

anarchist fortnightly

# Freedom

Vol. 53 No. 19                      3 OCTOBER 1992                      FIFTY PENCE

*“Parliament is no place for the idealist. It is the workshop of compromise, the temple within which men bow to the expedient, and dexterity gets more than its due.”*

**H.W. Massingham**  
*(Daily News, 1907)*

## Governments Propose SPECULATORS DISPOSE!

For almost two years the Major government have been telling the country and the world that they had a policy which would lead to prosperity. The date for this resurgence had to be 'fluid' since so many factors beyond their control had to be taken into account. But the policy was a cast iron one: zero inflation, no devaluation and interest rates would be reduced only when conditions were right. And needless to say they were committed 100% to the ERM (European Rate Mechanism).

In April they convinced a third of the electorate to vote for them, which was enough to give them an overall majority of 21 seats in our so-called 'democracy', and 100 days later to recover from the exertions involved in conning the British public they all took off for the *dolce vita* in sunnier climes. We assume that caretakers at 10 and 11 Downing Street and in the Ministries were keeping things going with the traditional cups of tea for the media and a few optimistic 'leaks' about the economy. Fortunately the media were able to keep the British public amused - or scandalised - with pictures of topless Fergie, or listening

in to Di and boyfriend having a saucy conversation (thanks to that public-minded *Mirror* group with the collaboration of privatised British Telecom, ever-ready to make a quick buck) and last but not least, Mr Major's protégé the Heritage Minister of Fun ... and Games, which he obviously seemed to enjoy!

**MAKE IT A DATE**

**THE ANARCHIST BOOKFAIR**

**Saturday 17th October**

**at the large Conway Hall  
Red Lion Square  
London WC1  
(nearest tube Holborn)**

**10am-8pm**

**Freedom Press Group will be  
there to welcome readers  
with all our literature.**

Meanwhile the money markets were also having fun and games. It wasn't a question, as we will attempt to show, of 'while the cat's away the mice will play' for they are always 'playing'! When you consider that the money market in London alone has a turnover of £100,000 million a day; that every country in the so-called First World is involved in this money market racket - yes, racket; and that for the yuppies success is money, the power of the money markets is obvious.

While the ministers were basking in the tropical sunshine and savouring the sweet fruits of electoral victory, the yuppies were preparing for probably their most successful financial coup for a long time, and against which the government had no antidote.

The money mafia - the speculators - first killed off the Italian lira, and when that was done directed their attention to the £ sterling. The government reacted by borrowing some £7,000 million in foreign currency, presumably Deutschmarks, to buy up sterling that was surplus in the money markets in the hope that just as in the bad old days in order to keep up the price of coffee in South America they would use it, as well as coal to run the railways. The only difference is that when the Bank of England (with instructions from the Major-Lamont mafia) buys back these unsaleable £ sterling they are not destroyed. If and when (as has happened, as we shall demonstrate) sterling gets too expensive *vis a vis* other currencies the first remedy is to put it into reverse. And the Bank of England may well make a profit on the deal! The best example is that of the North American dollars. At the beginning of September a £ sterling was 'worth' US\$2.00 (Canadian \$2.40). *The Independent on Sunday* (6th September) published a feature showing that "shoppers fly [to the USA] to buy with fistfuls of dollars as

*(continued on page 2)*

## The Mellor Soap Opera MAJOR PROPOSES THE MEDIA DISPOSES

So the Minister of Fun and Games has resigned and the gutter press are celebrating their victory, which it certainly was. After all, they pitted their power against that of the Prime Minister himself - who publicly expressed his confidence in Mr Mellor throughout the press campaign.

Obviously an anarchist paper is unconcerned when capitalists tear each other apart in public. On the contrary, we enjoy the spectacle of these money-greedy, power-greedy reactionaries revealing that they have no loyalty, not even for their own kind. They don't know what the word means. Eventually the real reasons for the tabloids' vicious campaign against Mellor

will be leaked. Nobody in their right minds will believe their holier-than-thou explanation that it was "in the public interest" to expose Mellor's private life.

In this sordid affair there is surely no doubt that the gutter press has lived up to its reputation. We only regret that its mass readership, which shows no signs of falling off, on the contrary has joined it in the gutter. All talk of legislation to protect the citizen against abuse of privacy by the media will never work. Most citizens just cannot afford litigation with a millionaire press.

The only real curb on the gutter press is when its readers will get out of the gutter.

(continued from page 1)

the US currency takes a battering". Obviously if you were to purchase an Armani suit (whatever that it) you would save £295, just as you would save £60 on an Olympus MJU pocket camera and even on a Macdonald Big Mac you would have paid 60p in the USA instead of £1.79 here. BUT within a fortnight of this dollar bonanza the £ sterling had lost 30 cents, that is 16% of its 'value'. Why? No other reason than that the tourists, the speculators and governments have been selling pounds and buying dollars. And in due course at the right moment the dollars will be resold, who knows, perhaps for French francs. As we write the speculators having delivered the *coup de grâce* to the lira and £ sterling are concentrating on the franc. The French have committed half of their foreign currency reserves to keep the franc within the ERM limits, and the Germans are showing 'solidarity' with their French 'allies'. (Just as well, for the alternative would be a return to a Europe always at war.) But in the long term, the speculators will always win so long as currency is a

market commodity just as sheep, carrots and tomatoes are!

Now let us come to the justification for the headline to this piece. The obvious one is that the government had declared to the very last minute that they would not devalue the £ sterling. They poured £ billions in foreign currencies to that end. But the speculators showed them who was in control.

While obviously disagreeing with the conclusions of the more radical journalist economists such as Will Hutton and Victor Keegan of *The Guardian*, we acknowledge the statistics which we think are devastating arguments against the capitalist system.

[Anarchists are not opposed to a money system so long as it is used as an equivalent to, say, barter. Where anarchists are inexorably opposed to money is as a means of exploiting the

labour of others, and of course being linked to private property - which in a non-money exploitative society, would not be privately owned.]

Most of us imagine that the money markets are buying and selling currencies to deal with the invoices issued by the exporters and importers in their daily transactions. Surely a reasonable assumption if the money markets are there just to do this job. But they are not - anything but that.

According to Victor Keegan (*The Guardian*, 21st September 1992) as a result of the abolition of exchange controls "unleashed" by Thatcher's government in 1979 and "parallel moves globally"...

"a tidal wave of money (95% of it not linked to transactions in goods at all) is sweeping around the financial world with an ill-conceived contempt for national sovereignty."

The other statistic offered by Victor Keegan is that "hordes of banks and individuals should net at least £500 million in a day from the ills of sterling".

We are not questioning Mr Keegan's sensational statistics since he has nothing against the capitalist system. He is only critical about "Britain's economy being affixed to an exchange rate which was suffocating the economy" and but for that and in view of the North Sea oil revenues, Britain ought to have generated more than £15 billion.

For anarchists none of these economists can think in other terms than the capitalist system. Can you imagine mentioning only in brackets that 95% of the money being transacted in the money markets has no connection with the payment of goods bought and sold? What the money markets are doing is buying

and selling bits of paper. It's no longer even gold that they are buying and selling. It's a voice at the other end of a phone line, or a fax, or a gesticulating yuppie selling dollars (he hasn't got) for francs (they haven't got) for, at the end of the day, a profit. What have they produced? Nothing.

The world is spellbound by the antics of the capitalist system thanks to a media completely corrupted by this bankrupt system, and no political parties offer any alternative to capitalism or to the authoritarian political system.

As we write the Labour Party hierarchy are meeting to decide on their line for the debate on the economy. One only has to quote the text of the Labour Party's economic policy document to be sure that nothing will come from Her Majesty's official opposition other than hot air.

"Greater powers must be taken to diminish the power and role of speculators. We believe that European co-operation to reduce speculation will have to be strengthened, and that further action must be taken now within the European Monetary System to achieve this."

The first sentence condemns them out of hand. These phoney socialists only want to "diminish the power and rule of speculators" and "reduce speculation". Why not destroy speculators and speculation? At least that would be something even if they are not yet able to say that as socialists they want to destroy the capitalist system! But to destroy speculators and speculation in the capitalist society involves a complete reversal of the free market economy. A subject for another occasion, but one, for sure, that the Labour party will not face in its present guise.

## OUR ASSETS: the Land and Coal The Government is Undermining Both

Parliament had its one-day debate last Thursday on the economy. All sides of the House mouthed their clichés, their panaceas and the government its determination "to keep down inflation" and so on and so on.

The hard facts are that only a few days before, unemployment figures which, as we always have to explain, are the net increase of the unemployed in receipt of the dole and not the actual unemployed seeking jobs, increased by 47,000 in August, a higher number than had been forecast. And the trade deficit (between imports and exports) was more than £1,000 million in August.

In the meantime the speculators had made for themselves probably a billion or two on the money markets and more than 15% was knocked off the 'value' of the £ sterling. The optimists declare that this will make British manufactures 'more competitive' in the export markets. Maybe so - assuming there are products to export which the other countries don't already produce and as cheaply (subsidised or otherwise).

But since we import more than we export, and this includes most of our raw materials, if anything the balance of payments will in the next months go even more into the 'red'.

Britain has only two natural assets (if one does not include the offshore oil): coal and the land. How is the government utilising these two resources to the nation's 'best advantage'?

They are paying farmers to put out of production ('set-aside' is the official jargon) up to a million acres of arable land in spite of the fact that, according to a recent conference of supermarket retailers, Britain imports some £ billions of produce that could be grown in

this country! And one is not talking of exotic produce that would need hot-house treatment. In Sudbury, Suffolk, in the heart of the set-aside land a super-supermarket only a couple of weeks ago was offering customers onions from Tasmania and carrots from America!

And coal? With the privatisation of the electricity industry without any conditions so far as the coal industry was concerned, the government gave the new electricity generation bosses a free hand to buy in the cheapest market when current contracts with the Coal Board expired. A leaked document to *The Guardian* revealed that the government is to shut thirty pits and sack 25,000 miners "as soon as possible". According to the director of the Coalfield Communities' Campaign, Stephen Fothergill, a further 25,000 suppliers' jobs would disappear.

