

during the first eight years of the Thatcher years of the Thatcher government. Economic Editor of that journal, comments that: "The divergence is remarkable because pay differentials were so stable before Margaret Thatcher came to power in 1979. Professor A.B. Atkinson of the London	Scroot of recommes sur yesternay that the carnings gap was now wider than at any time since 1886. We cannot pass without comment the statement that "differentials were so stable before Margaret Thatcher", for it reflects on the years of Labour governments whose declared objectives were a more 'just' and 'equitable' society yet always ended with the rich getting richer as they are doing under the present government. The government statistics reveal that 50% of the full-time working population were earning less than 2229.40. 25% were earning less than	than £166 and 25% were ear more than £314.50 a week. compares with the average g weekly wage of £263.10 in Api this year. How many people do you k earning £263.10 a week - or £166? Farmworkers, for insta need overtime hours to get their to that level. With 25% of the full-time work earning less than £166 a week continued on pa
S IN statisticians at the Department of Employment have been at work and have come up with the New Earnings Survey for 1990 which will not please the government but will not please the government but will not prevent it from continuing to BS NODEDOOR	four delegates obviously chosen withe view to have an 'argumen Incidentally it was the on opportunity for Tony Benn to speat the Labour Conference. A the Labour Conference. A the Labour Conference. A the Tory fortress conference. A the Tory fortress conference. A the Tory fortress conference. For police protection compared with solution of the Labour compared with solution of the national 'family') to same technique was followed af	speech, well delivere environment in which h first for all the wonderfi Tories were about to do to environment for future As a good hack he h applause for these 'first that the Labour lot had d However he didn't expli- Tory lot have done nothir eleven years they have b Only now when the Lab the Greens and Liberal (continu
- but for but for ory politic ccess stor it often y get to t	One does not have to be a tabout party supporter to recognise that in general the media are massively biased in favour of the Tory party and quite unscrupulous when dealing with Her Majesty's Opposition. It is not surprising. The press, with the odd exception, is owned by a handful of Tory millionaires. Yes, we know that Captain Bob (Maxwell) is a fully paid-up member of the Labour Party and The Daily Mirror gave a glowing accent of the recent Labour Party Conference. However it was also Captain Bob's paper that launched	rgill — whi tical harm n to Arthur & n to Arthur & ne of the television lic is able the blic is able the tates is able the nin certain l in certain l in certain l in certain l in certain l in the the tates is able the table is a suble the tates is able the table is a suble the tates is a suble the table is a suble the table is a suble the tates is a suble the table is a suble table is a sub
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## The Government's 'Success Story' — for the Rich

### (continued from page 1)

another 25% earning more than £314.50 it does not require a mathematical genius to realise that the 25% earning more than £314.50 a week are, at the top, being paid a hell of a lot!

Indeed Professor Atkinson remarks that the breakdown of traditional differentials is most apparent among high earners. Between 1968 and 1979 the highest paid 10% of all men earned between 157% and 161% of the average. They now earn 181%.

By contrast the lowest paid 10% of 71% of the average in 1886, 1906, 1938, 1960, 1973 and 1979. The figure now has fallen to 63%.

The highest paid 10% 'of all men' (which nowadays includes quite a lot of women, though in general women are still penalised even when they do the same job as a man. The statisticians say that the "typical [median] full-time woman worker" earned £9,230 a year compared with a 'typical' man's £13,426) obviously have other sources of income. Statistically we no longer have an idle rich class; they all have non-voting directorships or other sinecures to create the impression that they are indeed Thatcher wealth creators. They certainly collect it without much effort and without even producing anything themselves. Their role is to exploit those who actually produce the wealth - which in our society can also be rubbish which is specially profitable for those who market it.

In Freedom we have on a number of Loccasions given examples of director's increases in salary. The most recent and

blatant was that of Lloyds Insurance Broker William Brown who has given himself a pay rise of £4 million a year, bringing his salary up to £8 million per annum.

. The Daily Mirror (11th October) features this 'loadsamoney tycoon' in an unfavourable fashion typical of the tabloid press. We are told all about "his London penthouse at Chelsea Harbour, a seafront flat at Hove and a holiday hideaway in Jersey". He is also described as a "reclusive cockney" who at the same time apparently "stays in touch with his manual workers earned between 67% and office when out in his Rolls Royce, Porsche, Ferrari or the Mercedes numbered B1 LLY)". Some 'recluse'!

Not being regular readers of Captain Bob or two and so on. Maxwell's flagships we wonder whether the Mirror published the wonderful news that Maxwell was "top of the dividend payout list" with an income of £24.7 million. He was followed by David Sainsbury with £20.6 million and way behind was 'Tiny' Rowland of Lonhro with a mere £13.3 million. The Labour Research survey lists 27 individuals each drawing dividends in excess of £1 million. A total of about £120 million.

**C**120 millions when one is talking of Julions is chicken feed, apart from the fact that some goes in taxes. The Thatcher 'radical' government has lowered the top level income tax from 60% to 40%. Thus Maxwell's £24 million (we'll forget about the £700,000!) assuming that he has to pay tax (and not that tax has already been £14.4 million (an extra £4 million as a result of the Tory government's reduction in top level income tax).

## **Conferences Notebook**

### (continued from page 1)

alerting the public to the environment, and with elections due at the latest 1992, are the Tories championing the future of our planet and humankind, but also this hunting-and-shooting fraternity are pleading that we should respect wildlife by going easy on destroying habitats and pesticides. All hypocrisy!

Three Tory battle-axes: Lady Porter, they would like to do and hope for the (whose name has escaped us), and a Tory run the country are the media - the Green spokesman were then gathered in editors, the commentators, the the BBC lobby and asked about their journalists - and very wisely like good reactions to Mr Patten's speech. They bookmakers and tipsters who never go in were ecstatic! But all they dealt with was for betting, they remain on the political litter in the city streets. The nameless sidelines telling all and sundry how best councillor was only concerned about dog to run the country but never putting their shit on our pavements and the need to tax ideas to the test. The fact is they have no dog owners. Lady Porter (the notorious ideas. Apart from those rare exceptions Tory Westminster Council boss who sold like James Cameron, they are the bosses cemeteries for 5p to developers, daughter men and women. They write for whoever of Tesco's founder) her bête noire is to pays them. As Humbert Wolf put it: make the 'litter louts' pay to keep our "You cannot hope to bribe or twist cities clean. Perhaps she doesn't know that in Leningrad and Moscow (25 years ago to this writer's direct knowledge) the problem was dealt with by having waste-bins at regular intervals on all the main streets which were also patrolled by civilians who took it in turns, as part of their duties to the community, to see that people observed, among other things, concern for a clean environment.

D ut to return to our main topic: the bias Dof the media so far as the Labour Party is concerned. Television has made it possible to hear and see Neil Kinnock's performance. It was a very competent address and not just rhetoric. Ignoring the tabloid gangsters, the so-called serious press revealed its anti-Labour bias in no uncertain terms. The very un-independent Independent October) in its editorial on Kinnock's

address described it as: "No public pronouncement so disappointing

since Chris Patten's White Paper on the environment. Mr Kinnock attacked the latter document in terms that could have been applied to his own performance. He said 'the Tories . . . drew themselves up to their full height and produced an environment White Paper which has something to say about practically everything and something to do on practically nothing.

But surely this is what the media are fed every day of the year and provides them with their 'copy'.

All the politicians do is to promise what Lady Olga Maitland, a Tory councillor best. The only people who know how to Thank God! the British journalist But seeing what that man will do unbribed, there's no occasion to"

> N Tevertheless because the press has a powerful influence on public opinion it must be recognised that one cannot talk of a 'democracy' in a country where the Party which receives a half of the votes at elections has neither a daily nor a weekly journal.\* And this is the situation in this country at a time when the Government wants to introduce more legislation to ensure 'impartiality' on Independent Television because they fear that the media have a Left bias!

> \*At the time of writing we have received a notice from the bi-monthly New Socialist advising us that the next issue of this journal which is jointly edited by the Labour Party and the Fabians has been delayed indefinitely for financial reasons.

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Mr Maxwell is in all senses an oversize man who has expensive tastes in food, yachts (on expenses) and probably executive helicopters as well as being we assume a generous - paid-up member of the Labour Party, not to mention a lover of football (and probably of the development potential in the sites of Spurs and Derby). However profligate Captain Bob may be with his salary, perks and dividends surely some few millions of it each year are left over and are 'earning' interest in the best possible investments perhaps more shares in his Maxwell Communications Corp? Which would mean that next year, if all things go well, the dividends will be up another million

This is not fantasy. The Sunday Times published the second of its annual surveys of Britain's 200 Top Rich (Sunday Times magazine, 8th April 1990). Maxwell comes about 7th in the list with assets valued at £1,100 million. The important conclusion which anarchists cannot ignore (The Sunday Times' proprietor Rupert Murdoch is a fully paid-up member of the millionaires club) is that

The number on social security rose by more than two-thirds from 2.6 million in 1979 to 4.3 million in 1987 according to the Institute of Fiscal Studies.

though some sensational fortune-makers deducted) will now be left with a mere equally sensationally go bankrupt (though we are quote convinced that they were not so stupid as to omit to salt away a few million in a Swiss bank account) the others go on increasing their fortunes: for 1989 and 1990. Maxwell's personal fortune went up in one year from £675 crook Gerald Ronson, for whom half the City pleaded with the judge to let him off, his fortune rose in the one year from £500 million to £548 million. And the Duke of Westminster, a pleasant looking chap, only 38, and with all of two O Levels to his name at Harrow, and second to the Queen so far as wealth is concerned, increased his stake in capitalist Britain from £3,200 million to £4,200 million in one year. our own interest as well as that of our Apart from the 300 golden acres of neighbours and fellow citizens.

