

## WHO'S RUNNING THE ISRAEL RIOTS?

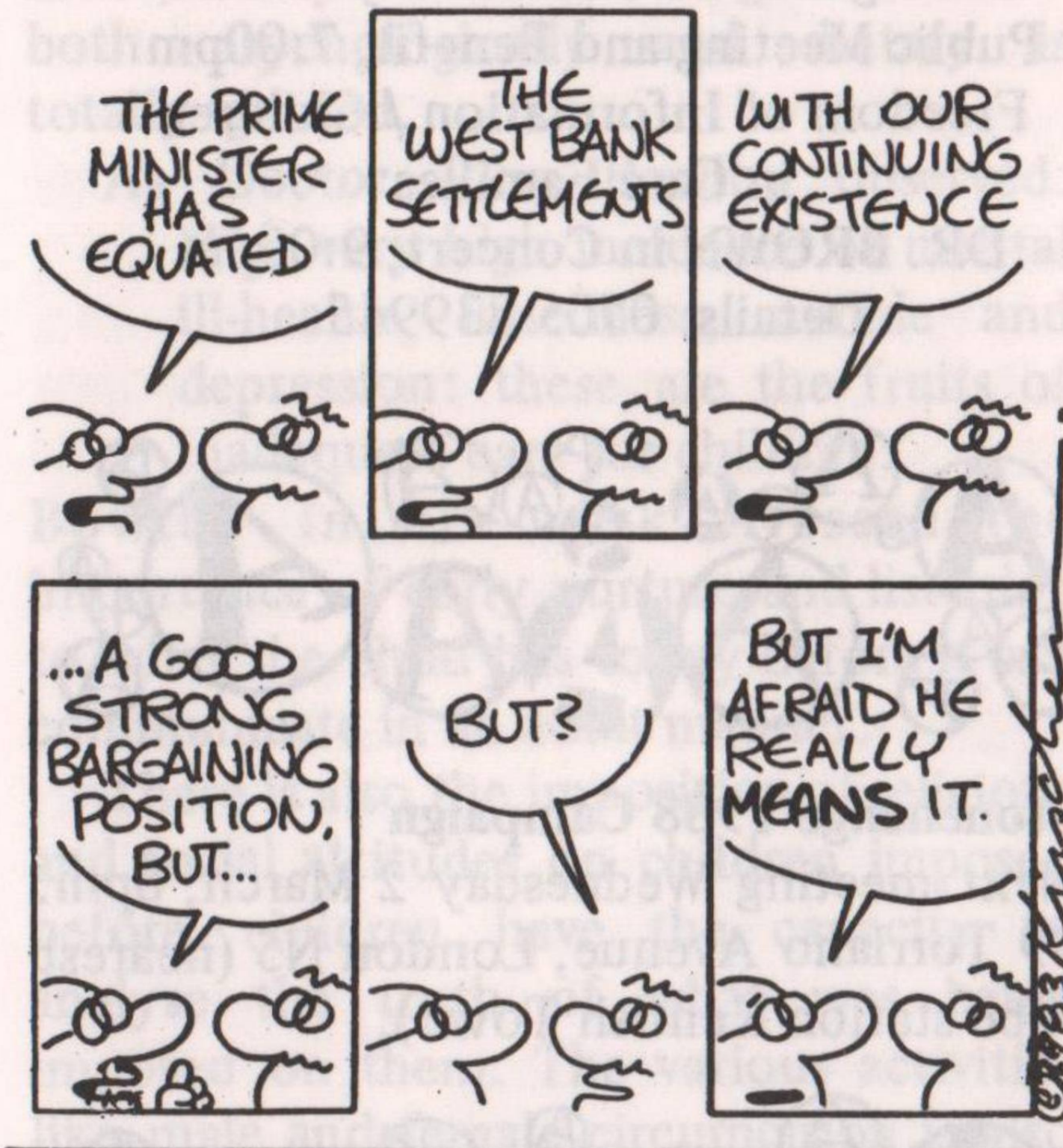
*THE Sunday Times* on 31 January claimed exclusively to know who it was responsible for organising the recent riots in the territories acquired by Israel after June 1967. Yet again, we have an example of the British press's inability to believe that people can organise themselves, can act without the instigation of an acknowledged authority. True, even *The Times* admitted that at first the rioting was spontaneous and uncoordinated, but it now 'reveals' that the riots were steered by a secret group allied to five recognised factions — three varieties of pro-PLO nationalists, the 'Communist' Party (which tends to favour reabsorption of the West Bank into Jordan), and the Islamic Jihad movement.

The rioting and strikes seem to have taken the PLO by surprise as much as the Israelis (who have always believed that 'their' Arabs were docile and their 'occupied' Arabs well under control), but as anyone could have seen the Occupied Territories (or 'Administered Territories' as the Israelis prefer) — including the mainly Druze Golan Heights and 'Arab' East Jerusalem — were always a powder keg waiting to ignite.