British Coal has approached the government for a redundancy package of £1,000 million for sacked miners, many of whom, especially in the high unemployment areas, will never get other jobs. Needless to say, the Treasury has so far refused to respond.

But apart from that, millions of tons of coal will now be imported from Australia, perhaps Poland and elsewhere, not to mention the intention of the privatised enterprises to build gas generators, and the government to subsidise nuclear power stations, which will add to the prices paid by the consumer. But in addition there will be thousands of miners on the dole which the privatised, profit-seeking electricity generators will not include in their balance sheets. We will have to include it in our bills as taxpayers!

## The Dr Nigel Cox Case The Law is Inhuman and an Ass

The suspended sentence of a year's imprisonment passed on Dr Nigel Cox for having had the courage to hasten the last days of a seventy year old widow, for whom he had been a devoted doctor for more than thirteen years, does not surprise us. The judge had no option as an official administrator of the law to direct the jury as to the legal issues involved in this case. And regrettably the jury, with only one notable anonymous exception, found the doctor guilty of 'attempted murder'.

The patient suffered from "rheumatoid arthritis so acute than she could not bear anyone to touch her". When Dr Cox finally decided to liberate this poor woman she had lain in her hospital bed and, in the words of a nurse at the trial, screamed "like a wounded dog". The hospital chaplain described Lilian

Boyes' condition in the most harrowing terms: "her arm was no thicker than two fingers and when anyone touched her you could hear the bones move in the joints". He had never seen anyone so physically degenerated and "so much eaten by pain".

Five days before her death she had told her family that she wanted to die, and that she would from then onwards refuse all drugs except painkillers. When these ceased to work Dr Cox administered the potassium chloride which brought relief for the first time in months and her son was able to hold her hand as she slipped into unconsciousness and death.

Dr Cox duly entered in the hospital log the exact dose he had given, which was twice that

(continued on page 3)



# The Sanctity of Royalty

Our contemporary *Class War*, which aims its propaganda at the readers of popular newspapers, always includes a cheeky attack on the Royal Family. The rest of the anarchist press, hoping for a more analytical readership, ignores royalty as more or less irrelevant. Elizabeth the Second of England and First of Scotland has not been mentioned *Freedom*, to the best of our memory, since a note on her father's death in 1952.

This country is not a monarchy. It is an oligarchy ruled by elected politicians, bureaucrats and capitalists. The ritual deference to the 'monarch', and all the expensive trappings, are a monument to the time when the country *used* to be a monarchy. We can imagine people in a free society, boasting that they can trace their descent from a lot of unlovely Saxon, Angli, Frankish and Danish thugs; so long as they did not try to be boss over anyone else, such a family would be tolerated as harmless. Most anarchists tend to tolerate the royals as harmless because the pretence that the 'monarch' rules is mere ritual.

It may be, however, that the Royal Family threatens people's liberty, not by being powerful in a mundane sense, but by being sacred. When the English overran most of what is now England and Scotland they set up several independent kingdoms, but all their kings were chosen from a single family, said to be descendants of the sun. After their conversion to Christianity, they ensured the sanctity of their kings by restricting their choice to descendants of King Oswald of Northumbria, who was conveniently canonised. In 1066 it was agreed by all factions that the throne should go to the rightful heir of a canonised descendant of Oswald, Edward the Confessor. The wars between Harold Godwinson, Harold Hardrada and William of Normandy were

about who was Edward's rightful heir (the present Royal Family claims descent from all three claimants).

One evidence of Edward the Confessor's sanctity was that he could cure scrofula by touching the patient, a facility which was inherited by his successors. To show that it was holy, the cures were performed in church in the course of a religious ceremony. William III discontinued the practice, fearing that God might not recognise his claim to the throne. There are few alive today who think the Queen has cured them of a physical ailment, but there are thousands, if not millions, who think they have received a blessing because the Queen has waved at them.

Sacred royal families were common in agricultural societies. One theory is that they were descended from magicians among the earliest farming communities, who foretold the seasons by observing the positions of stars when everyone else was asleep, and gained the reputation for actually controlling the weather.

It can only be the continuing perception of sanctity which causes such an interest in royal trivia. The *Daily Mirror* increased its circulation by more than a million, by ignoring the world's tragedies and publishing photographs of the Duchess of York at play with her financial adviser. The *Sun* retaliated successfully by publishing the transcript of a telephone conversation between an air-headed, self-pitying woman alleged to be the Princess of Wales, and a man pretending to sympathise. During eleven days in which a recording of the conversation was available on a 'telephone information service', more than

52,000 people paid either £11.04 (peak time) or £7.36 (off peak) to hear it.

## The profits of sanctity

The 'monarch' no longer rules as a monarch, but the perception of sanctity continues to provide royalty with enormous wealth.

The Crown estates, including Regent Street and other enormously high rents, are the personal property of the Queen; or more precisely, it is a legal fiction that they have not been confiscated. George IV made an agreement with the politicians that all rents from the Crown Estates should be spent by them on the army and other state business, in return for which all the monarch's expenses should be paid through a fund called the Civil List. The income from the Crown Estates is now about ten times the Civil List (£80 million as against £8 million), so there are those who argue that the monarchy provides a profit.

The Civil List is supplemented by funds from the Ministry of Defence which provides the Royal Yacht, and the Department of the Environment which maintains several of the Royal Palaces.

In addition to the Crown Estates, the

monarch owns the Duchy of Cornwall and the Duchy of Lancaster. The Duchy of Cornwall is a great land holding which realises millions of pounds a year in rent, at present granted by the Queen to the Prince of Wales.

The Duchy of Lancaster is a lucrative medieval privilege. When a propertied person in England dies without obvious heirs and without leaving a will, their property goes to the state; except in the old county of Lancashire, where it goes to the monarch's personal bank account. The Duchy of Lancaster brings the present Queen about £8 million a year.

Various other privileges were given up by George VI in 1940, in return for an agreement that the monarch need no longer pay income tax. The Queen's personal shareholdings bring in at least £50,000 a year. Before 1980 when the top tax rates were brought sharply down, not paying tax meant an additional £40 million a year in the bank.

So long as people hold royalty sacred, the royalty racket is unstoppable.

## THE FACTORY AND BEYOND

# Banks to Rob or Own?

I'm the last person to comment on financial and economic matters. Even the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) turned me down for an account with them.

Their letter, dated 5th January 1989, ran as follows:

"Dear Sir,  
Current Account Application  
We write with regard to the above and to comply with normal banking procedures in completing our account opening formalities we need to check the electoral roll and as a result find you are not registered at the above address.

We would be grateful therefore if you could reply by return as to where you are registered.

Yours sincerely,  
The Manager"

Clearly whoever else BCCI had as account holders, including money launderers and drug barons and the like, they didn't want any poll tax dodgers on their books.

## Bundesbank and the speculators

Recently a television interviewer asked Mr Charles Richardson, the former gangster: "If you were taking up a life of crime today, where would you start?" Mr Richardson responded: "In the City of London".

In the welter of comment and counter-comment on the debacle which is gripping the European currencies, Sir Edward Heath bellowed: "Are the speculators to run our economies? Is it the will of the speculators which is to rule the European Community? That would be intolerable!"

It would seem that in the latest crisis the speculators are making the running. As I write, the French franc is under pressure and British political leaders seem to be hedging their bets about the future of the ERM (Exchange Rate Mechanism), Italy is now hesitating about re-entering the system, and the Spanish peseta, the Danish krone and the Irish punt are all in trouble.

In a way it's reassuring to an anarchist to see the ultimate impotence of the government central banks when faced with the full force of the speculators on the money markets. LEX in the *Financial Times* wrote:

"From the moment of Italy's devaluation a week ago, faith in the system's ability to deliver quasi-fixed exchange rates was shattered. What was perhaps unexpected was the tidal wave of speculation that swamped even well-armed central

banks ... The markets have proved they can win, and win easily."

Even the German Bundesbank, which some claim encouraged the speculation against the pound, is reported to have poured 60 billion Deutschmarks into intervention in the markets leading to sterling's withdrawal from the ERM. Since then the Bundesbank has been involved in further costly intervention to back-up the flagging French franc plus vigorous verbal support. If the flow of capital against the franc continues it looks like it may force a further German interest rate cut.

Are the speculators running the show in the EEC, as Sir Edward Heath is suggesting?

Such a view may be a bit simplistic. This week saw a book published called *The Bundesbank: the bank that rules Europe* by David Marsh. Mr Marsh claims: "The Bundesbank has long mounted a campaign to sabotage the plan" to set up economic and monetary union (EMU) because, he says, EMU is "an attempt, led by France and Italy, to emasculate the Bundesbank by subsuming the Deutschmark into a single European currency".

Is it the Bundesbank then which is manipulating the speculators to undermine the prospect of monetary union within the European Community, in order that it can remain, as Mr Marsh says, "ensconced on Europe's monetary throne"?

Another simplistic explanation! Better to regard all this as a series of power games going on. A speculator game! A central bank game! A Bundesbank game! A national government game! Some of these games compete and conflict with some of the others, while others complement and co-operate with each other, at least provisionally.

This approach gets us away from the idea of a centralised ruling class, and to consider instead a network of power relationships. By and large, however, as Mrs McHeath said in *The Three Penny Novel*, it is still better to own a bank than to rob a bank.

## Political fall-out

Since 1989, the view developed that capitalism was almost everywhere triumphant, and that it was to be the model for

(continued on page 8)

# The Dr Nigel Cox case

(continued from page 2)

needed to cause death. A nurse reported him to the police.

All kinds of legal niceties followed, especially as there was no body to provide evidence (Mrs Boyes had been cremated, before the nurse had decided to report the doctor).

Dr Cox has received overwhelming support both in the media and, as far as one can see, in the correspondence columns. One hopes that this case will help to oblige the law-makers to realise that the law that can sentence such a man to a prison sentence, even if suspended (in law he is still guilty of the 'crime' of 'attempted murder') is crazy.

The 11 to 1 guilty finding of the jury reminds this writer of the famous Liège trial just thirty years ago when the 25 year old mother of a thalidomide baby born armless and with deformed feet decided that she could not allow the poor babe to live. She had support on all sides - but not from the law. At her trial, instigated by the Catholic Church (which advocates the sanctity of life but at the same time blesses the armies when they go to war), the judge in his instructions to the jury followed the same routine as the judge in Dr Cox's trial. They had no choice. The accused were guilty on their own admission. Forget about compassion or the circumstances. The law is the law.

But the jury in Liège found the accused *not* guilty!\* Juries ought to be told that they do not have to automatically follow judge's instructions as to the law if they think the law does not apply to the case they are hearing. In another context there was the trial of Randle and Pottle who were involved in organising the escape from Wormwood Scrubs prison of

the Russian spy Blake. They never denied being involved but persuaded the jury, in spite of the judge's instructions about the law, to find them *not guilty*.

At the same time as the Dr Cox case there is that of the eighteen year old caught up in the Hillsborough football ground disaster three years ago, where he was crushed and his brain deprived of oxygen and who, as a result, has been unconscious ever since. *The Guardian* legal correspondent writes:

"He lies in a bed at Airedale Hospital, three miles north of Keighley, and is visited daily by his parents, and periodically by Liverpool players. Experts say he will never recover and could survive another thirty years.

Patients like Mr Bland are in a condition known as the persistent vegetative state. They are not brain stem dead, and breathe normally without the aid of a ventilator, but their higher brain functions have gone.

They have no swallowing reflex and have to be fed artificially through a tube."

Both the parents as well as his doctors want the feeding tube disconnected. But the doctor has been warned by a district coroner and by the Medical Defence Union that "such a step could expose him to a murder charge".

The physical condition of this young man, now 21, is so harrowing that one hesitates to quote the details, as published in *The Guardian*:

"The case came to a head three weeks ago when Tony Bland developed blood poisoning. Health authority lawyers were poised to seek an emergency High Court hearing, but he recovered after being given antibiotics.

Mr Bland still has a hole in his scrotum caused by an infection from the catheter through which he passes urine. His arms are flexed across his chest and one leg is drawn up, squashing his genitals."

Can a society call itself civilised that will charge a doctor for murder if he dares release this poor young man from a living hell?

\* Humanity versus the Law, *Freedom* editorial, 17th November 1962.

# Letter from Russia

## Some perspectives on the modern Russian anarchist movement

### Some characteristics of Russian anarchism

After seventy years' interruption, Russian anarchism may be opened to a wider audience. I think that such names as Bakunin, Tolstoy and Kropotkin are not the last in the Russian anarchist story. Anarchist traditions in our country had deep roots and had, to my mind, several sources.

The first source is that for all Slav peoples, particularly Russians, there was not sufficient opportunity for state authority to develop naturally. The ancient Russian state was formed for the purpose of convenient trade connections with Visantid, a Scandinavian prince in the ninth to tenth centuries. This corroborates theories (Gumpłowicz,<sup>1</sup> Oppenheimer,<sup>2</sup> and others) that conquest was the 'causa efficiens' of the genesis of the state.

The foreign character of the Russian state was increased by the Mongol-Tartar invasion in the thirteenth century. The above explains the appearance in an early period in the Russian political system a colonial-like attitude of contempt for the people.

The second source follows from the first. The Russian people considered state power not only as socially alien but also as an ethnically alien phenomenon, which was not so much improving as annihilating. Russian people considered state power to be contemptible. This explains the Russian anarchist tendency to be destructive rather than creative.

The third source: most Russians instinctively consider the state to be something strange and un-Russian. Therefore they seek ways to improve society without development of the state. This explains people's enthusiasm for soviets in the early stage of the Russian Revolution in 1917. However, it is quite right that "Russian soviets were used by the Bolsheviks to gain power, but later were destroyed by them",<sup>3</sup> and that "Soviet Marxism became a comical or tragic charade which no one could take seriously".<sup>4</sup>

Thus Russia has tried all sorts of statism: western statism (the so-called liberal model), eastern statism (the despotic model) and international statism (the class model). Our country has rejected all these models.

What is occurring in Russia now?

### New conditions for the development of Russian anarchism

Russia is chewing again the western model of statism, on which it choked in 1917. This model imitates the western political system and completely ignores the country's own traditions. The Russian government is oriented to western statesmen today and, as judged by general opinion, is acquiescing to their every wish. That is to say, the government now pursues an anti-popular politics, thereby continuing the colonial-like attitude of contempt for the people.

The new Russian government has saddled our people with all the encumbrances of economic reform. Simple people have been rapidly impoverished in the past few months. This is rousing the people's ire in relation to the present government and strengthening the anti-state spirits of Russians now.

However, the social dependence of our people, cultivated over the last seventy years, is still very strong, and many people in our country wait and hope for the return of an authoritarian regime. The probability that such a regime will come to power is very high now. But even at this point the regime could be fixed by carrying on our work to develop liberty.

All parties in opposition should stand up for the preservation of political liberty, the privatisation of service and trade spheres, for collective property (the anarcho-syndicalist

model), for self-management and so on.

Russia is a country of extremes. In this country, an anarchy at the bottom of political structures is allowed to deal with the despotism at the top. For example, the despotic Tsarist government endured in Russia for such a long time (1613-1917) without a great upheaval because it allowed another extreme - the peasant self-management communities, which existed on anarchist principles. The famous Russian philosopher N. Berdaev was quite right when he said, "Russian understanding of liberty was connected first of all with anarchism of principle and not with liberalism",<sup>5</sup> because an authoritarian regime will be forced to use some anarchist ideas, although in garbled forms and only for preservation of its own power. How is Russian anarchism developing in the new conditions?

### Russian anarchism in new conditions

New life was breathed into Russian anarchism in 1988-89; it was a radical part of the democratic movement in our country. The new Russian anarchism, like the democratic movement as a whole, was unfocussed; also, it diligently imitated the lines of western anarchist organisations.

- The Anarcho-Communist Revolutionary Union (CRU) is oriented to Black Cross.
- The Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists (KAS) is oriented to the IWA.
- The Association Movements of Anarchists (anarcho-individualists) (AMA) are oriented to western environmentalists and feminist groups.

This was wrong. In the west, where strong political elites hold a dominant position in political and social life, anarchism was relegated to an outlying area. I may be mistaken but, to my mind, there anarchism exists either at the bottom, where it uses orthodox anarchist theories of the nineteenth century and "... believes anarchism has progressed not by the works of anarchist 'thinkers' but by the activities of anarchist revolutionaries and revolutionary movements",<sup>6</sup> or, at the top, where there is a stratum of "anarchist thinkers" (N. Chomsky,<sup>7</sup> P. Feyerabend,<sup>8</sup> and others) which has not been closely connected with the majority of people. In the middle there is a gap.

As a result of copying such external lines of conduct, the Russian anarchist movement has been confused and weakened.

- ACRU mutated into Trotskyism.
- KAS is in a hopeless state.
- AMA is in its death agony.

Finally, there is a lack of understanding of the specific political situation in our country, where (as distinguished from the west) the sphere of political action is not completely occupied by political elites. I am quite sure that anarchism in Russia will attempt to be at the centre of the emancipation of society.

That kind of anarchist direction is beginning to be formed. It is now called anarcho-reformism. The fundamental idea of this direction is gradual elimination of the state.

This direction presumes the use of traditional anarchist (but nonviolent) action, and suggests for the time being to use representative democracy. Out of the three categories of nonviolent action classified by Gene Sharp<sup>9</sup> - symbolic actions; noncooperation; intervention and alternative institutions - anarcho-reformism prefers establishment of parallel institutions and has been greatly interested in statistical democracy or demarchy.<sup>10</sup>

The anarcho-reformist direction is currently composed of anarcho-democracy, anarcho-evolutionary and anarcho-constitutional groups, and this idea has wide circulation in

the Russian anarchist movement. This is corroborated by my opinion poll of delegates of the Congress of the KAS and of the Congress of the AMA in November 1990. Most delegates (62%) were in favour of evolutionary development, through development of alternatives and relying less and less on power institutions.

Everything points to the fact that Russian anarchists will be not only agents of social indignation and protest but also of social transformation in our country. I'm sure that anarcho-reformism will help in these efforts.

Arcadi Rysakov

1. L. Gumpłowicz, *Der Rassenkampf Soziologische Untersuchungen* (Innsbruck, 1883), page 218.

2. F. Oppenheimer, *L'Etat, ses origines, son evolution et sons avenir* (Paris, 1913), page 16 (translation: *The State*, Montreal: Black Rose

Books, 1975).

3. Brian Martin, *Uprooting War* (London: Freedom Press, 1984), page 69.

4. Frank Harrison, 'The Crisis of Soviet Statism' in *Our Generation*, vol 21, no 1, 1989, page 186.

5. F. Berdaev, publication in Russian.

6. Terry Harrison, Letter of the International Secretary ASF-IWA (Australia, 6th March 1990), page 2.

7. N. Chomsky, *The Chomsky Reader* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987).

8. P.K. Feyerabend, *Against Method: Outline of an Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge* (London, 1975).

9. Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973).

10. Brian Martin, 'Democracy Without Elections' in *Social Alternatives*, vol 8, no 4, January 1990, pages 13-15 (see also John Burnheim, *Is Democracy Possible?*, London: Polity Press, 1985).

## News from Northern Ireland

So, the Talks Process has hit the long awaited sticky patch. The constitutional parties now flounder around the constitutional questions that they were dodging all along. Curiously enough it was the placing of Articles 2 and 3 of The Irish Constitution at the bottom of the Talks agenda that sparked the walk-out by Ian Paisley and the DUP. The constitution is the bread and butter of the constitutional parties. And, in like fashion, the Republic of Ireland delegation couldn't countenance the continuation of the process without the Government of Ireland Act being tabled. On paper, these are the parts of documents that underpin the state of Northern Ireland as we experience it and lest any of us think they mean nothing, it is worth highlighting the fact that Articles 2 and 3 do shelter the deep aspirations of nationalists north and south for some kind of all-Ireland entity, and furthermore, it is in the Government of Ireland Act that the unionist/loyalist population receives its assurance and linkage to Britain. Unravelling all of that is a major post-colonial issue, compounded by ethnic issues of territory and identity, not unlike the mix found in the former Yugoslav republics.

Where does this leave the anarchists? In Ireland, anarchists continue their discussions and debates against the background of the Talks. But what of anarchists in Britain? Is there any thinking being done? Are there comments and analyses to be made, a debate to be enjoyed and a sharing of ideas from anarchists in Britain to be seen in the pages of *Freedom*? The government of the UK is engaged in negotiations about control, democracy, power and politics in a part of the kingdom; the thoughts of anarchists must be seen.

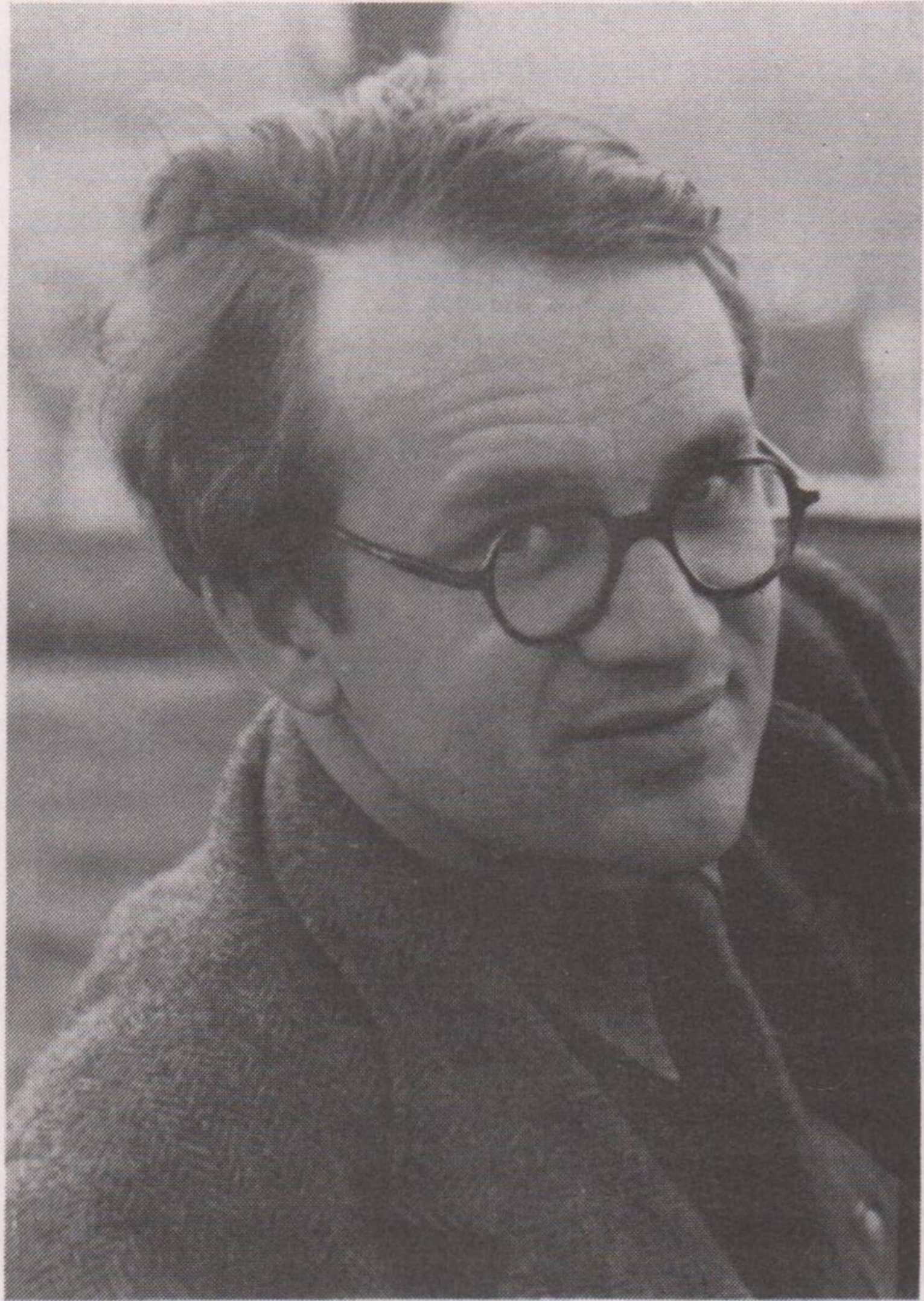
The shooting match continues. The IPLO implodes upon itself in an horrific feud in Belfast that is all about power, money and drugs. Should the people in Divis flats and other locations in Belfast where the IPLO operate turn them over to the police? What would anarchists in Britain suggest? The UVF shoots a former member allegedly handing £14,000 of drug earnings. Should local people in East Belfast and Newtonards hand drug dealers over to the police? Or the UVF? Or their recently outlawed associates, the UDA? Or should they shoot them

themselves? Or should they mount a campaign to legalise all listed drugs? Any thoughts? Somebody, as yet unnamed, tried to get into a function at the Dockers Club to shoot it up. Stopped at the door, they blasted the doormen. Loyalists gunned down the Fox family in May. Six men are arrested near Derry, just across the border in Donegal, and are charged with IRA membership. They will probably be linked with weapons found in a nearby field. Is there a set of anarchist principles and ideas that might illuminate any of this?

A few more Donegal stories then. As the most extremely north west county in Ireland it is perceived as remote, rural and peripheral. The people farm, fish, trade, woo tourists, and work in a small number of manufacturing industries. The biggest of these is Fruit of the Loom, a US-owned multi-national garment maker. In a very successful link-up with the McCarter family in Bunrana, the company employs 2,000 people producing one million garments a week. T-shirts, leisure suits, sweatshirts. News broke that they plan to double their workforce with a massive production expansion. Is this good news? Is it worthy of comment in *Freedom*, and what kind of comment? And how about the claim by Donegal Dáil deputy and GP, Dr James McDaid, that he would explain the abortion procedure to patients but would not tell them where to get one. How will this be seen by Donegal people when the proposed referendum on abortion takes place later this year? But for now all of Donegal and indeed the north west's attentions would appear to be on Gaelic football and the search for tickets for the All-Ireland Final between Donegal and Dublin. Should anarchists be interested in this mass event? And if so, in what way? Would such sporting spectacles be part of an anarchist society? And can anyone at this late stage explain why I haven't managed to get two tickets, one for me and one for Frank my 80 year old friend and babysitter? And why isn't this on the Talks Process Agenda somewhere?

Ah! Well! We'll probably watch it on the telly and look forward to your letters, comments, thoughts and ideas on these matters.

Dave Duggan



George Woodcock (1912- ) in London, 1946

## George Woodcock's Anarchism

### Anarchism and Anarchists

by George Woodcock (edited by Douglas Fetherling)

Quarry Press (European distributors Freedom Press), ISBN 1 550820 18 4, £9.95

"[Anarchists] envisage no static blueprint for a future world. For, when men have been freed from social and economic repressions, the evolution of human institutions will undoubtedly attain forms we cannot conceive. Proposals for future organisations must not therefore be regarded as permanent and hence dead, but as the bases of future social evolution" (1944).

In 1949, when he migrated to Canada, he still thought of anarchism as millenarian, but stopped believing in the doctrine himself. He insisted that Freedom Press withdraw his *Anarchy or Chaos*, and as a professional writer became an expert on anarchism from outside. During this period he wrote the article on 'anarchism' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the first edition of the Penguin book *Anarchism*.

"There are still anarchist groups ... but they form only the ghost of the historical anarchist movement, a ghost which inspires neither fear among governments nor hope among people, not even interest among newspaper men. Clearly, as a movement anarchism has failed. In almost a century of effort it has never even approached the fulfilment of its great aim to destroy the state and build Jerusalem in its ruins. During the past forty years the influence it once established has dwindled ... almost to nothing. Nor is there any reasonable likelihood of a renaissance" (1962).

In the late 1960s, when he was approaching fifty years of age, it seems to have dawned on Woodcock that the millenarian anarchism which he had embraced and then rejected was not the only possible anarchism.

"... anarchism is not a revolutionary doctrine in the millenarian sense of offering, like Christianity, a

New Heaven and a New Earth. It is rather a restorative doctrine, telling us that the means by which we can create a free society are already there in the manifestations of mutual aid existing in the world around us" (1990).

His thinking here is clearly influenced by Colin Ward's *Anarchy in Action*, which he acknowledges. But he finds the basis for it in the works of Kropotkin. He began calling himself an anarchist again.

The first edition of the Penguin *Anarchism* made no mention of Woodcock's own anarchist youth, but he was proud to acknowledge it in the revised edition.

"The 1950s were a period of somnolence for anarchism in Britain. The movement had lost two of its leading figures in 1949 when Marie Louise Berneri died and George Woodcock departed to start a new kind of life in Canada."

This last quotation, unlike the others above, does not appear in *Anarchy and Anarchists*. But it is worth quoting for the insight it gives into Woodcock's thought.

Yes, let him call himself a "leading figure" of British anarchism in the 1940s. He was the most prolific contributing editor to *War Commentary* and then *Freedom*, the author of four Freedom Press books, and a purveyor of well-written arguments for anarchism to all sorts of publications. But the movement was as lively in the 1950s as it had been in the 1940s, and the testimony of those who were around at the time is that Woodcock's departure made little difference to anything.

In his long and distinguished literary career,

Woodcock has changed his opinions, but two features of his work have been constant: his tendency to over-estimate his own importance to the world, and his willingness on occasion to present subjective impression as historical fact.

### The essays on people

The second part of the book consists of essays on Proudhon, Bakunin, Alexander Herzen, Kropotkin, Henry David Thoreau, Herbert Read, Noam Chomsky, Paul Goodman, and a Doukhobor prophet called Archangel Michael.

They are not all written in the same style. The Thoreau essay was written as an introduction to one of Thoreau's books, and points out how close Thoreau's ideas were to anarchism. Whereas the Chomsky essay was a 1974 article for *Freedom*, which dwells on the shortcomings of Chomsky's anarchism.

The Kropotkin essay is here published for the first time. It "appears as an undated typescript in the Woodcock papers at Queen's University Archives", where presumably it was found by the editor of the book, Douglas Fetherling.

For my taste, the most enjoyable essay is the story of Woodcock's personal encounter with the Archangel Michael, who managed to persuade some 200 Doukhobors (members of a Russian sect largely settled in Canada) that under his leadership they could build Jerusalem on Vancouver island and survive the imminent destruction of the world. "Free men ain't bound by reason", one of the group told Woodcock. The odd combination of joy and misery, and the farcical futility of the enterprise are conveyed by the deadpan presentation of details.

The literary pieces are well written, and I do not doubt that the literary-minded will enjoy picking holes in Woodcock's work. But I think he is at his most readable when he is at his least pretentious.

Donald Room

## The Dream Hawkers

### Nowhere in America

by Hal Rammel

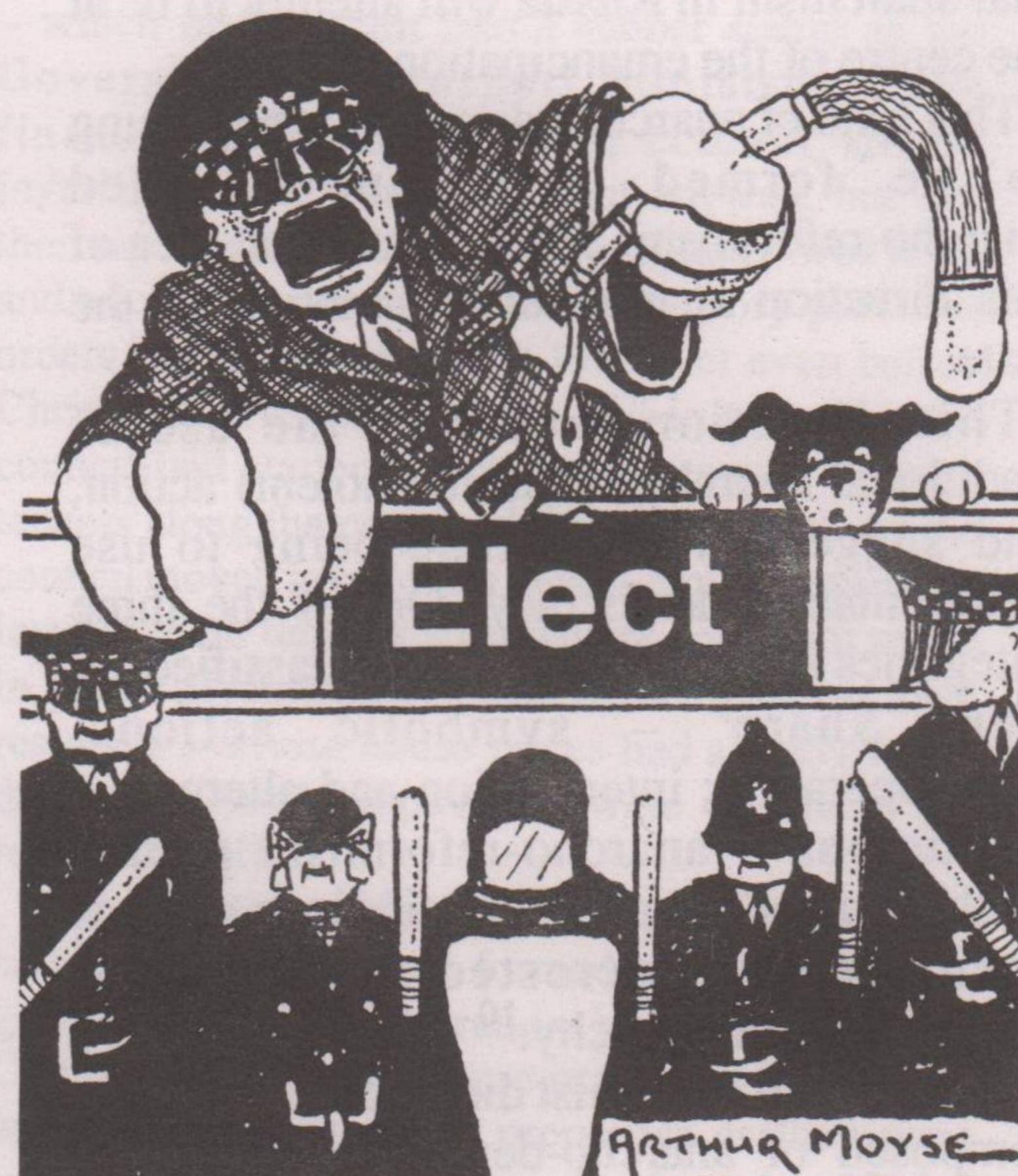
University of Illinois Press, Urbana & Chicago

Of your fear and misery, of your hate and greed, of your passion and love that dominates the daily living of your brief life it must follow, said he breaking the chalk and throwing it aside, that though you are but one of all the myriads peering the surface of the earth you have a dream of a society cut and culled to suit your expressed or suppressed desires. Of a Hitler it could be a world of endless time-share gas ovens and a never-ending queue of captive and debased lesser breeds within his law and war beautiful; for the Catholic Inquisitor an endless barbecue of well-roasted small-minded disbelievers. For the rich a non middle class permanent Tory government and for the poor wealth beyond the dreams of the late diving and dunking Robert Maxwell, rooms with space to walk, hot showers, supermarket choice, no fear of landlords and ladies and grey bureaucrats with briefcases and a utopia without promises. Before the late great Second World War there was an international working class that believed that these things were attainable in their lifetimes and let no one mock those men and women on the platforms of the left for too many worked, suffered and died for those dreams.

That we should dream of a better way of living is understandable and that we should work together for a collective plan is desirable, but age and anger and bitterness of betrayals becomes the rot within the rose. We seek it within the great collectives of the

political parties or the emotional prisons of the mass religious orders or from fey beings from inner or outer space, but always at the heart of it is the spoken or silent belief that our lives are wasted in a worthless society. Do I believe this? No, but then I do not believe in collectives or committees for I know in the chair opposite me is the dominant personality who will control first the weaker around me and then the indifferent and from the dark corridor we hear the voice whispering and then shouting that they have found the solution of a new way to collective happiness. It is so easy to mock the major or minor utopias on offer in the emotional supermarkets, yet one should never do this for whatever is offered can be rejected or ignored or opposed but never mocked. One is indeed in debt to Hal Rammel for his *Nowhere in America: the Big Rock Candy Mountains and other Comic Utopias* for it is a brilliant compilation, examination and kindly journey through American folk art. Hal Rammel has long laboured in the salt mines of the surrealist movements and his prose and his drawings have graced many an international printed page from the Swedish *Nakna Läppar* to the *Industrial Worker*. Hal gives a special vote of thanks to Franklin Rosemont for his help in the birth pains of his book, but why not, for how many of us within the White Hart pub have not boasted that we know Franklin. I cannot accept the title 'Comic Utopias' for, to re-quote A.L. Morton after its sell-by date the dream of a Land of Cockaigne exists "as an almost secret tradition through other channels" and it is good to go from the French 'Fabliau de Coquaigne' of 1250 to 'The Big Rock Candy Mountain' that many claimed to

have written within the last hundred years but when Hal Rammel can relate it to a fourth century BC Athenian poem 'but who's counting' must be said. To go into detail and in depth from the work of the Athenian writer, the second century AD Lucian of Samosatu to twentieth century W.C. Fields (the bank dick) is to give us not only a book worthy of a fine academic mind but of a writer who can hold one's attention by the readability of his prose style. If weary of Kinky Friedman's overwrought Chandlerism, it must be Hal Rammel and too much Whisky Mac and to tip-toe brain-wise down American social poetic memory lane. But never mock, little comrade, for The Big Rock Candy Mountain



"If elected ..."

was in the beginning and always the cry from America's hungry and homeless who saw no salvation in the wordy rhetoric of the soap-box salvationists. The state subsidised or mother's guilt-edged dividends students may roar it, or the residential saloon bar middle class mafioso may bay it after howling the Red Flag, but men and women sang their revolutionary song as they waited for their unrecorded death. For they believed in a better, more just and more humane society. It is said that when Hitler murdered his working class oriented Brown Shirt leadership many stood in those cellars giving the Hitler salute as they were butchered, for they believed, Oh Christ, they believed, and who are we to mock for within every utopian dreamed-up society lies betrayal, corruption and human weakness and yet such is the human tragedy that knowing that our own destruction lies in that effort we must still strive for that collective humane and just society. And dare one suggest that within the anarchist movement is the great happytime betrayal in that mockery and rejection of others in their fight is but the norm for so many a comrade in that every effort, no matter how flawed, is always and ever brushed aside in that 'come the anarchist society' is the cant answer of the day. Those who obey every dictate of the State, be it television, car or every tax the state demands, will offer every political, social or questing question that is demanded of them with a sterile negative and a wave of the pinkie murmuring 'come the anarchist society for the hundreds of millions of people upon this angry earth then all will be well'. And when asked in anger, panic or genuine desire for an answer 'what is this anarchist society that you offer for the hundreds of millions for their brief lives' then it is a slow wave of the other pinkie and a murmured 'it is hypothetical, it is hypothetical'. Must we always be the sterile Pharisees whispering obey our law for the

(continued on page 6)

## Liberty Reviewed

**L**iberty, edited by Benjamin Tucker, first appeared on Saturday 6th August 1881. Its final edition, some 403 issues later, appeared in 1908 when, after the destruction by fire of the *Liberty* offices and his 'Unique' bookshop, Tucker left America for France.

What were Tucker's reasons for producing *Liberty*? In his own words: "*Liberty* enters the field of journalism to speak for herself because she finds no one willing to speak for her".

During most of its near thirty years of publication *Liberty* appeared in a newspaper format of four to twelve pages, though in the later years after 1900 it appeared in a reduced format. For much of its history it was fortnightly, though it was reduced to monthly and bi-monthly appearances in its final years. *Liberty's* regularity and size was an admirable achievement in the age of letterpress.

Tucker used *Liberty* to give voice to his own interpretation of individualist anarchism, but did so within the context of late nineteenth century North America with its traditions of self-reliance and frontier independence, its continuing immigration bringing the poor of Europe to labour in the mines, fields, factories and workshops of North America. Poverty and violent class war were a recurring feature of life and it is no surprise that the pages of *Liberty* record comment on strikes, land tenure, the fate of the Indian nations, money,

manhood suffrage, production, exchange and distribution, the Haymarket events. Yet Tucker also made it his policy to feature poetry, serialised novels, essays of political philosophy, and letters which challenged the viewpoints of himself and his correspondents. If it was his soapbox, it was also a forum.

The issue of *Liberty* published on Saturday 30th July 1892 is perhaps typical of any produced by Tucker during the 1890s. By this time *Liberty* had moved to New York from its original home in Boston. The issue number 49 of volume VIII, whole number 231, was four pages in length, and similar in size to modern A3, with three columns of type per page under the *Liberty* masthead originally designed by a Mr Ipsen of Boston. Each issue commenced with an editorial titled 'On Picket Duty'. In these Tucker or his co-editor – in the early editions Victor Yarros – would comment on the press both establishment and radical, on events of the day, and on letters and contributions to *Liberty* itself. The editorial of 30th July 1892 was concerned with Johann Most and Berkman's attentat on Frick; it further commented on a speech of Burgess McLuckie at Youngstown, the editorial further condemned actions by troops of Pennsylvania State and the coverage of the same by the *New York Sun*. The second front page column contained a piece titled 'You Positively Must' by a Mirian Daniell. The third front page column featured a poem entitled 'Awake'.

Tucker was keen to give space to the 'avant garde' in poetry and literature, and much space was given to serialisation of novels and to poetry. However, in issue number 231 the inner pages 2 and 3 were divided between a piece by Tucker on the Frick attentat entitled 'Save Labor from its Friends', an article by William Baillie 'The Production of Crime' looking at crime from an anarchist viewpoint, and lastly 'Political Duty: a confession of skepticism' by T.P. Perkins being the final part of a four-part serialisation of the essay beginning in issue 228.

Much of the final page of most issues of *Liberty* in the 1890s was given over to advertisements for the movement's literature under the heading 'Liberty's Library' with 23 titles available by post from Tucker's New York box number. These included Bakunin's *God and the State*, Hugo Bilgrain's *Iron Law of Wages*, and also *The State: Its Origin, Its Nature and Its Abolition* by Albert Tarn described as an English anarchist. Other issues of *Liberty* list an A. Tarn of 124 Temple Chambers, London, as an 'agent' of *Liberty*. These also listed a C. Attersoll of 44 Ellington Street, Barnsbury, as another of its agents. *Liberty* had agents in England, Australia and across America.

The second major component of the 'ads' section was the 'Tendency Novels' which included works such as *My Uncle Benjamin* by Claude Tillier, *The Story of an African Farm* by Oliver Schreiner, *The Kreutzer Sonata* by Count Leo Tolstoy, *The Rag Picker of Paris* by Felix Pyat, and *What is to be Done* by N.G. Tcherny. Such then was one issue of *Liberty*.

Looking at the various issues of *Liberty* it is clear that many of the ideas, debates and opinions within its pages are still relevant today. The discussion of 'tactics' – the concerns with personal freedom, with the theft from labour of its due product. I wonder whether the papers and literature of the contemporary movement, viewed one hundred years hence, would pass the same test.

For those who wish to read further on *Liberty* then I recommend Benjamin R. Tucker and the *Champions of Liberty* available from Freedom Press (£5.50 post-free inland) or the microfiche edition of *Liberty* available from M. Coughlin, St Paul, Minnesota, USA.

JPS

## Fascism Down the Ages

**Fascism Down the Ages (2nd edition)**

F.A. Ridley

Romer Publications, £7.95

**R**idley, now 95 years old, is an erudite scholar and an original thinker, and the author of two Freedom Press books, now out of print. *Fascism, what is it?* (1940) and *The Roman Catholic Church and the Modern Age* (1942).

*Fascism Down the Ages* is a mainly factual book, covering the origin of the fascist idea in ancient Rome, the lives of the Byzantine emperors and their establishment of Christianity, the cruelties of the medieval church, and co-operation between the Roman Church and the fascist states in the twentieth century. I have kept the first edition as a reference book. Now I shall keep this second edition, which is better organised, in a more legible type, and provided with an index. It also has an additional chapter, taking the

history of Catholicism and fascism up to the 1960s.

The main problem with the book is its oddly stilted language, quite unlike what we remember of Ridley's style, although we are told the book is compiled from articles published in 1936-38. Now, comparing the two editions, we can see what happened; the articles were originally published in some other language and have now been translated. Only this can explain the many small amendments to the wording, between the first and second editions. It also appears that English is not the translator's first language. Some weirdly un-English constructions have survived the revisions, for instance "the in imperial purple clad demigod" (first edition, page 22 – second edition, page 19) and "the from different sources originating mysticism" (page 38 – page 40).

Ridley's erudition, however, shines through the foggy prose.

DR

## Food for Thought ... and Action

Latest titles in stock at the Freedom Press bookshop.

*Culture: the human way\** by Harold Barclay, Western Publishers. Dissatisfied with the way in which conventional textbooks presented the concept of culture – the central concept of cultural anthropology – Barclay wrote this essay in 1986 in an attempt to help rectify the situation. He makes clear in his introduction that he does not pretend it to be impartial. Instead, it is deliberately controversial, written from an idealist perspective: culture as ideas inside people's heads. Limitations of time and space (not to mention ignorance) prevent me from writing at greater length about this work. But suffice it to say that if you have read and enjoyed – or were intrigued by – his more recent articles in *The Raven*,\* viz 'Segmented Acephalous Network Systems', 'Male/Female Relations and the Anthropological Record' and 'Anthropology and Anarchism' in *The Raven* numbers 7, 9 and 18 respectively (£2.50 each), or his *People Without Government\** (1990 edition, £6.95), then you will also appreciate the ideas in *Culture*. If you have not seen the later essays, *Culture* is a good introduction which they complement nicely. 130 pages, £4.95.

*Alternative Green* number 3, quarterly. Covers the future of British agriculture, the results of the Rio 'Earth Summit', a look at the newly established UK Earth First! groups, the Headless Chicken Lefties, India, egoism, and 'Is Travel Green?' 20 pages, 90p.

*Alchemists of the Revolution: terrorism in the modern world* by Richard E. Rubenstein, IB Tauris. Normally this type of book wouldn't get the shelf space in the bookshop: a) because it represents the establishment line of definition and analysis of terrorism, and b) because it is a hardback book which would normally be too expensive for most people anyway. However, two reasons allow us to recommend this particular title in this particular case: firstly it has been remaindered and thus sells at a much lower price even than most paperbacks on the subject, and secondly, and more importantly, there are two particular chapters of more than usual interest to anarchists. One is entitled 'Revolutionary Terrorism: the Anarcho-Communists' and the other 'Rival Prophets: Bakunin and Marx'. The first concentrates on the Red Army Fraction and the Red Brigades (when one realises that the sub-heading should be 'anarchists/communists' rather than 'anarcho-communists' since there were few people of Kropotkin's persuasion involved!) as the largest groups. Unfortunately the book was written prior to recent revelations that the Red Brigades were in fact heavily infiltrated by

Italian 'Intelligence' and largely directed by them. The other chapter describes the differences between Marx and Bakunin from the First International. A further point in the book's favour is that although written by an establishment academic, the tone is remarkably neutral and non-judgmental. 264 pages, hardback, £3.50 (please add £1.15 postage).

*Unfinished Business: the politics of Class War*,\* Class War Federation / AK Press. The blurb says "this book was inspired by the uprisings and rebellions of people in Britain and around the world". It argues for the recreation of an independent revolutionary movement within the working class, inspired by the best traditions of unity and solidarity. A well-produced book with quite a few photographs and illustrations – although a fair number are not particularly useful (except to fill up space) or even relevant. It takes us progressively through chapters in 'Capitalism', 'The State', 'Class', 'Class Struggle', 'From Struggle to Revolution', 'A New World' and 'Revolutionary Organisations'. Then a lengthy appendix includes a brief history of capitalism, a long section on Ireland, two more on Marx and Money, ending with some information on the Class War Federation. 186 pages, £4.50.

*Ireland and British Imperialism*, Workers' Solidarity Movement. A useful pamphlet on 'the Irish question' comprising articles reprinted from *Workers' Solidarity* from 1985-92. 40 pages, £1.50.

*Ecstatic Incisions* the collages of Freddie Baer, AK Press, preface by Peter Lamborn Wilson. For those, like me, who are ignorant of her work, Freddie Baer is an American graphic artist and illustrator. Over the last decade her illustrations, ranging from the biting political to the sublimely surreal, have appeared in all manner of places: from works by the publishers of *Semiotexte*, *Fifth Estate*, *Factsheet Five* and *Anarchy*, to magazine and record covers, t-shirts and posters. This is her first collection of collage work, and very fine it is too. It includes previously unpublished material, new material and work done in collaboration with others. "For every thousand idiots-with-scissors, there's only one Freddie Baer" – from the preface. Black and white illustrations with some text, including an interview with the artist. For further comment on the art, don't ask me, ask Arthur! Large format, 73 pages, £7.95.

KM

Titles distributed by Freedom Press Distributors (marked\*) are post-free inland (add 15% towards postage and packing overseas). For other titles please add 10% towards postage and packing inland, 20% overseas. Cheques payable to FREEDOM PRESS please.

### New FREEDOM PRESS Titles

– JUST OUT –

*What is Anarchism? An Introduction*

80 pages ISBN 0 900384 66 2 £1.95

*Love, Sex & Power in Later Life: a libertarian perspective*

by Tony Gibson

104 pages ISBN 0 900384 65 4 £3.50

*Freedom to Go: after the motor age*

by Colin Ward

112 pages ISBN 0 900384 61 1 £3.50

available from FREEDOM PRESS (post free inland)

## The Dream Hawkers

(continued from page 5)

answer is beyond the wit and wisdom of the common man and woman. I followed the Town and his mantra-chanting Frau this day week in that like them I was seeking nirvana within the Royal Academy's major winter exhibition 'The Sacred Art of Tibet'. Here is this great Buddhist exhibition with its 160 major works dating from the ninth century to today. It is worthy of more space than I have now, but after four glasses of wine I had still not found nirvana and wished for Guinness. Like you, little comrade, I am cynical of all mass organised religions, but I love the closing lines of a press handout that, "The works in the exhibition of Tibetan Art have a dignity and a vibrancy not unlike that which Vistech International Ltd & Redab (UK) Ltd aim to achieve at Four Millbank in Westminster. There, as specialist developers, a truly healthy visually-pleasing and functional building has been created. The approach is always to put people first. Each aspect of a healthy indoor environment has been researched and addressed", and *The Times*, Vistech and Silhouette have sponsored this major exhibition. A cheerful type at the wine table whispered to me that he was the Dalai Lama in disguise. We made our way to the King of Corsica pub in Soho: "Lavatory for the use of customer only". Nirvana is a pint of Guinness and the key to the loo.

Arthur Moyses

## Anarchists Needed at Twyford Down

"Of course we're anarchists! That's exactly what we are. That's what this is all about - taking back control of your own life and your own space. We don't call ourselves anarchists first and foremost, but no-one would object if you call us that. Anarchy is one of our biggest weapons."

It's late afternoon and I'm sitting beside a campfire near the top of Twyford Down, just outside Winchester in Hampshire, talking to a young man from the Dongas Camp about the difficulties of spreading information about their protest against the Government's attempt to destroy forever another unique piece of beautiful English countryside by driving a motorway through it. There are about fifty people up at the protest camp for the Harvest Moon Festival this weekend; all sorts and ages of people from toddlers to OAPs, from middle-class anti-road activists to Earth First!ers and ageing hippies. The tents range from a huge white tepee to a cosy 'bender' half-hidden in a clump of trees where most of the core of permanent residents live.

What unites us all is a love of the planet and the hope that somehow our presence and our protest will prevent a 100ft deep scar being gouged out of the hill for a 42ft wide six-lane motorway. The Down is a Site of Special Scientific Interest, home to a rare species of orchid and the Chalkhill Blue butterfly; plus five historic sites, most importantly a Celtic field system which has never been excavated and a Bronze Age village settlement, the precursor of Winchester, so far only surface-skimmed by archaeologists. It is an area of outstanding natural beauty, and being just on the edge of Winchester, which has already encroached on most of the surrounding downland, a place widely enjoyed by the local people.

The camp has been here since March, initially by the small screeded public car park at the foot of the Down - now occupied by a number of so-called 'New Age' travellers (individuals and families who live on the road but aren't tinkers, roma or didikois) and the vehicles which are also their homes - and later on top of the Down among the dongas. It's now known as the Dongas Camp, and the group of protesters living there permanently call themselves the Dongas Tribe. The dongas (donga is a Bantu word meaning a gully, particularly an ancestral trackway) are wide, deep paths on the hillside above Winchester dating originally from the earliest hill settlement but

having their widest use during the great days of the sheep and wool industry in the Middle Ages, when Winchester was a major market and indeed the capital first of the Kingdom of Wessex and then of newly-unified England (Charles I moved his court back there during the Civil War).

Back in the '20s when Winchester, like most English towns, began to expand into suburbia, two old boys of Winchester College bought Twyford Down to prevent houses being built on it. When the second of them died in 1955 the land was given to Winchester College to be held in trust. Unfortunately the exact terms of what it was to be held in trust for or against were not spelled out, and the Winchester College Trust was persuaded - despite protests from staff and pupils as well as local residents - to sell the land to the Department of Transport. The local campaign against the scheme was vociferous and has lasted over a decade. It was fought by conventional, often Tory, people from a partly 'nimbby' and partly conservationist interest. Legal means finally failed to save the Down earlier this year, when a ruling by the European Community's Commission that the road scheme should be dropped until a proper Environmental Impact Assessment Study had been prepared was publicly ignored by the government, incidentally leading to the resignation in protest of the European environment minister.

Most locals - though not all - now seem to have dropped the fight. Attempts to make Twyford Down an issue at local hustings in the General Election failed. There is a tiredness too on the part of long-time local activists who feel they have lost. The main opposition now comes from the young people of the Dongas Tribe and other protesters at the camp. Their latest plan is to declare the camp an Independent territory, although I suspect this is more a publicity exercise than a serious attempt to secede from the UK.

The protest itself mainly takes the form of night-time outings by 'the dragon' - a large number of people accompanied by drums and gongs dance whooping from the Down into the

open (as yet) store area where the DoT's contractors' earth-moving equipment is kept. An enormous concrete bridge to carry a motorway above the existing A33 Winchester Bypass has already been partly erected. It is a monstrosity on an anti-human scale of Canary Wharf proportions. Each night the police are called, their cars and themselves duly danced around and jeered at until the protesters return to the hill in their own time, where they stand looking down and watching. Some nights this process is repeated once the police move off.

At the camp, the main campfire is the focus of the loose-knit community. A kettle is always on the go, people drift to and fro striking up casual conversations, or serious discussions (e.g. on strategy or ethics) are held. The atmosphere is laid-back and easy-going, the meetings are carried on fairly quietly with very little anger or acrimony. There is no chairman, leader or spokesperson. This is not a deliberately planned structure, however. Indeed, nothing about the camp appears to be planned at all - this can be very off-putting for the more staid supporters who visit and may feel themselves to be on the outside looking in, because so much of what happens is informal, taken for granted by people who over the months have come to know each other so well that they seem to be motivated by an unseen spirit enabling them to communicate almost telepathically in sharing their ideas, feelings and plans.

Sometime within the next fortnight, the government intends to send in bulldozers to start stripping the topsoil off this precious and irreplaceable area. Only people who care can stop them. Conventional legal channels have been tried and have failed. This government acts above the law, in what is now virtually a one-party state. (I heard that a group of vehicles trying to reach us for the Harvest Moon Festival on the Down this weekend was persistently turned back and prevented from driving along roads, by police invoking Section 14 of the new Public Order Act.)

One might ask why the government is so keen to destroy this place of beauty and its unique ecosystem. After all, everyone knows that it would have been £5 million cheaper, less unsightly and a good deal easier to have simply widened the existing Bypass to take the M3, thus joining its two ends - assuming the two ends actually have to be joined, which is debatable. But of course it isn't the Tories' own money they're spending. It's *our* money, taken in taxes from our wages and from practically everything we buy. Money they take and use without public control. And who are they giving it to? To construction companies who build roads. And it surely is no coincidence that twelve of the fourteen largest contributors to Tory Party funds are large construction companies. What Twyford Down represents is callous disregard for the environment by a particularly corrupt government for the purpose of stealing millions of pounds from the people and feeding it through various firms into their own Party's coffers.

The whole scheme stinks, but without a lot more support there is little hope of stopping it. It *can* be done, even at this late stage, if it becomes a bigger issue and more widely known. Right now what is most needed is publicity and especially for as many people as possible, of whatever political persuasion but particularly anarchists, to go and visit the Dongas Camp and stay as long as possible. On the weekend of the 26th September a Skills Sharing Weekend is planned, with workshops including training in non-violent direct action as eventually it may well come down to individuals directly halting construction work.

### To get to the Dongas Camp:

From Winchester follow Chesil Street (well signposted, if only because of a 700-place car park!) to the A33 roundabout below St Catherine's Hill and go straight across (Morestead Road). A very short distance along is a sewage works entrance on the left (you'll smell this!) and a car park on the right with cars and various vans and trailers. Anyone there will tell you how to get to the Dongas Camp, and it is also well signposted now. Arrive in daylight is possible, as the dongas are confusing to walk up in the dark until you know the way. By road, from the A33 (Bypass), turn up Morestead Road at the same roundabout, which is just north east of the Hockley Traffic Lights where the new motorway bridge is being built. (Further information: contact Chris Gilham on 0962 867338)

It was a sultry summer afternoon, the 1st of August, as nearly 200 protesters gathered at Hyde Park Corner in Central London for what was billed as 'K-Day' Karmageddon, a demonstration to mark the introduction of 'K' registration cars and celebrate the drop in new car sales. The event was organised by Reclaim the Streets, a non-violent action network of people opposed to the continuing expansion of private car use at the expense of cyclists, pedestrians and other road users of less wasteful public and mass transport. The roads issue brings together many political struggles, since it related to issues of health, the environment and social discrimination.

Amongst the groups involved in organising the protest was the London Cycling Campaign, which has proposed a 1,000 mile network of cycle routes through London with crossings and by-passes at Marble Arch and Hyde Park Corner among the most essential links, and Westminster Cycling Campaign. Many people brought their bikes and, as we progressed up Park Lane, reduced to one line of traffic to allow us to pass. The sound of bicycle bells was accompanied by rough music in the form of hub caps and other old car parts hit by sticks or clashed together. Behind us, towed on ropes, we dragged a dead Mini Clubman ("I knew it was going to cause comment" said an organiser when asked why not a more appropriate Cortina or Cavalier, the archetypal company cars, "but it only cost us fifteen quid and they delivered it free!"). This had been brought on the tube from Brixton in five parts and reassembled at Hyde Park, later to be ceremonially destroyed. A cornet, mouth organ and kazoo provided some jazz music at the front of the march, giving it something of the air of a New Orleans funeral.

### Danger to us and our children

Along Park Lane lumps of chalk were produced and hop-sotch pitches drawn in the road, which we then began to play on. Few protesters knew even the basic rules - it must have been a long time since children could play hop-sotch in the streets; nowadays many can't even cross the streets safely

to go and play in a park. During 1986 5,000 adults and more than 400 children were killed on the roads in Britain, and among more than 300,000 other car-related casualties were another 8,500 children suffering severe multiple injuries and 32,500 involved in less serious accidents. Friends of the Earth set up their 'Kids Alive' campaign, but unfortunately little has changed since then. Research at the University of Nottingham found that drivers normally ignore the presence of children on the side of the road and do not lower their speed.

A recent road safety poster campaign told how many road accidents involve cyclists and pedestrians. It didn't mention that nearly 100% involve cars and lorries. One certainty about child road deaths is that none were driving a car at the time. Also, children in what the sociologists call Socio-economic Class V (i.e. children of manual and unskilled workers) are seven times more likely to be run over than children in Class I (professional and upper managerial workers), yet only 22% of Class V families own a car.

### Danger to our communities and public spaces

The situation is worsening. The Tories get considerable financial backing from large construction firms, and the road-building lobby has never had it so good. The present emphasis on roads and private motor vehicles is only good for the financial interests of the Tory Party and their rich supporters; it's bad for everyone else (and ultimately for the whole ecosystem). More roads encourage extra traffic, creating more pollution, and destroy our communities and public open spaces. Cecil Parkinson, as 'Minister for Roads' at the Department of Transport in early 1990, stated, when announcing twenty new major road-building schemes, that the proposed roads would be 'green'.

## Karmageddon

A spokesman for Friends of the Earth (*Peace News*, 30th March 1990) commented, "and maybe the growing levels of nitrates will improve the quality of British drinking water". Roads are not green, cars are not green; every new road destroys acres of green countryside or cuts through existing community networks in towns, whilst catalytic converters and unleaded petrol simply change the form of pollution - internal combustion engines cannot be made planet-friendly, nor can increasing motor traffic be people-friendly.

Several groups involved in defending their homes, communities and amenities against the onslaught were represented at the Karmageddon protest. Just days earlier, official compulsory purchase orders were served on people living in the way of the proposed M11 link road in East London's Leytonstone. A series of public inquiries - which usually turn into a rubber stamp as the Government's transport ministry or the financially-dependent local council almost invariably does what they want anyway, but can then say that the public were consulted - was held, and another concerned with compulsory purchase orders began in September 1989; yet even before Christmas, with that inquiry still in progress, the council had started attacking squats and evicting tenants along the proposed line of the road. As the council moved in to smash newly-empty houses up, leaving them derelict so squatters could not move in, prices of remaining houses fell so that other local residents - whose house prices had already fallen due to the road proposals - were unable to get reasonable offers.

After attempts to block the road plans in principle had failed, local people formed a 'Stop the M11' group, and in collaboration with East London Community Action League organised to move in and start legal squats in properties as they were vacated. Very early one morning in spring 1990, I was among a group of twenty or so who converged

on such a house in Fillebrook Road. The house-destroyers' van was already waiting across the road. As the occupants moved out of their home they left by the front door, conveniently leaving the back door open to that one of us could slip in without causing any damage. A notice claiming squatters rights was soon pinned to the front porch, and people began making cups of teas, tidying the neglected front garden, and generally giving the men in the van a hard time. It was entirely peaceful. The house soon became home to several young people who would otherwise have been sleeping rough or kipping on their friends' floors. It is still occupied.

Other Karmageddon activists came from People Against the River Crossing (PARC), who are opposing the East London river crossing scheme and trying to save Oxleas Wood on the South London / Kent border. The government has threatened that its plans to drive a major road through this last remaining ancient woodland of south-east England will go ahead, despite the European Commission (which it is supposed to support) having banned the project because a satisfactory environmental impact assessment was not done (the Commission has dropped its opposition to the M3, unfortunately). This issue is now becoming more widely known and PARC organised a Mass Tree Hug (sounds silly, doesn't it!).

### Autogeddon

At Marble Arch we towed the Mini into Hyde Park. There were brief speeches, some interviews for radio and television, and a photo call for the freelance press photographers; then the car was joyously smashed to pieces with an assortment of hammers and broom-handles to the accompaniment of war-whoops, cheers and more rough music from the surrounding crowd. The demolition was followed by a minute's silence in memory of the thousands of people killed on the roads, and Heathcote William's poem 'Autogeddon' was recited. A chilling end to a good demonstration on a hot and smoggy day.

(continued on page 8)





# MEETINGS

## History Workshop 26

History Workshop 26 will be held on 6th, 7th and 8th November 1992 at the University of Northumbria (formerly Newcastle upon Tyne Polytechnic). As usual there will be a workshop on anarchism. This year's programme is as follows:

- **Heiner Becker** – *Johann Most and Emma Goldman*
- **Phil Ruff** – *'Peter the Painter' and the Latvian Anarchist Movement in Exile, 1906-1914*
- **Jeremy Jennings** – *Libertarians and the Fight Against Bolshevism in France, 1920-1940*
- **Les Prince** – *Isocracy: Organising Without Leaders*
- **Zeb Korycinska** – *Freedom to Learn with Home Education*
- **Gideon Kossoff** – *The American Green Movement*

**Registration fees:** Waged (with institutional support) £25, Waged £15, Unwaged £5.

All registrations (cheques payable to TYNESIDE HISTORY WORKSHOP) should be sent and inquiries made to:

**History Workshop 26**  
4 Cloth Market, Newcastle upon Tyne  
NE1 1EA

## FREEDOM fortnightly

ISSN 0016 0504

Published by Freedom Press  
84b Whitechapel High Street  
London E1 7QX  
Printed by Aldgate Press, London E1

## Anarchist Forum

Fridays at about 8.00pm at the Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square (via Cosmo Street off Southampton Row), London WC1.

### 1992/1993 MEETINGS

- 9th October - 'Anarchism and the Limits of Reform' (speaker Dave Dane)
- 16th October - General discussion
- 23rd October - 'Women in Society' (speaker: Mary Quintana)
- 30th October - General discussion
- 6th November - 'Work' (speaker George Walford)
- 13th November - General discussion
- 20th November - 'A Retiring Person' (speaker Peter Neville)
- 27th November - 'Prison in an Anarchist Society' (speaker Peter Lumsden)
- 4th December - General discussion
- 11th December - 'Exploiting the State' (speaker Andrew Lainton)
- 8th January - 'An Anarchist Daily' (speaker John Rety)
- 15th January - General discussion
- 22nd January - 'Whiteway And On' (speaker Michael Murray)
- 29th January - General discussion
- 5th February - 'Anarchism and Feminism' (speaker Lisa Bendall)

Meeting slots still available until 26th March 1993 and from 23rd April to 9th July 1993

Books reviewed in *Freedom* can be ordered from

**Freedom Press Bookshop**  
84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

Open  
Monday to Friday  
10am-6pm  
Saturday 10.30am-5pm

## The Raven Anarchist Quarterly

number 18 on  
'ANTHROPOLOGY,  
ANARCHISM & AFRICA'  
— out now —

Back issues still available:

- 17 - Use of Land
- 16 - Education (2)
- 15 - Health
- 14 - Voting
- 13 - Anarchists in Eastern Europe
- 12 - Communication
- 11 - Class
- 10 - Libertarian Education / Kropotkin on Technical Education
- 9 - Architecture / Feminism / Sociology / Bakunin and Nationalism
- 8 - Revolution: France / Russia / Mexico / Italy / Spain / the Wilhelms-haven Revolt
- 7 - Alternative Bureaucracy / Emma Goldman / Sade / William Blake
- 6 - Tradition and Revolution / Architecture for All / Carlo Cafiero
- 5 - Canadian Indians / Modern Architecture / Spies for Peace
- 4 - Computers and Anarchism / Rudolf Rocker / Sexual freedom for young
- 3 - Social Ecology / Berkman's Russian Diary / Surrealism (part 2)
- 2 - Surrealism (part 1) / Vinoba Bhave / Walden School
- 1 - Communication and Organisation / Guy Aldred / History of Freedom Press

£3.00 each (post-free anywhere)  
from  
**FREEDOM PRESS**

## FREEDOM AND THE RAVEN SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	inland	abroad surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe airmail
<i>Freedom</i> (24 issues) half price for 12 issues				
Claimants	10.00	-	-	-
Regular	14.00	18.00	27.00	23.00
Institutions	22.00	25.00	33.00	33.00
<i>The Raven</i> (4 issues)				
Claimants	10.00	-	-	-
Regular	11.00	12.00	16.00	14.00
Institutions	13.00	15.00	20.00	20.00

Joint sub (24 x <i>Freedom</i> & 4 x <i>The Raven</i> )				
Claimants	18.00	-	-	-
Regular	23.00	28.00	40.00	37.00

Bundle subs for <i>Freedom</i> (12 issues)				
	inland	abroad surface	abroad airmail	
2 copies x 12	12.00	13.00	20.00	
5 copies x 12	25.00	27.00	42.00	
10 copies x 12	48.00	54.00	82.00	

Other bundle sizes on application

Giro account number 58 294 6905  
All prices in £ sterling

## FREEDOM CONTACTS

### Sectional Editors

*Science, Technology, Environment:* Andrew Hedgecock, 9 Hood Street, Sherwood, Nottingham NG5 4DH  
*Industrial:* Tom Carlile, 7 Court Close, Brampton Way, Portishead, Bristol  
*Land Notes:* V. Richards, c/o Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

### Regional Correspondents

*Cardiff:* Eddie May, c/o History Department, UWCC, PO Box 909, Cardiff CF1 3XU  
*Brighton:* Johnny Yen, Cogs U/g Pigeonholes, University of Sussex, School of Cognitive and Computing Sciences, Falmer, Brighton, East Sussex BN1 9QN  
*Northern Ireland:* Dave Duggan, Black Cat Press, PO Box 5, Derry BT48 6PD  
*North Wales:* Joe Kelly, Penmon Cottage, Ffordd-y-Bont, Treddyn, Clwyd CH7 4LS  
*Norfolk:* John Myhill, Church Farm, Hethel, Norwich NR14 1HD

## SUBSCRIPTION FORM

To Freedom Press in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

- I am a subscriber, please renew my sub to *Freedom* for ..... issues
- Please make my sub to *Freedom* into a joint sub for *Freedom* and *The Raven* starting with number 18 of *The Raven*
- I am not yet a subscriber, please enter my sub to *Freedom* for ..... issues
- I would like the following back numbers of *The Raven* at £2.50 per copy post free ..... (numbers 1 to 17 are available)
- I enclose a donation to Freedom Fortnightly Fighting / Freedom Press Overheads / Raven Deficit Fund (delete as applicable)

I enclose £..... payment

Name.....

Address.....

.....Postcode.....