Mayfair, the family owns some 135,000 acres in England, Scotland, Ireland and Australia. The Duke also has a job and his time is so valuable, as one can well understand, that he commutes by helicopter from Chester to London. Who can deny that in the Duke we have a real 'wealth producer' à la Thatcher?

The authors of The Sunday Times survey seek to answer their initial question of "who really runs Britain?" In our opinion their conclusions are specially interesting and possibly accurate seeing that their hopes (in line with the Murdoch-Thatcher philosophy of the entrepreneurs taking over) have not been realised. We quote:

"Over the past 12 months, the Top 200 list has been used as ammunition on both sides of the Old Britain versus New Britain debate, used on the one hand to show how even in the Thatcher years, the best this century for the new entrepreneur, old money has reinforced its power, and on the other, to record the rise and rise of the New Rich.

The latest study, refined, updated and greatly added to, which we publish today, will further fuel the debate. Last year this paper, commenting editorially on our own study, mourned the fact that after a decade of Thatcherism old money still dominated and paternalism appeared to be making a comeback. That trend has strengthened over the past year, suggesting that the new wealth is both fragile and vulnerable, while old wealth is remarkably stable."

Anarchists know all this but so many good socialists among our readers may still think that things can be changed by a 'good' Labour government. Ask yourselves: if this government, led by what The Sunday Times calls the New Britain have not after eleven years succeeded in ousting the old wealth, what better chance would a Labour government have? Only one: by massive million to £1,100 million. That generous taxation of the rich leaving no loopholes for evasion. Not only taxation on income but on capital. Any government prepared for such draconian measures might as well join with the anarchists to make the revolution and abolish private property, and last, but not least, capitalism production for profit. In its place we shall put production for our needs, by all of us contributing to achieving these ends, in

### Blake: All is Forgiven — Perhaps

Tust as Blake the double agent's memoirs are being received here (or perhaps attacked would be a more accurate description of the media's treatment) the Russian secret service (KGB) is offering to share information on Iraq with the US secret service (CIA). They point out the advantages in that the Soviet Union has some 5,000 specialists working in Iraq.

In the spirit of perestroika the KGB chairman Vladimir Kriuchkov said that, "We haven't exchanged information with the CIA on that issue but I am convinced we could really tell each other something valuable". Unlike Thatcher and Bush who have stated openly that the British and American 'hostages/guests' will not influence their strategy, the KGB chairman declared that Moscow was concerned about possible Iraqi actions against their fellow countrymen and that "We hold Iraq authorities responsible for their lives and their state of health".

n a recent dispatch from Moscow Jonathan Steele (The Guardian) reports on an invitation to a group of foreign journalists to visit the notorious Lubianka, the headquarters of the KGB in Moscow. Unfortunately he tells us very little about the visit and gets bogged down about not being able to get information about what happened during the Breshnev and Andropov eras. It would nevertheless appear weeks before the Iraqi invasion.

that the KGB are desperately trying to become respectable.

"The Public Affairs Office has mounted a small exhibition on the third floor showing the KGB's work against organised crime and foreign intelligence. items include a small camera belonging to the agent Oleg Penkovsky and coding equipment used by US agents who posed as embassy employees

The new division of the KGB sends speakers to factories and institutes to explain its work and answer questions.

General Vladimir Kriuschkov, the current head of the KGB, appeared on a live television phone-in programme last month, and he has also given countless interviews to the Soviet press."

Which is more than can be said for the CIA and MI5 or indeed Mossad.

### **The Bodysnatchers**

Chortly after the Iraqi army invaded Kuwait Stories began to appear in the press and media about the Western 'intelligence' services being caught off guard. They apparently had not noticed the military preparations going on in Iraq. Saddam Hussein, as US forces were rushed to the area, threatened to "send American soldiers home in body-bags" if they attacked. Interestingly enough, rumours are now coming out of Oman, where the SAS are training for possible action in the Gulf, that an American army mobile hospital has arrived in Oman equipped with half a million body-bags. What is more interesting is that it is said to have arrived two

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# Labour's Essential Conservatism

The Labour Party is now the most conservative Party in Britain. Paddy Ashdown, leader of the Liberal Democrats, hit the nail on the head when he made this announcement earlier this month, following the Labour Party Conference. All that he got wrong is the timing: Labour has long been an essentially conservative party. Thatcherism, though not to our taste, has been in comparison radical and courageous, even rather original.

This year's Labour Conference in Blackpool was a tedious piece of theatre. One conference delegate claimed: "There is a game . . . this is the most stage-managed conference . . . the leadership wants to reduce the conference to a rally." Rather like a Tory Party Conference in

Potentially embarrassing issues for the Labour Party leadership like the campaign to promote poll tax non-payment were blocked, and the expulsion from the Party of the Socialist Organiser group was confirmed. Other matters like the defence vote against the leadership can be safely ignored. The undisguised objective of this year's conference is the conquest of power, which is always the case when elections are pending. But this time the party managers have been more crudely censorious; with the platform filtering out hostile speakers like Benn.

Joe Rogaly in The Financial Times claimed that "it could be argued that most of what has happened in Blackpool has amounted to a concerted effort to attract former members of the Alliance". The 'left', loony or otherwise, didn't seem much in evidence. As another reporter, Ivo Dawney, commented: ". delegates spent most of the week in a curiously quiescent mood. If nothing else it revealed a genuine hunger for power."

Corporate State — Political Appointments Yet once Labour is in power what difference will it make?

When John Cunningham says "We are ready to help the peoples and businesses of Britain get on with the task of doing what our competitors do", or John Smith, the Shadow Chancellor, goes on about working with employers and trade unions without the need to the law and the courts to resolve industrial problems; they invoke Labour's capacity for amounts to the government, the bosses and the 'beer and sandwiches' — fixing deals and yourself elected to Parliament? cobbling agreements together in the 'national solidarity, as trade union organisations and their leaders get lost in the corridors of power.

While under Thatcher ex-ministers landed well-paid jobs on the boards of privatised industries. At local authority level one gets the influence pedlars, the place seekers, and the distributors of plum jobs to friends of the 'political appointment'.

To my knowledge the Social Services Department in Rochdale (Labour local authority) has dished out jobs for no better reason than to "improve the department's a 'political appointment' — he was a Labour | among the social classes. Party member — and added a certain

taking office". employed two women on a job-share in their welfare rights' office, who were not competent to represent clients at tribunals, yet one person who they turned down was asked by one of the local authority bosses to help with the tribunal work in a voluntary capacity. No doubt this is a rather tame rigging of the they are not making any. appointments system, which occurs under all political administrations. It is just as well, though, to remind ourselves that it happens in the reign of the 'Peoples Party' no less than

In other words, the Labour Party gives no commitment. In government it will have a free Observer described Labour as having been hand to do what it wants. Nothing new in that of course! What is novel this time is that, once and unthinking commitment to various in office, a Labour government would not have to break any promises, because this time A labour government can be expected to take as tough a line with the workers and on the economy as John Major, the present under the Tories. It is distasteful no matter Chancellor. As Sir William Rees-Mogg said discourage the pundits in the Labour Party, recently: "Because it is a left-wing party, whether it is the Masons or Militant who are labour has always to prove its financial fixing up their mates with jobs. responsibility". In order to prove itself to the City of London and the financial institutions, Worship of Functionaries Labour in power must be more Tory than the If leg-ups, political favouritism and careerism Tories.

forms part of the mechanics of Labour administrations both locally and nationally, what complexion do the policies and ideology take on? Essentially, conservative professionalism. A love of the 'expert' and the functionary

As pointed out in Freedom recently, the only egalitarian thing of consequence a Labour overnment can do is to try to redistribute wealth and income through the taxation of the rich. Their current target is to up the top rate of personal income tax to 50p in the pound, and to cut the bottom rate to 20p. Yet John Smith, the Shadow Chancellor, now says that is only a target. "You cannot", he says, "make precipitous changes in the tax system". Which