So long as the Israeli economy remained buoyant and able to absorb this sorely exploited workforce (8% of the total Israel labour force by 1981) and so long as remittances kept pouring in from migrant workers with Jordanian nationality in the Gulf States, many Palestinians under Israeli rule were prepared, as Rabbi Me'ir Kahane of the religious-fascist 'Kach' movement put it, to sell their national pride for a plastic toilet seat. Now that unemployment is as much a problem in Israel as the rest of the American-dominated world, the Arab workers are the first to get the chop.

The basic discontent which was always simmering just under the surface is most keenly felt by youthful Palestinians who remember nothing but Israeli occupation. In the Gaza Strip particularly, disaffected young people are turning increasingly to fundamentalist Islam, a religion at the same time deeply concerned with social justice and deeply militant, and more significantly, deeply connected historically with the Arab peoples and their culture.

This religious element, however, is not the only factor encouraging young Arabs



Jerusalem Post, 1983

to take on with rocks and petrol bombs what *Jane's* recently called the third toughest army in the world. Through circumstances and through a traditional reverence for education and learning, many Palestinians are very politically aware, and have an international perspective which would be uncommon in Britain. The leftist press is stressing their belief that the riots are a working-class movement, or at any rate are being organised and led by the revolutionary vanguard of the Arab workers. Obviously, no-one with a modicum of political awareness is going to be twiddling their thumbs in such times; but equally obviously, it does not take a great ideological thinker to recognise one's oppression, particularly when it is as blatant and as frequently lethal as that in Israel's occupied areas. What little organisation there is as yet seems to be local, with contact but not much more between some groups of activists in different areas. In any case, it is hard to see what the militant fundamentalists of Gaza have in common with an anti-religious leftist intellectual from Christian Ramallah, other than a common nationality and the experience of life under occupation.

Suggestions of religious inspiration, a sudden outpouring of working-class consciousness, and a cleverly-conceived PLO plot may all contain a grain of truth; but it is hard to escape the conclusion that what we have watched on our TV screens over the past few weeks has been completely spontaneous; an outpouring of twenty years of frustration at occupa-

tion, repression, discrimination and exploitation, by young people who have never known anything else but know there is another way.

Naturally, attempts have been made to channel this frustration, although it has hardly been necessary to encourage such feelings or responses. By now, much of the original anger has been spent and blind energy is giving way to organisation. But the organisation is coming not from an ageing and divided PLO but from within, from people whose primary motivation is for their own personal freedom — seen in national terms, naturally, because their repression as individuals and as a community has been nationally based.

The Jewish people over the centuries have learned what it means to be oppressed but have also, through the Jewish State, become very proficient at themselves oppressing others in Palestine. For the past twenty years the villagers and refugees of the West Bank and Gaza have suffered the whole rigmarole of routine military law, with house arrests, demolitions, internment and censorship. Now over the past few weeks we in the outside world have been treated to scenes of young Arabs, many scarcely more than children, being tear-gassed, beaten, shot with live and plastic bullets, arrested, detained without trial and deported from their own country, and we have heard the justifications and platitudes from the Israeli establishment. We have been shown the appalling conditions of overcrowding, deprivation and neglect in the UN-run refugee camps of the Gaza Strip. We should be aware too of the past of these people and their families — from Deir Yassin to the refugee camps and slums of the Levant, to Black September, to the Phalangist massacres in Sabra and Chantilla, to the siege of Bourj el-Barajneh, to the Camps War in Lebanon (the last of the sieges was lifted officially only in January this year), and the appalling conditions, loss of life and terrible injuries suffered by so many thousands as a result of the Palestinians' determination to retain their attachment to the land they still regard as 'home'.

As the State of Israel reaches its 40th birthday, it is clearly time for a reassessment to be made.

Katy Andrews

# FREEDOM

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we rely on your donations

### IS YOUR SUB OVERDUE ?

A number of subscription notices sent out in December have still not been paid. Please pay, or if you are broke please let us know, then we will not cut you off.



PLEASE NOTE CHANGE OF DATE

PORTSMOUTH

Friday 4 March 1988

(not Saturday 20 February as announced earlier; sorry for the inconvenience)  
Trafalgar Place Community Centre  
Public Meeting and Benefit, 7:00pm  
Freedom of Information / Children  
in Care Families'  
DR. BROWN in Concert, 9:00pm  
Details: 0705 839945



### Stonehenge 1988 Campaign

Next meeting Wednesday 2 March, 8pm.  
99 Torriano Avenue, London N5 (nearest tube station Kentish Town).



### FREEDOM NEWS SCOOP

About the 'Stalker Affair', we hear that the survivor of the two youths shot in a barn, an incident recorded on tape by MI5, has accepted an ex-gratia payment from the RUC of a five-figure sum. This will stop his damages suit against them. