaller entity can do should not be done by a larger entity. In the second place, in these treaties safeguarding clauses for certain subjects can be included. The effect of such a clause is that a participating party that does not vote positively cannot be forced to follow this decision. Another instrument is the principle of the blocking minority: a decision cannot be forced by a majority if there is a certain minority. These instruments serve to protect the interests of minorities with a confederation and to assure the continuance of cultural diversity.

It seems to me that anarchists do not have to reject these constructions and instruments, because they can be considered as elaborations of the anarchistic principle that you cannot be the subject of a decision that you have not supported. This applies as much to the small scale (the municipality) as to the larger scale (the federation). Anarchists don't have to be ashamed of a Europe that is modelled in this way.

Thom Holtermann

# City-Death

Dear Freedom,  
When I read that your reviewer Jez didn't read my novel *City-Death* from cover to cover I was reminded of Stephen Potter's definition of 'Litmanship' as "the art of knowing about English literature without actually reading any books". Joking aside, it is not the comments made in the review so much as the idea that the book is unreadable that I find worrying.

*City-Death* was quite an ambitious project, and we all invested quite a lot of time, energy and thought (not to mention money) into it. So far the seven-line review in *Freedom* has been the only one I've seen. We gave earlier versions of the book to various people and most of the responses we got were enthusiastic.

The review's characterisation of the book is one-sided. "Plenty of violence and destruction - in fact not much else!" in that it takes no account of the constructive second part of the novel. *City-Death* has a negative message about the city, but it also offers a positive vision of the self-sufficient rural community. To characterise the book as wholly bleak ignores this 'ultimately hopeful' second half.

The main fault of the 'city' is that it is all hooked up together into one vast, dependent web of oppression and annihilation. If we could defend ourselves, grow our own food, make our own clothes, build our own houses and create our own culture; if we could live in a sustainable way we could 'unplug' ourselves from the city and leave it to collapse in its own rottenness.

People living in the city (and your reviewer Jez) might find this vision unappealing. "What is hope for one could be a nightmare for another". People who sympathise with *Green Anarchist* see little point in wasting energy trying to save the city. There is no point in joining ourselves to the pollution, violence, crime, social disintegration and totalitarian squalor of the city. Becoming part of it is not an option. The city is a giant parasite which destroys human potential. If this vision of the city is bleak, so be it; that is the problem of the city itself. In *City-Death* I just took the present and made it 5% worse. 'The trend remains downwards' - if the multinational companies and the political machine remains on its present heading the world of the city will become like that described in *City-Death*.

It is not true that there is no humour in *City-Death*. Sex is in the background because I had already written a novel *Even Eden* attacking the puritanism and the idea of sexual relationships as property. (Your reviewer was not to know that.) I'm interested in all

comments about my work, good or bad. *Freedom* readers will have seen enough of my work to be able to decide whether *City-Death* is worth checking out. Please read it and make up your own minds.

Steve Booth

## Ultra-Violence

Dear Freedom,  
It seems Jez read my last letter with more attention than *City-Death*, but s/he only had to get through a couple of paragraphs after all!

Glad to hear s/he "wasn't questioning activism (or even violent action) but specific talk of *ultra-violent* direct action" as the only reference to it in *Green Anarchist* 33 was a graphic parodying 'peace police' lifted from *Live Wild or Die!*, Rabid Eigol's *Tribal Tactics* article accompanying it discussed clandestine activity not armed struggle. As Jez also concedes, "the state is using violence against activists, including the non-violent type, *now*", s/he can hardly object if some choose clandestinely to defend themselves.

What *does* Jez mean when s/he writes we should defend ourselves "at some point"? If Jez agrees violence is justified in 'self-defence' which of the daily, routine attacks of techno-industrial civilisation on us are we justified in so defending ourselves against *now*? And what difference is there between the wholesale, systematic 'self-defence' needed to survive such attacks and "offensive strategy"? If Jez thinks this "fatal strategy", does s/he think quietly "degenerating into despair and self-destruction" isn't?

In fact the state doesn't care if activists

## Social freedoms

Dear Freedom,  
George Walford's assertion (8th January 1994) that there are no social freedoms which do not interfere with the freedom of others is just rubbish. My freedom to undermine workfare and refuse low paid work can increase the freedom of others to refuse it too. At the same time this also helps to promote the freedom of employers and government ministers to choke on their dinners. So you see, by practising struggle and mutual aid, many freedoms become mutually complementary and do not necessarily interfere with the freedom of others at all.

Paul Petard

Our front-page editorial is a call to all genuine socialists, but we rely on all active anarchists to ensure that *Freedom* gets to them. Our special offer in December for readers to send a "Different 'Greeting Card'" in the form of a copy of *Freedom* proved a flop. We are trying again with this issue of *Freedom* - five copies for £1 post free inland.

In the 11th December issue of *Freedom* Jonathan Simcock asked are we "talking to ourselves?" He suggested that we needed to "make our ideas more understandable to people outside the anarchist movement". We think that *Freedom* (apart from some of the contributions to the Readers' Page which aren't understandable to people *inside* the anarchist movement!) is quite

are violent or not - Special Branch defines subversion as "seeking to overthrow the state by violent, industrial or other means" - only how effective they are. If resisting this "vastly overwhelming power is suicidal!" we'd all be dead already. The state resorts to 'dirty tricks' - not always successfully - when it *can't* contain or control those resisting it. Ensuring they don't know who or how to infiltrate their 'controllers' is another good reason for clandestinity.

Yours, for peoples power and personal autonomy,

Editor, *Green Anarchist*

## Between Ourselves CALLING ALL ANARCHISTS!

understandable to people who are in any way faced with, and affected by, the political and economic situation. What we need to do is to *get the paper to them*. W.H. Smith and Menzies and the big boys will not touch *Freedom* (if only because they can't see it is a profitable product. After all, during the war years when there was a shortage of paper and publications, *Freedom* Press literature was being displayed in 300

W.H. Smith and Boots bookstalls throughout the country!) Today, apart from a certain amount of paid advertising which we shall undertake in the spring, we must rely in anarchists to increase *Freedom's* circulation. So here's one suggestion. And what about selling the paper at meetings? Jonathan Simcock explored all kinds of channels, mostly expensive and requiring the kind of contacts we lack. But let's start modestly. Who are the *Freedom* activists who are going to circulate this issue of *Freedom* to potential socialist readers? We are waiting for your response!

## The Missing Mailbag

The missing mailbag with subscribers' copies of the 8th January *Freedom* was at last traced by the Post Office and dealt with. So all subscribers should have received their copy of that issue. If you still have not received it please let us know and we will send a replacement by return.

A number of readers whose paper was in that missing mailbag got in touch with us by telephone or letter and we much appreciated their concern at not having received *Freedom*. It made us feel that we have readers for whom our journal means something.

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## Violence & Anarchism

Dear Comrades,

As, so far as I can recall, I was the first person to write to condemn Vernon Richards' editorial 'Pity he Missed', and as I was the certainly, at the time, the *Freedom* reader most involved in NVDA against nuclear weapons, may I comment on Tony Gibson's review (11th December 1993) of your new rewrite pamphlet [*Violence and Anarchism: a polemic*, *Freedom Press*, £2.50].

My criticism, and that of some others (e.g. Jack Robinson) was not concerned with reaction in CND (which wasn't in the main a pacifist body, and most of whose members would have been nearer VR), nor was it a matter of ethics.

It hinged on two points: firstly that in the then condition of South Africa (where the racist movement was strongly organised, militant and growing) killing Verwoerd would have put power into the hands of people even more extreme than him; whites in the UK might be able to afford the luxury of wishing him dead,

but for the blacks in SA it would have been tragic; secondly that as a general rule advocacy of assassination ignores the class forces that create despotism and fosters the great man theory of history.

I had previously, and have since, justified Berkman's attempt on Frick, since that was a symbolic act of defiance, after a strike was smashed, which was not intended as a substitute for mass action and could not have aided ultra-Frick rightists.

Also, though I had not then thought of the point, I - later that year - agreed when Ken Hawkes argued that it is possible for a despotism to outlive the class forces that created it, and that in that case it might conceivably be that an assassination could serve a beneficial purpose.

Ken and I disagreed when four years later he wrote a *Direct Action* editorial, developing this argument, on Stuart Christie's attempt on Franco's life; but only because I considered the attempt so inefficient that it was counter-productive and that impermissible risks were taken with the lives of other comrades.

Laurens

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# Unpretentious Realism

It is an unfortunate fact that many anarchists in their enthusiasm to bring about change in society mistakenly delude themselves that they are going to both see an anarchist society come into being in their lifetime and that they will themselves be a leading light in that society.

Firstly, they do not realise the enormity of the task that lays before us. If it is truly to be an 'anarchist' form of society then it is a society which will be determined by the people themselves from below arising out of their understanding and structures of organisation which they have built and which they themselves control.

To bring about such a transition from the authoritarian based society that we have today is a task so great that if it was not for the idealism and justice of our cause it would daunt many to dare to undertake it.

Anarchism cannot be imposed by a minority upon a people, that would be a bolshevik concept. If it is to be a truly libertarian society

working in the interest of its people, then that people would have had to acquire such a degree of understanding and in such numbers as to be able to bring it about.

They would need to have gained such an understanding of the pitfalls and dangers of privilege, leadership and authority as to ensure that in the building of the social structures necessary to function an anarchist society they do not incorporate these capitalist values in their organisation, as the bolsheviks did.

Therefore when we consider that the reason that capitalist society continues to persist in spite of all the suffering it causes in the world, and that this persistence arises from the fact that most people have not yet acquired an understanding as to what is the cause of their suffering, often fatalistically believing it to be 'their lot in life that they cannot do anything about' and that in their daily dealings with one another they are steeped in capitalist values and practices, then we begin to get some idea of the enormity of the task that lays before us

before a truly anarchist form of society can come about.

Secondly, as anarchists we would be deluding ourselves if we attributed to ourselves elitist qualities that are fundamentally repugnant to the very nature of anarchism.

For even if by some miracle people suddenly acquired this understanding to bring about a social revolution within the lifetime of existing comrades, it would not automatically follow that those comrades would necessarily be the ones chosen by the people to be their mandated delegates to carry out tasks in the field of communication, production or distribution. They may even be considered by the people to be inadequate for such tasks. This being the case, out must go all illusions and pretensions of 'being on the World Executive Council for Production' or whatever.

If ever such a social revolution is achieved we must be willing to fade into the background and simply enjoy our lives in the atmosphere of the new free society. There is no place in anarchism for the ambitious or glory seeker,

we are anarchists because the cause is just not to seek an ego trip.

Who are we now? We are in actual fact very small insignificant groups of idealists, often isolated from one another, striving to influence our fellow men and women to bring about a more human society, and it would be foolish and detrimental to our cause to delude ourselves and boast we are more than what in fact we are.

That said, it does not decry the efforts which have been made, and in no way is it a cry of despair to forsake the struggle, for if we truly believe in the justice of our cause we cannot turn our backs upon our suffering fellows.

But conscious of the danger of the status of being a big fish in a small pond, each of us must constantly affirm with Zapata "I have no desire to climb to high office upon the backs of my brothers" and make no pretentious claims or harbour any grandiose delusions about ourselves or the small group to which we happen to belong.

BM  
on behalf of a very small group calling  
itself The Society of Libertarians



## London Anarchist Forum

Meets Fridays at about 8.00pm at Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Square, London WC1R 4RL (note new venue).

SPRING TERM 1994

**11th February** - Can we Return to Earth the Treasure Wasted in Heaven? (debate between Peter Lumsden and George Walford)

**18th February** - Discussion on Anarchism and Morality

**25th February** - Anarchism and Ecology (speaker: Gideon Kossoff)

**4th March** - Discussion: With what other groups should anarchists work?

**11th March** - An Experiment in Cognitive Therapy (speaker to be announced)

**18th March** - General discussion

**25th March** - General discussion: Bringing together the strands

If anyone would like to give a talk or lead a discussion, overseas or out-of-town speakers especially, please contact either Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (Tel: 081-847 0203), not too early in the day please, giving subject matter and prospective dates and we will do our best to accommodate. These could be sometimes instead of a general discussion but note that these are not merely unfilled slots but are popular occasions in their own right so we are unwilling to relinquish too many.

Peter Neville / Dave Dane  
for London Anarchist Forum

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## Anarchist Research Group 1994 Programme

— 9th April —

speaker and topic to be announced

— 9th July —

John Dohoney (Vancouver)  
'What are the roots of anarchism? A socio-psychoanalytical perspective'

— 22nd October —

Colin Ward  
topic to be announced

All meetings held on Saturday at 2.30pm. The April and July meetings are at the International Relations Room, Institute for Historical Research, Malet Street, London WC1. The October meeting (jointly with the Anarchist Bookfair) will be at Conway Hall.

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