The reason for this is that Labour is no longer means a Labour government is not tied down pretending to be the party of the worker. It is to redistribution of wealth or income. the party of the petty functionary and the On the issue of more public control of the minor professions. Thus its policies will be privatised industries: the idea has been floated determined by the vested interests of these that a Labour government would buy a professional groups with their half-baked majority shareholding of British Telecom. experts. The same goes for the soon to be privatised It is noteworthy that a Labour Party survey wane. At least for the time being. electricity companies. Of the water companies has shown that the average salary of party Labour's policy document states: "The members is £18,500 a year. Reporters at the provision of water is so fundamental that it

corporatism. The corporate state which tends Deports of the 1990 Labour Party useful goods. These are the people whose to flourish under Labour governments Conference throw some light on a votes Labour seeks to attract. question which is often asked of anarchists: if The most popular newspaper in this country union officials playing footsie together over you want to change society, why not get is The Sun, and well over 90% of Sun readers are C2. The Sun supports the Conservative The ambition to change society, and the Party; but whereas the posh papers mostly interests'. Though the corporate model often | ambition to get elected, are entirely different circulate among those who agree with their has initial superficial benefits for the workers, if not actually contradictory. The way to politics, this is not true of The Sun and its in the long run it has a corrupting effect on | change society is to change public opinion. imitator The Star. Their readers include a worker morale, and weakens meaningful | The way to get elected is to conform to public variable but high proportion of Labour voters. opinion as you find it. The Labour Party's objective is to increase Members of the Labour Party would like that proportion.

social change. They would like a more To achieve this objective, the Labour Party equitable distribution of wealth, with nobody must recognise that Sun readers, however they industries, under Labour governments union destitute. They would like a big reduction in vote, agree with The Sun's gung-ho bosses — like Frank Cousins (TGWU) — armaments, and most of them would like a patriotism. The 'Falklands Factor' caused C2s were appointed to positions in the state total end to the vicious, expensive buffoonery to vote Thatcher in for her second term of institutions and onto the boards of nationalised of the nuclear arms race. Such aims are office, despite the fact that they had suffered debated at most Labour Party conferences. financially during her first term.

This year, however, the delegates have Labour must also recognise that the C2s sensed the possibility of Labour getting benefited from the cut in income tax, and Labour party. This last is known as the elected to power. And the logic of the electoral would like further cuts. It is hard on people system demands that they seem to embrace the like pensioners and single parents (income prejudices of the majority. bands D and E), who are too poor to pay Public opinion polls about voting intention income tax, and whose real income is actually often classify voters in income bands. This is reduced. But they are a minority whose probably because the polling firms work electoral behaviour is in any case unlikely to relations with the local Asian community". mostly for marketing organisations, change. Some C2s would tolerate a tax rise if Again in Rochdale one successful senior investigating buying behaviour. But it gives it was to benefit the unfortunate, but they are applicant for a job boasted to me that his was the parties an indication of where to seek votes not going to vote for Thatcher anyway, so Labour does not need to worry about them.

The most numerous, and politically the most The only move to a fairer society, safe Councillor Roberts (Labour) had told the changeable, are employed persons other than enough for the Labour Party election interviewing panel that they would have to managers, known traditionally as the working manifesto, is abolition of the poll tax. The choose him over the other candidates. At class, and in pollsters' jargon as the C2 income voters they seek to attract are not particularly Tameside (also Labour controlled) I was to band. These are the wealth creators, in the interested in fairness, but most of them lose learn that the Social Services Department | sense that they convert raw materials into money by the poll tax.

## LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

points out that there are obvious limitations to executive. how detailed a strategy Labour can develop. He says "it's better not to be too specific on some issues until we receive expert advice, on

On social policy the Labour Party is no less conservative. While it opposes the changes enacted and proposed by the Thatcher be shocked by revelations about satanic social services, it does not seem to offer clear firm evidence to support this, but the solutions to most of the social evils which confront us. True the Labour Party promises to defend the NHS, and is anxious to reinforce the state system of education. And yet, they have no radical response to the underlying weakness of the present system, other than to reverse Thatcherism's changes.

It is back to status quo for the Labour Party. Not just standing still, but marching backwards.

should be a priority for a return to the public Blackpool Conference claim the party bosses sector". But Labour's Shadow Chancellor dressed in grey suits to look every inch the

> One example of the Labour Party's blind faith in puffed-up professionals has been the performance of some, prominent in the party, at the discovery of satanism in Britain by social workers. Richard Ingrams in The "undermined by its social worker mentality, feminist causes" and is, he says, "quite happy to go along with a real-life witch-hunt".

> The level of scientific analysis of some of these social workers doesn't seem to have progressed much beyond the ducking-stool. Yet this lack of intellectual rigour doesn't who eagerly swallow the findings of these 'experts'

The Labour Party spokesperson (sic) on woman's affairs, Joan Lester, said of the Rochdale satanists business: "children don't lie about sexual abuse . . . most people working in the field say these children do not make it up". She promised Britain will shortly government for health care, education and the rituals. There still does not appear to be any arrogance of petty officialdom, to which the Labour Party seems committed, never seems to wane.

> What we are seeing is the rise of the vulgar syndicalism of the minor professions — the busybody occupations, like social workers, the educationalists, the medical professionals, and various white collar staff employees. Though they contrast slightly with the bookies, the estate agents and the brewers of the Tory Party, they are not a force for change. As the Labour Party now offers a vehicle to these lower middle class vested interest groups, the effect will be to create a spirit of conservatism and retrogression.

> This probably means that the day of the blue collar worker and the trade unionist is on the

> > **Brian Bamford**

We do not doubt that Labourites oppose the poll tax on principle. But the evidence of past conferences is that the majority of Labourites are also opposed on principle to war-mongering. They are now keeping quiet about this, because it would put the voters off.

The idealist in George Bernard Shaw's Death of an Old Revolutionary Hero opposed reform because it was not revolution. He campaigned against the Child Labour Act, for instance, because by improving the lot of the exploited, it sanctioned the principle of exploitation. I do not know of any anarchist, past or present, who fits this caricature.

We oppose the poll tax more than we oppose other taxes. We campaign against bad prison conditions, leaving the very existence of prisons to be campaigned against later. In the past we campaigned against conscription, against identity cards, for the liberalisation of anti-sex laws. The London Anarchist Group actually initiated the successful campaign against the death penalty.

When our campaigns result in legislation, we regard it as a victory, because the legislation has resulted from our success, and that of our allies, in changing public opinion.

You cannot change society by legislation, except as a secondary effect. The way to produce social change is to change opinions and attitudes. Legislation follows as the legislators strive for popular support.

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## Why not stand for **Parliament?**

The impact of world politics on ordinary L lives remains as great as ever. But when politics merge with military talk and action, the impact becomes even greater. It is of no use saying that the action is thousands of miles away as the immediacy of modern technology of war enters your living room.

When I was a child war interfered with my life even at the early age of nine. War became an invisible monster which forbade everything and changed everything. The sun was shining but people were crying in corners. When asked what was wrong they looked vacantly at me and said 'It's the war'. I looked and searched everywhere, the sun was still shining, the wind what they were talking about.

As I grew older, as the bombs fell and my friends died or disappeared, I began to form the opinion that the world was ruled by monsters, invisible to the naked eye, but being able to create uncontrollable devastation.

I saw fear in the eyes and observed unimaginable cruelty. Still a child, I attributed this to not knowing any better, to the work of spirits able to control the lives of human beings as nice and good as myself.

How quickly people adapted themselves to changed circumstances. I felt there was a consensus of opinion which was able to justify everything, every form of behaviour however irrational. I said to all and sundry 'Why don't you stop the war?' They told me I didn't understand and gave me long explanations about countries, governments and everything they could think of. They admitted to a child

of ten that they were not the most powerful persons in the world.

This was the time when government was at its strongest and populations most frightened. Houses were searched, old people hit on the head with rifle butts, women made to work harder than ever and the rest of the madness. 'Don't you know there's a war on?' became the phrase most frequently used to deny possibly trigger a memory in her. Here then something you wanted to do or to have. Like was another side of our human nature, the reading a book or whistling a tune or to eat a goodness symbolised by the nurses, the was blowing through the trees, I could not see bit of dry bread, they kept saying it: 'Don't you attention paid to strangers as if they were close know there's a war on?

> The day came when our class of thirteen year olds were honoured with the call-up for military service. We went to our secret hidey-hole and discussed the matter. We went and saw somebody's uncle whom we trusted who gave us the best anarchist advice I have ever received in my life. "Don't go", he said, "Let them try to get you. The authorities rely on people turning up when told to do so. They issue a proclamation ordering all able bodied citizens of such and such an age to present themselves at such and such a place. They reckon the majority will be so frightened that they will turn up and even apologise if they turn up five minutes late before they are slaughtered". The few who don't go will eventually be attended to, if there was time. But if everybody disobeyed, he said, they would need as many people as everybody to

## **News from Northern** Ireland

ashamed to be Irish. A commentator in my the Derry Journal, took Lady Betty to task and clearly stated that he was not ashamed world. to be Irish and pointedly asked how much shame English people felt after Bloody wo clerics in the news here recently Sunday when Paras murdered thirteen people in Derry. Or indeed, after the gunning down of three IRA members in Gibraltar, under the orders of Sir Peter Terry, how many English people felt ashamed?

A direct product of imperialism in Ireland is the brutalisation of Irish people, some of whom see violence as the only way to respond to the State. This leaves them in the position of aping the worst excesses of the State, as was illustrated by the recent Kerry, was kidnapped, and shot, his body realities here. dumped on the border. This mirrored in many ways the worst atrocities of the State: the brutal harassment of mourners at **H**Northern Ireland office is developing republican funerals, the treatment of the out of its decision to stop grant aid to an bodies of men gunned down outside the Irish language group, 'Glor nan Gael', who bookies in West Belfast, the refusal of run pre-schools in West Belfast through the British Airways to carry the body of medium of Irish. The decision to stop the Guiseppe Conlon home, and many other grant aid was taken under directions which instances.

context of the origin of violence in and from Ireland being a direct result of British imperialism, often ham-fisted and expedient in its actions but always clear in its intent over the centuries.

At this moment in history the challenge to Irish and British people in Ireland is to address this imperialism, even as some of them have benefited from it in relative terms, and to create a radical re-definition

ady Betty Terry, wife of Sir Peter of the struggle, with mass action and non-Terry, former governor of Gibraltar violence as the keys to building the true who was shot by the IRA recently, said she social revolution. This is a very tall order received letters from people who said that at present, inhibited on a number of fronts. the shooting of her husband made them But it is the place to be. And British and Irish people who involve themselves will local catholic/nationalist/bourgeois paper only feel pleasure and pride. Never shame. I leave that to the 'Ladys' and 'Sirs' of this

were the new Moderator of the Presbyterian Church who said that under certain circumstances he would meet with the IRA, and the Roman Catholic Bishop of Derry who said, in an 'Everyman' (it must be time for the BBC to get a non-sexist name for that programme) that the events of Bloody Sunday and the incarceration of the Birmingham Six marked low points in the experience of justice in Ireland. Neither cleric is radical in any sense but in both cases the effects of abduction and killing of police constable their remarks will help people in their Louis Robinson, who had been fishing in churches to better come to terms with the

A highly embarrassing situation for the said that money should not be granted to An important point for anarchists to keep community groups where their activities in mind is that while they may wish to might assist paramilitaries. In the case of condemn the IRA, they must do so in the 'Glor na n Gael' widespread public outcry has followed the decision and it is expected that Peter Brooke, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, will have to reverse the decision. Until then the teachers and helpers at the pre-schools will continue to work voluntarily, as they have been doing since the stoppage was announced.

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**Dave Duggan** 

## FEATURES

# On the Margin

arrest them all, which he reckoned was a mathematical impossibility.

I was musing over this the other day sitting at the bedside of a friend now in the Middlesex Hospital. She has been in a coma for three months, as I have written before, and I was advised by the nurse to read aloud to her in the hope that something in the human voice might relations.

There was a mysterious smile on her face as I proceeded to read to her about the troop

movements in the Middle East and the preparations for the latest Armageddon, the great symbolical battlefield of the Apocalypse. If she was lucky she might miss the end of the world, the end of all civilisation. Perhaps it will still be on video.

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In the meantime she remains for me a symbol of our world in coma, where the governing classes are getting more and more frantic in their efforts of maintaining control. "We shall never give in to aggression", I concluded, reading her a rousing speech from the newspapers. Just then the post arrived. A message from a friend who wished her well and stated in no uncertain terms: "Wake up, Clara!" And I suppose report at military headquarters at zero hours for active service! John Rety

## **Rambling Notes**

I inder Scout, a high plateau of bleak moorland with the Pennine Way about 16 miles from both Manchester and Sheffield. Until 1830 it was land open to all and the local villagers used to forage there for whatever it could offer. In 1830 came the enclosure with ownership allotted to the owners of adjoining land and the poor losing their unrestricted rights of access. Now it is visited by 66,000 people a year, the 4,000 acres at the heart of the area are owned by the National Trust and over 76 square miles of the surrounding moorland is subject to access agreements between the Peak National Park Planning Board and the landowners, allowing public access except for up to twelve days a year on which the landowners shoot their grouse.

In the long campaign for access the most dramatic event, which occurred on 24th April 1932, has been part of the mythology of the people's struggle against oppression. Known as the Battle of Kinder Scout, it was awarded its own TV documentary in 1970 and certainly deserves a mention alongside such major events as the Cable Street battle against Mosley's fascists in London's East End in 1936. In comparison, it was quite a small affair involving no more than 600 people, with only six arrests and five subsequent prison sentences, the longest being six months. It is now seen as a landmark in the campaign for access with the story more myth than history, but that is not how it appeared at the time.

The British Workers Sports Federation (BWSF), a Communist Party front organisation which had campaigned successfully for football pitches in deprived areas of London, had begun to organise youth camps in the north. When some of the young workers at such a camp in the village of Rowath were turned off the moors by gamekeepers the idea of a mass trespass was developed and publicised in the local press, with leaflets given out at local railway stations and in pubs, and by chalking the pavements. On the day, several hundred people with the usual police escort set off from the recreation ground in the village of Hayfield, the chosen starting point on the Manchester side, and began walking towards William Clough, a narrow valley, with the intention of reaching the summit of Kinder Scout at just over 2,000 feet. A few of the crowd left the path, crossed a stream and started up the valley side on their right, where they were challenged by eight gamekeepers armed with sticks. Words were exchanged and a brief fight broke out in which little more than a few bruises were acquired by either

According to the myth, the crowd then surged to the summit where a victory rally was held. Reality as recorded by several

independent eye-witness accounts was different. The crowd actually continued passing close to its highest point, is only along the path to its highest point at Ashop head and that is where the rally was held, over two miles north west and 400 feet below the summit. Ironically, except for the brief digression described above, the whole event took place entirely on Snake Path, linking Hayfield with the Snake Inn on the Glossop-Sheffield road, an ancient right of way which had been re-established in 1897 after some 20 years of campaigning by a pioneer group of walkers. The BWSF which orchestrated the mass trespass had not previously been involved in the right-of-access campaign nor did it take any part later. Its leaders did not even know where the summit was and one of them still insists it was reached. The aim of the BWSF was to manipulate a spontaneous protest for its own political ends.

> No credit either to the Federation of Rambling Clubs who remained aloof, fearful that the demonstration was more concerned with the class struggle than the access struggle. But credit to the ordinary walkers, mainly from local rambling clubs, who saw the need to back up some speeches and rallies with a little direct action if the access campaign was going to make any progress. Credit also to people like George Neale, 81 this month and now living in South London, who happened to be staying in Matlock at the time. Having read about the proposed assault he, with his sister, went to Edale and joined a group of walkers from Sheffield who were approaching Kinder Scout from that side. There was a confrontation with gamekeepers here as well and no-one reached the top. George tells me he made his own political statement a week later, when he walked to the summit alone, meeting neither gamekeepers nor police.

> The authorities had achieved their immediate aims and when the court cases came up there were all the distortions of the truth with which we are familiar today. The size of the crowd was minimised, the violence of the crowd greatly exaggerated and accounts of vicious attacks on gamekeepers invented. An almost entirely peaceful crowd became a gang of hooligans engaged in a general riot.

> A plaque fastened to the rock face of the old quarry near Hayfield, and which is now a car park, commemorates the event and in 1988 a rally there was addressed by leaders of the main campaigning organisations. But for many people the mass assault of Kinder Scout is best remembered in the words of the song 'The Manchester Rambler' composed by the folk singer Ewan MacColl, who, as a young man, was one of the walkers on that day.

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Violence and the Social Revolution

A narchists have never debated the question of violence for many years. Much ink has been spilled over this matter, tempers have flared, insults hurled back and forth and generally the debate has remained at a high level of abstraction. One side speaks of 'ethics' or 'ends and means', while the other considers violent action or armed insurrection an a priori necessity. There is a way out of this seemingly unresolved conflict of opinion and that is to look at the empirical evidence, i.e. to examine the record of armed insurrections in the more 'advanced' industrialised nations. As well, revolutionary violence in the 'Third World' should also be analysed. With such a body of evidence one is then in a better position to make a decision on the role of violent insurrection in such countries as Britain or Canada.

The following insurrections should be considered since they were 'popular' (not the product of a vanguard party) or had significant libertarian participation: Petrograd 1905, the German Revolution of 1918, Bavaria 1919, the Argentine Insurrection of 1919, the Spanish Revolution of 1936, Hungary 1956, and the Portuguese Revolution of 1974-75. The questions to ask are: What do these struggles have in common? What are the factors that made them armed insurrections?

In five of the seven examples (Petrograd 1905, Germany, Bavaria, Hungary and Portugal) defeat in war undermined support for the State. The military was also a factor in two others: the Spanish Revolution of 1936 was precipitated by the rising of the Fascist officers. The threat of a coup by right wing army officers in Portugal radicalised that revolution. In all cases economic difficulties played a part in mobilising the populace. One example — the severe decline in living standards accompanying Russian and German involvement in World War One.

But there is an aspect which stands out more than any other, with the exception of Spain, each regime that experienced an armed insurrection was extremely authoritarian, corrupt and repressive. Each government was too rigid to co-opt protest by instituting reforms. 'Democratic' countries such as France, Holland, Sweden and Canada, have never experienced an armed insurrection by either the right or the left, since they possess the flexibility which the dictatorships lack.

If we examine contemporary guerrilla organisations of the so-called Third World which have a large measure of popular support, such as the New Peoples Army of the Philippines or the FMLN of El Salvador, certain common factors can also be discovered. Popular movements in these countries have struggled for many years to obtain freedoms that we take for granted, such as having enough to eat, the right to form a co-op or join a union. The ruling classes respond with torture and death squads. Hence guerrilla groups arise out of a situation which demands that one either pick up a gun or be killed. They face governments which totally lack any will to enact reforms.

Since the workers and peasants have a living standard barely above subsistence level, there is little for them to lose by armed revolution. Europeans or Canadians with their high living standards, however, have much to lose and hence the prospect of a civil war is very threatening. Can anyone be blamed for not wishing to turn London or Paris into another Beirut? Furthermore, few populations have suffered as much as Europeans did between 1914 and 1948. Tens of millions were killed in wars and concentration camps. Millions more suffered the many deprivations of post-war reconstruction and the Great Depression. Consciousness of these events remains, even though most are too young to have experienced them. Consequently there is a strong opposition to the use of

violence, which cannot be written off as an example of supposed 'embourgeoisification'.

The much greater level of industrialisation is also a factor working against violent actions in the parliamentary regimes. Shut off the electricity for a week in a poor country and the effect is minimal, since the majority of the population are not dependent upon it, but in Stockholm, London or Montreal, such an event, particularly in winter, would be a disaster. A civil war like the one in Nicaragua fought in Europe or North America would result in millions of casualties. It would be unlikely for a libertarian society to result from such carnage. History shows the only groups to benefit from such events are authoritarian. Ordinary people are aware of this reality and do

not wish to impose this hell upon themselves. Given both the contemporary situation and the historical record, two conditions must exist for armed action to be viable:

1) A conjuncture of political, economic and social crises, of such magnitude that the populace has no other alternative. 2) The State must be inflexible and decrepit, lacking the ability to co-opt.

Since these conditions do not exist, nor does there seem to be any possibility of such conditions existing in the future, the chance for successful armed insurrections in modern 'advanced' industrial societies seems remote. This also brings into question the utility of small armed groups. These have been in operation in Western Europe for twenty years and have totally failed to bring about the civil war which they

Tiolence, contrary to popular belief, is not part of the anarchist philosophy. It has repeatedly been pointed out by anarchist thinkers that the revolution can neither be won, nor the anarchist society established and maintained, by armed violence. Recourse to violence, then, is an indication of weakness, not of strength, and the revolution with the greatest possibilities of a successful outcome will undoubtedly be the one in which there is no violence, or in which violence is reduced to a minimum, for such a revolution would indicate the near unanimity of the population in the objectives of the revolution.

The use of violence has been justified both as a principle and as a means to an end; hardly ever, however, by anarchists. At the most anarchists have justified its use as a revolutionary necessity, or tactic. The misunderstanding is in part the result of confusion in terms for which the anarchists themselves are responsible. We refer, of course, to those who call themselves pacifist-anarchists, or non-violent-anarchists, and who thereby imply that those not included in these categories must be violent-anarchists! The fallacy, to our minds, is that of making non-violence a principle, when in fact it is no more than a tactic. Furthermore, the 'non-violent' advocates fail to make a distinction between violence which is used as a means for imposing the will of a group or class, and that violence which is purely defensive.

There are many ways of changing society. One is by exterminating morally or physically all those who disagree with your way of thinking; the other is by first convincing sufficient people of the rightness of your ideas. Between these two extremes are a number of variations on the first theme but, we submit, there can be no variations on the second. The



## **ANARCHISM & VIOLENCE**

# Sandcastles in the air

I ven before a shot has been fired in anger in the Gulf Confrontation, thirty American servicemen have died in accidents and technical failures involving at least twenty planes and helicopters. At this rate all the Iraqis will have to do is sit back and wait. How long would it take for all those body-bags to be occupied? (Answers on a postcard please.)

The Pentagon claims the deaths are due to their pilots' unfamiliarity with the much-vaunted night vision equipment, and all flying was suspended for 20 hours "to brief them on how to use it properly". But a technical expert with the US forces said that desert sand and the extremes of temperature were playing havoc with all the high technology military hardware. This explanation would seem to be borne out with the latest addition to the collection of American toys in the desert: the technologically sophisticated Apache anti-tank helicopter, the pride and joy of the US Air Force. Since its arrival, maintenance crews have found that it needs servicing every two and a half hours and have had to erect specially air-conditioned tents as hangars to protect them from the elements.

desire. The only conclusion that one can draw is that such activities are useless acts of self-martyrdom and that mass non-violent direct action is the path we should choose for social revolution.

L. Gambone

# **Anarchism and Violence**

self-styled 'realists' among the libertarians believed that compromise is morally justified since it produces results. Violence as a means breeds violence; the cult of personalities as a means breeds dictators — big and small and servile masses; government — even with the

collaboration of socialists and anarchists - breeds more government. Surely then, freedom as a means breeds more freedom, possibly even the Free Society! To those who say this condemns one to political sterility and

the Ivory Tower our reply is that their 'realism' and their 'circumstantialism' invariably lead to disaster. We believe there is something more real, more positive and more revolutionary in resisting war than in participating in it; that it is more civilised and more revolutionary to defend the right of a fascist to live than to support the Tribunals which have the legal powers to shoot him; that it is more realistic to talk to the people from the gutter than from government benches; that in the long run it is more rewarding to influence minds by discussion than to mould them by coercion.

Last, but not least, the question is one of human dignity, of self-respect, and of respect for one's fellows. There are certain things no person can do without ceasing to be human. As anarchists we willingly accept the limitations thus imposed on our actions for, in the words of the old French anarchist Sebastien Faure: "I am aware of the fact that it is not always possible to do what one should so; but I know that there are things that on no account can one ever do".

> Vernon Richards from Lessons of the Spanish Revolution (Freedom Press, £4)

Bill Bryden wrote and directed 'The Ship', a spectacular theatrical event, to commemorate the heyday of Clyde shipbuilding. It ran from 15th September to 27th October in the former engine shed of Harland and Wolff, Govan, Glasgow.

### Dear Bill,

'The Ship' cost £900,000, raised from about 25 sponsors and Glasgow District Council's Festivals Budget.

My wife and I arrived a couple of hours before the doors opened, and parked in a street adjacent to the shed. We listened to the silence of derelict shipyards and watched rubbish which spewed across the wasteland. Over the road a smudge of alkies argued the toss about nothing at all against a backdrop of failed, boarded- up shops. The wind blew off the Clyde, fluttering ghostly sheets of ancient newspaper.

In London you get used to visiting the National Theatre and having to move uncomfortably through all those outstretched hands and the whine of beggars of all ages. But exposing your privates within the precincts of this time, in Govan, it was too much like a

# For Bill Bryden ... who sank The Ship

badly executed charcoal sketch of the lower depths to be anywhere near acceptable.

Anyway, Bill, when the security man arrived to open the £1-a-car vehicle area, he looked distinctly worried. The previous night three shiny motor cars had their windscreens bashed in. 'It's the locals, y'know', he comforted us.

After a woman in a takeaway down the road told my wife that the real poverty in the area was within screaming distance — 'Why don' intermittent dramatic action quickly ye tek yer camera an' go an' photo it?' - the fat white worms of uneasiness were squirming in our guts.

Really, Bill, you must have been blind to the fact that staging 'The Ship' in the scabbiest and ill-fated part of Glasgow was going to be tantamount to spitting on the Holy Shroud or the Palace of Westminster. There had already

# **Paracelsus the Rebel**

### Doctor Paracelsus

A play by John Rety, presented as a rehearsed constitutes a proper qualification. But it also reading at the Pentameters Theatre on 1st tries to be a play of poetic imagery, and it October 1990

Daracelsus is often counted a sorcerer rather than a scientist, because he published a As an unsophisticated member of the chemistry.

While his contemporary physicians advocated the burning of village midwives, on the grounds that their skill in medicine must be the work of the devil, Paracelsus travelled the world collecting medical recipes from the course of a lecture on the unreliability of classical learning, he burned the works of Hippocrates and Galen.

Romanticists (though not lexicographers) say that the word 'bombastic' is derived from self- opinionated style of lecturing. An apt central character for a play of ideas, and one who has not been done by Shaw or Brecht or Stoppard.

John Rety's work is partly a play of ideas. healed 37 kings by curing them of the delusion play, I promise to buy a ticket. that they are kings, and the question of what

includes a few sketches of songs, presumably so that it might be used as the book for a musical.

biological classification of elementals. But he audience, I find it difficult to judge the play was also the first medical man to contend that from the performance I saw. 'Rehearsed miner's lung was caused by dust and not by reading' means that the actors have not had disgruntled gnomes. He originated the idea of time to learn the lines, let alone develop the pure substances, which is the foundation of characters. Paracelsus was disappointingly unbombastic. The play uses special effects, but these were represented by someone reading out stage directions from the back of the hall. I am still not sure whether any of the scenes were flashbacks.

The actors were 'resting' professionals, and village midwives, vagabonds and sailors. In skilful too, as we saw from the only bit of frenetic activity this presentation allowed. One of Doctor Paracelsus's patients is an epileptic, and Paracelsus instructs a student to imitate the fit in order to understand it. The performance of this bit was energetic and the real name of Paracelsus (Bombast von convincing. The actor playing the student Hohenheim) in reference to his flamboyant, flung the loose papers of her script about the stage, and thereafter had to read over the shoulders of other actors.

Difficult as it was to judge the play as a whole, I did make out that it included some witty lines and entertaining ideas. If any Anarchistic ideas, like the claim to have impresario puts it on as a properly produced

## From each according to their means...

idle rich, are to be issued with heavy weapons following a sharp rise in crime in the city. begging and from petty (and not so petty) Luxury hotel bookings from tourists are drastically down and the government is of affluent industrialists and bankers, spoilt another armed bank robbery! brats and tax exiles from Europe and North

America, but millions more people — double The police in Rio de Janeiro, that the official population — live in poverty in I playground for jet-setting trendies and the favelas, the rapidly expanding shanty towns in the hills on the outskirts, where many exist by crime. The fear is that these people might take it into their heads to descend on the conference worried that the forthcoming international and protest about their environment, so the conference on the environment there may be government is now planning saturation disrupted. Five banks were robbed in one day policing of wealthy parts of the city to create by armed gangs recently, prompting the 'safe zones' for conference delegates and government to order the issuing of tourists, which will be 'no-go' areas for people machine-guns and other weapons to the from the favelas. The government's police. The population of Rio proper consists announcement was immediately followed by

Ronnie Biggs was unavailable for comment.

THEATRE REVIEWS

been gales of hollow laughter when Glasgow found itself nominated Culture Capital of Europe. Perhaps it went over your head.

The programme said that 'The Ship' was the 'epic story of a river and its people'. The Trade Descriptions Act could have been strongly applied to that. The huge welded steel set which formed the auditorium and also the ribs and keel of the ship looked impressive, but the torpedoed the idea that work in the shipyards was noble and uplifting. The Clyde shipyards failed because steel supplies were erratic, strikes were frequent, and the government wanted to close down the shipyards. You did not mention any of this.

The series of little sketches between all those bursts from metal grinders and welders presented us with groups of music hall women wasn't. hanging out their washing, shipyard workers spending more time working out their bets

than grappling with the building of the ship, and boring pieces of pub rhetoric. Heightening the discomfort was the lack of any attempt to make the Glaswegian accent intelligible to the audience, among whom were some very fancy folks from London plus a lot of American students.

6

And the interval catering fell flat on its brandy glass, because the grub failed to arrive on time. That was an even bigger catastrophe than your production.

Then out into the sodium-lit street to be visually raped by a gigantic floodlit poster filled with happy, laughing faces, and the caption: You'll never work again! It was directed not to dispossessed shipyard workers as a jibe, but came from Littlewoods Pools. Win a million, get the hell out of this evil cauldron in which all the last hopes went up in flames as soon as the last welder turned off the final gas tap.

Local people did not see 'The Ship'. They could not afford the expensive seats. All they saw was a crowd of rich outsiders leaving Harland and Wolff's old engine shed. That was as close as they came to witnessing what you thought might be their story. Only it

> Yours sadly, Fred Oughton

Disgraceful 1890

Tsing St Martin's workhouse: the new saying that their work was of great St George's Barracks drill ground for the new National Portrait Gallery.

The Times was fitting some 18,000 words sub-headings, so when I say that they devoted two such pages to the British Association for the Advancement of idea of the detail with which such intellectual matters were covered.

which he meant the health of the nation sanitation in reducing the extent of illness and thus making the nation more productive. Health is important because it increases productivity, not vice versa.

When the unemployed in London closed shop. The Times had many letters against the idea of a closed shop.

ought to receive more reward when their would put State Socialism into effect. controversy with his union of writers. But later committed suicide in his cell! some writers sided with the publishers,

50

U building will block out some of the scholarship and years of effort, whilst the National Gallery's windows. And so The popularising writers, who sold so many Times argued that 'they' should have used more copies, were dependent on them for their information, so it was right that the best-sellers should subsidise more learned texts. Finally the editorial joined in, on a page in six columns, with few attacking the 'great' writers in defence of the iron laws of capitalism.

The Times was having a campaign against the Salvation Army. On the occasion of Science meeting on 2nd September, and Mrs Booth's funeral, the paper another two on the 5th, you will have some sympathised with the City of London for the unnecessary interruption of business, referring to it as 'mock military', showing The meeting of Charity organisations in a lack of respect for the forces of 'order'. Oxford showed that many people had Later, when the Booth plan to rehouse the Thatcherite views. They complained of the London poor in the countryside was put "numerous patients who went from one forward, The Times poured scorn on the hospital to another", thus avoiding the Poor idea. It would encourage country people to Law Commissioners. Sir Spencer Wells come to London with the idea that "there gave a talk on the 'National Health' (by was always Booth to fall back upon". The Times refused to believe that the people emphasising the importance of improved Booth was going to help would work for just their keep and not ask for wages.

On 21st October there was news of a clash between students and police in London. One student was fined 45 shillings. The police said they had gone to the defence of attempted to hold a mass meeting on the their wives who were being insulted. The steps of the Royal Exchange, they were students said they had suffered an forced to move on by police: "Now then unprovoked attack by police in plain comrades, rally round the red flag", said a clothes. And on the next page are details of leader. Three thousand Scottish steel a speech given by Prince Kropotkin on workers were on strike for time-and-a-half Siberia, where half a million dissidents had on Sundays, and Yorkshire miners been exiled over the last twenty years, of considered striking for an eight-hour day; which 130,000 had disappeared. A letter there was trouble on London docks and from Arthur Bowman on the 28th said: Plymouth dockers were insisting on a "We need a Tory Party willing to accept the increasing importance of the State and able to show that Socialism is not to be feared. It just has nothing to offer that Tories are A n angry correspondence reverberated not already doing and doing better". By Ain the columns of The Times which he meant factory acts, public health throughout October, between publishers and the policy of free education for all. It and authors. The authors claiming that they was, he claimed, the Tory party which

books turn out to be a success; whilst the Prams were sinister things since Mrs publishers took the view that in a market Pearcey had removed the bodies from the economy it was up to authors to negotiate Hampstead murders in a perambulator. So better terms for their books before they no wonder a policeman became suspicious were published; they do not risk their of a forty year old man pushing a pram. It money so they cannot expect a large return. was full of geese. The man drew a knife, Walter Bessant was at the centre of this but was overpowered by six policemen. He John Myhill

Now you see it ... now you don't

small group on the extreme right of the Tory Party who have forced through an amendment to the Broadcasting Bill before the Lords demanding equal time on television and radio to balance what is deemed to be controversia material.

It would seem to be a very noble desire by the right wing who one does not usually associate with physical or intellectual freedom, but if one applies William of Occam's ancient razor by bringing it to its most simplistic it is to understand that the object of the amendment is to create a blockage of communication that would make

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ARTHUR MOYSE

In Florida a black record shop owner drew a guilty sentence after selling a 'rap' record that was deemed obscene and for the record the disc is 'As nasty as they wanna be' by 2 Live Crew. It is a wave that is drifting across America in that it is being fired by those who feel that they have a vested interest in this fresh witch-hunt and for that the top brass have The Lords, of their wisdom, within the charter to destroy discussion and the first moved in forcing grants to various art House of Lords gave much learned victim is Ma Thatcher's bête noire Britain's establishments to be cut and cut again all in thought and tongue to the matter of Ma British Broadcasting Company. Yet her the cause of 'morality'. And comrades that is Thatcher's Broadcasting Bill. At this moment be jewelled hand does not stop there for within not a thing peculiar to the States for in 1990 in history when the Free West is raising its the ancient stones of Lincoln Cathedral the we can claim to bear witness to the closing of Coca Cola glasses high in toasting the Dean is on safari for the head of the Reverend public libraries 'on the order of Mrs Thatcher', introduction of the novelty of human freedom Rex Davis to adorn his study wall. It is all good public reading rooms censored of their to the authoritarian dominated countries of the Trollopean stuff with the Bishop, the Dean, reading matter and theatres threatened with view it. Roy now has competition with the European eastern bloc, Church and State the Reverend and four Canons in line for firing closure and by Labour Councils because the within the Free West have decided to apply but what one has to keep in mind is that the printed word, the spoken word and the visual their own version of jail house rock. It is a Dean of Lincoln now gunning for the word had failed to conform to the clowns in Reverend among the cloistered calm of the old office and they were usually Labour Councils. cathedral was chosen by God on the orders of Always I personally am asked 'would I allow Ma Thatcher at her midnight prayer meeting the National Front or any Nazi group to print with Dennis and the Dean has run true to Tory what they wish to print' and the answer, form. He first made the limelight over the comrade, is that we do not have or should ever affair of the 'golden man' which stood for a wish to have the organised muscle to legally very brief time within the cathedral. A nude stop anyone communicating with others. are so many good Scottish painters knocking gilded sculpture posed lonely and aloft, it was What you do is a matter between you and your held that his exposed tinkle was out of place conscience and for you to put into physical in the House of the Lord and the 'gilded youth' action and if I am in agreement with you then anything from a post office stamp to my death was given the bum's rush through a side exit. I will join you but never call upon the law or warrant as genius. A sucker for show business, the Dean next the lawyers of the State to destroy what you made star billing over the affair of the Lincoln Imp. The imp is a small figure that since medieval times has squatted between the two arches of the Angel Choir and earned his place as a good luck charm, but the Dean blew his ecclesiastical skull claiming that the imp is a diabolical symbol that casts a shadow of evil over the cathedral and instead of doing the ol' exorcism routine with the bones and the two-fingered whammy the Dean has demanded that the imp follow the 'gilded

youth' out of the back door. Camden Town, Soho, and all points to beg, and if some passer-by gave him money The Canons have formed a united front to protect the Lincoln Two and for their between. He was a forceful character and a he would give it to the person next to him. It martyrdom they're in line for redundancy pay. forceful painter, in the school of 'The Two was his way of saying that the earth (i.e. the One event can sour the witness, one event | Roberts' - Colquhoun and MacBryde - and amuse, but these intrusions and inroads into John Minton. He died on 27th September. our diminishing freedoms are the products of Although not favoured by the establishment, an authoritarian establishment based within 10 he did tell me once that the Tate Gallery had Downing Street. As Europe moves into the one of his pictures — but my afternoon's superstate, one knows that by its very nature basement search proved fruitless. the sophisticated barbed wires curtailing our He fought, on the Republican side of course, individual liberties will become more and in the Spanish Civil War — probably with the original version of 'St James Infirmary more in danger. Security in long elected office | POUM - since when he was a convinced Blues'!) was held in a crematorium in is the authority of those who must in the end anarchist. He stood firm in his beliefs and his despise us for accepting them. In America in opposition to authority, giving my family and constituency. Ricci Santi would have laughed the state of Ohio the rabble-rousing right are me support when we were under threat from at that. uniting Mr and Mrs America in that easy target the bailiffs in Camden High Street. I His many friends didn't laugh. We shall all of attack, the visual arts. As with the 'gilded | remember him at 4am walking up and down miss him. youth', the Lincoln Imp, the BBC, the on the opposite side of the street, hand-in-hand a discussion between two people impossible un-American Inquisitions and the McCarthy with Sylvie like a pair of young lovers, but for as Cox the TV producer has said, Walden fun and games who scoured Hollywood and really ready to alert us at the first sign of the could not interview John Major without its pretty boys and girls for victims the mob inviting 13 other guests to put forward their love to laugh at and then kill the clown. In own arguments. Or in effect if one ran a paper Ohio Dennis Barrie, the director of memories of his zest for life and his or spoke on a platform then everyone Contemporary Arts Centre, is on trial for distinguished appearance. Late in life, when decades worth remembering. The first goes mentioned could claim the right to climb into 'pandering to obscenity' in that the gallery breathing became difficult (he suffered from the print or on the platform with equal space possessed material depicting a minor in a state emphysema) he would walk, scrupulously or time. I am all for a multiplicity of papers of nudity. The photograph is one of two-year dressed, to Camden Town Station, even Albert Hall for a massive rally. and radio and television airwaves but what the old Rose Bowdry the daughter of Lady Beatrix though it was an effort, to sit down with the

Tory right hope to do is to legalise a hecklers. Neville and was taken at a wedding

## Fear and Loathing in High Street Ken

motorist who was caught speeding last passenger seat. The incident happened at 7.15 in the morning in Kensington High Street, when a police motorcyclist (they're rarely above sergeant) chased the royal parasite's car, which had been doing 55mph, stopping it near Kensington Palace. However, the policeman inside the car on 'royal protection' duties, turned out to be of higher rank

(believed to be not less that detective week in a built-up area of London was not inspector) and the intrepid traffic cop, fearing prosecuted because she turned out to be for his career, did not report the Princess. But Princess Diana and had a policeman in the the story soon got around the local police station, where somebody - four days later leaked it to the press. Almost every member of the Royal Family has been stopped for speeding, some of them several times. Whether or not they are prosecuted seems to depend on whether or not they have their 'royal protection' lackey with them. The question is, who is going to protect ordinary people from anti-social maniacs like them?

## THE ARTS

celebration in 1976, but Barrie faces a year in

find personally objectionable for maybe the fault lies with you.

Yet not all is lost, they tell me, for Roy Miles the art dealer of 29 Bruton Street, W1, in Mayfair — comrades, Mayfair — has got his new gallery into action with the work of this week's genius Sergei Chepik, a 37 year old artist who was born in Kiev. I have always liked Roy Miles for in the old days he had his gallery in the shadow of St James Palace and when I walked in as a complete stranger he automatically handed me a large (not double, but large) whisky. Roy, if I may call him that, has always had the Russian art market by the goolies as we say in the trade and in complete honesty I always felt that most of it was good old Victorian junk style art but one wished to Harrington Gallery in that both have a copy of Salganik's 'Poppies' and each has one of three versions so there is rage, rage, rage among the wine but who cares.

Good luck to Roy, good luck to the Harrington Gallery, and good luck to Sergei Chepik. Sergei has his feet and his brushes up in Paris since 1988 when he left Mother Russia for the good life but hand on heart there out this stuff, yea, even better, but keep the whisky flowing Roy boy and I'll rubber-stamp

Arthur Moyse

# Obituary **Federico Santi (1915-1990)**



Dicci Santi was a legendary figure in down-and-outs, holding forth. He had no need pavement) belongs to all, even if the exploiting classes claim paper title to its freehold.

> Since he was a life-long atheist, Ricci's son Stuart decided on an agnostic send-off for him. The simple ceremony (complete with 'The Internationale' in Spanish and King Oliver's Finchley - Margaret Thatcher's

John Rety

### Postscript

He was full of laughter and I have many A mong the many legends surrounding Ricci Santi, there were two separated by back to the 1930s when Mosley and his blackshirts were legal and booked London's

A handful of young activists got into the building long before the fascists began to arrive and climbed up to the great roof for the moment when Sir Oswald himself was about to address the rally. Then they pulled the plugs on all the spotlights and plunged the place into darkness. In the ensuing chaos they slipped down the back stairs and were away. Ricci was one of them.

Many years later, and falling behind with the rent for his council flat in a tower block, Camden Council discussed evicting him, when some councillor spoke up for him. "Ricci Santi is the last remaining veteran of the Spanish Civil war still living in Camden Town", he said, "we must find him somewhere to live". So they moved him into a pre-fab in a side street and forgot about the rent. Well, it suited Ricci's bohemian style of life well enough and it was the scene of much loving, controversy and painting.

One thing he always insisted upon: 'No bullshit!'

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## READERS' PAGE

## **Role of the Revolutionary Organisation**

Degarding Donald Rooum's comments on compromise political structures becoming there was disappearing. Even the presence of many from renewing State power.

A suggestion to reduce the prison population

(from a correspondent)

Tohn Patten, the Home Office Minister, • recently announced plans to make the courts aware of what it costs to keep people they have sentenced to be locked up. "The implication", writes John Dear Editors Carvell in The Guardian (1st October)"is that judges and magistrates making heavy use of prison will be encouraged to change their ways. Jail sentences are more expensive than alternatives . .

Not necessarily. A Telegraph reader, Roderick Page from Sandwich (29th September) has given us ideas. He non-commercial artistic experience. laments the fact that Guinness's His style changed about 1925 when super-crook Ernest Saunders, who was he first went to live at Whiteway sentenced to five years for his Colony and by the time of his death involvement with the 'sweeteners', has in 1959 he had transformed Bristol been given what the letter-writer considers "the mind-bending task of dishing out the custard at Ford Open Prison" and suggests that surcly it should be possible "to employ this captain of industry, and others like him, in a more practical and profitable way. The prison any information from their own discharged from his work at the railway can life by Claude McKay, £5.95 service is crying out for reform and surely personal experience. I also know of depot of Tosno (Leningrad) for having Apparitions of Things to Come: tales our journals. people like Mr Saunders with their two books giving some history: organised an independent trade union. He of mystery and imagination by Edbusiness acumen must see, from their Whiteway by Nellie Shaw and the practical experience of this institution, recent general history Alternative many of the shortcomings to which it is Communities in Nineteenth Century subject". And so he suggests that they England by Dennis Hardy. might discharge their "debt to society" by My second query is about another setting up a "working group of these men [to] help reform the prison service".

The government is concerned with reducing the prison population (at a time when their statistics show a large increase in petty crime) not necessarily with probably a flogging, Home Secretary in The Anarchist and that their printing 32, kv 73. Mr Waddington. Mr Page of Sandwich in presses were over the Kodak Kent has inspired us as to how best one premises in Buchanan Street, could utilise the entrepreneurial skills of Glasgow. Can any of your readers Ernest Saunders to reduce the prison give me any information or point me population.

crimes are against property and the majority are minor crimes without violence, why not start evening classes directed by Ernest Saunders and his

As the ACF's pamphlet The Role of the Revolutionary Organisation points out, we revolutionary organisations in Freedom (22nd have no blueprint of the perfect organisation of September 1990, page 8). Libertarian ideas and revolutionary anarchists - there is bound to be practices are almost always popular and widespread much combining and realigning on the way. The at grassroots level in revolutionary periods - ACF doesn't believe that it, in its present form, especially when anarchist groups are respected and could be it - nor do we necessarily believe that a influential. But, just as commonly, political single organisation is the only option. The point is developments mean that these sentiments are that such (an) organisation(s) will have to share hijacked or overcome by authoritarian or certain fundamental characteristics (necessary but not sufficient conditions) in order to carry the germ dominant, leading to whatever libertarian potential of that successful, revolutionary, libertarian influence. As the organisation(s) grow and develop autonomous anarchist groups, all highly respected, nearer to revolution, the libertarian qualities of does not seem to alter this trend. Even when the working class culture and political activity would major grassroots organisation or movement (such need to grow too. In this way, the "leadership of as the CNT in Spain) has a proud and deep-rooted [anarchist] ideas" develops under its own steam in result in hierarchies of unequal power in the running libertarian tradition, still demands of revolutionary the populace as a whole, but is more attenuated in of human affairs. So the revolutionary organisation political development are beyond such a political terms by clear and consistent public is one model of how things can be run - and we movement. In short, what DR proposes as the best intervention by revolutionary anarchists, in the are not interested in medieval utopias of way to "struggle for a free society" (i.e. autonomous form of the grassroots activity and propaganda of self-sufficiency. Human society will be linked and groups and individuals who co-operate but have no their organisation. If the organisation is successful organised locally, regionally and globally, unitary or integrating structure) is never enough. in this, its members will not be seen as 'infiltrators' therefore anarchist organisation should be capable Never. What is more, Bakunin, Kropotkin, in the ground, because it is the ideas, not the of operating at these different levels in a libertarian Malatesta, Berkman, the authors of The individuals, that are at stake. Also of course manner. Unlike an affinity group - and like society Organisational Platform of the Libertarian working class people in action frequently show as a whole — we cannot afford the luxury of only Communists, the Friends of Durruti, many French themselves to be in advance, practically, of any working with those we personally like. and Italian anarchist groups since revolutionary existing 'body of opinion'. This is why the ACF periods there, etc., etc., not to mention the events of rejects the ideas of 'vanguardists' or 'cadres' - I inally, the idea that revolutionary organisation Portugal 1974 and all examples of so-called because here the ideas are very definitely linked to. It is not an 'anarchistic' way of organising the People's Power since, show us that more is needed the individuals who speak them. If we spoke of the anarchist movement is only tenable if you define if the reactionaries, social democrats and vanguard of the class at all, for example, it would the movement as consisting of big books by big particularly the authoritarian left are to be prevented be merely the behaviour and ideas of some people names (or, perhaps, of discussion groups). If you some of the time, rather than as embodied in look instead at the active grassroots involvement of individuals who are then perceived as eternally ordinary people, you will see that organisation on

> of a lifetime in and out of prison they can about these residential centres? man, one cell.



I wonder if you or any of your readers can help with two problems. Hugo van Waclenoyen was a successful portrait photographer in Cheltenham. He also made landscape photographs as a landscape photography.

I know that Whiteway was founded in 1898 as a Tolstoyan anarchist

famous photographer, George in the direction of histories of The Since it is admitted that the majority of Anarchist or of anarchist newspapers?

burglaries when they are released so that from 1917 at The White House, Rue Amelot, F-75011 Paris.

they can 'retire' from the business once Ammanford, South Wales. can any they have pulled off a big deal and instead of your readers help with information retire to the Costa del Crime and our Any pieces of information no prisons will, like voting, be back to one matter how small will be gratefully

> Colin Osman Editor The Photo-Historian 14 Fairgreen, Cockfosters, Barnet

received.



### **Repression in the USSR** against independent union

SMOT in Paris, we received an

Through the information agency of urgent appeal. They ask for our help concerning a new case of repression colony and that it is no longer that, against free union activity in the USSR. but can any of your readers give me On 5th August Victor Kassatkin was also lost his company flat and his ration | ward Bellamy, £6.50 cards (a lot of basic food such as meat or Within the Shell of the Old: essays of butter have been rationed in Leningrad). workers' self-organisation, £5.50 Thus being left without work, home or And from Black Rose Books: now going on into the seventh week.

Please send letters of protest or available in another two or three Davison, of an earlier generation telegrams to the address: Avakumovic, £11.50 weeks, when we will supply all those than Hugo. He became the head of LENGORSOVIET, attn. Mr Sobcak / All available to inland readers who who have sent money for a copy. send cash with order post free. Kodak with the title of managing Mr Rybakov, Leningrad, USSR, and director in 1900. He was sacked in copies to SMOT, Lev Volochonskij, DONATIONS reforming the prison service as such. 1912 because it was alleged he was Moskovskaja Oblast 142784, The Sunday Express (30th After all, we have a hanging, and managing editor and proprietor of Leningradskirajon, Pos Moskivskij, dom September), of all papers, gives a 28th September - 8th October half page to Joanna Lumley who tells IWA Secretariat readers "why I want to be poor". She Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Brigitte Czyborra (press secretary) made her big money as a star in the Fund television New Avengers serial. Newport NHF £4, Hove JY £1, Cardiff SMOT is an independent federation in She's now 44 and into the fourth year SH £4.50, B ristol MAR £1. the USSR, founded in 1978, striving for of her second marriage "and with a the formation of free trade unions. They whole host of rewarding projects Total = £10.50 1990 total to date = £941.05

have a considerable history of struggle against the Soviet totalitarianism. For competing for her considerable After he had been sacked George more information about the case of talents as an actress and writer". But Freedom Press Overheads Davison concentrated on his Kassatkin or the work of SMOT please she has "come to a decision about the Fund mates to instruct the petty thieves as to anarchist activities, firstly at Wern contact: Information Agency SMOT, rest of her life". It is summed up in one London DR £11.20. how they can organise large-scale Fawr, Harlech, North Wales, and c/o Librairie du Monde Libertaire, 145 sentence: "I want less". Mrs Thatcher will be disappointed. "I want to stop

advanced. The latter leads inevitably to elitism and (probably) to substitution of 'party before class' in terms of political strategy.

The output of the organisation thus augments and reinforces the activities of its members participating in struggle. Equally importantly the organisation provides continuity of ideas — a sense of development rather than isolated outbursts pointing to a time when people as a whole (not the revolutionary organisation) will collectively control the life of society. This is the final reason for the existence of a revolutionary organisation ---society and history do not consist of 'autonomous' episodes or groupings unrelated to the whole. Events, developments, people and groups are linked, in very fundamental ways. That is our starting point as anarchist communists - aiming to show that this inevitable linkage does not need to

## **News from Angel Alley**

EN400S meant that postage on Freedom 'deserving poor'?) inland would cost 17p per issue or Says Joanna Lumley: "I intend to send the paper post free as in the past. We have therefore increased the beginning of October. Current seen." subscriptions will continue at the old rate until they are due for renewal.

> A le have received the following I new titles from Charles H. Kerr Publications of Chicago:

The Mysteries of St Louis: a novel by Henry Boernstein, £9.50

Harlem Glory: a fragment of Aframeri-

Rebelby George Woodcock and Ivan

as mass a scale as possible is often second nature. We hope it becomes so here, and that the political consciousness of that organisation sees the need to prepare for revolution taking account of the mistakes of the past.

T. Jennings

## Which paper do you read?

D oth The Guardian and The Independent, Dneither of them Labour-lovers and certainly not Arthur Scargill-lovers, gave a fair report of the special delegate conference of the National Union of Miners held last week. Compare the three-column headline of The Guardian — 'Miners leaders back Scargill over funds' — last Thursday with the single-column 'Savaged Scargill hangs on' of Robert Maxwell's Daily Mirror.

Compare The Daily Mirror's:

"But Labour MP Kevin Barron - once one of Scargill's best friends - said 'the vote does not matter. Scargill is finished'." with The Guardian's

"Even staunch opponents of Mr Scargill such as Kevin Barron, the NUM sponsored MP, said they had been able to put their case fairly. Despite being censored by the meeting for his public comments on the affair, Mr Barron said 'We have to accept the decision of the conference'."

And The Daily Mirror is supposed to be pro-Labour!

> getting richer . . . I want to get away from this idea that we must go on getting and getting".

The "stylish country house" is up for sale, the car too, and no less than nine sacks of "largely designer A warned our readers a few clothes are awaiting transportation to Wweeks ago that, with the Poland" (will the bank manager get ncrease in postage rates which hold of those nine sacks before the

just over £4 for the 24 issues, we had start getting poorer, not needing so to accept the fact that we could not many clothes, not eating in all the best restaurants, not always insisting on the best of everything, not wanting five-star travel everywhere. I feel we the subscription rates by £2 a year - are being threatened by the way in a half of the postal charge, but have which people have become not increased the cover charge of dominated by the driving force of 50p. The new rates are given on the having to get more and more all the back page and are in fact for new time. It seems to promote as much subscriptions and renewals as from unhappiness as anything I've ever

> If you haven't by now understood why Joanna is included in 'News from Angel Alley' and not in our comments section let us explain: we are looking for people with money who are anxiously wanting to get rid of it and salve their consciences. Freedom is without doubt the best way for rich anarchists to do so. We really need your solidarity in the coming months to ensure the continued publication of

noing Business: we have received a large number of orders for this title following our recent review. 1 in 12 Publications have sold out of their food, he started a hunger strike, which is Peter Kropotkin: From Prince to edition, but the book is being reprinted and we hope that it will be

Total = £11.20 1990 total to date = £707.35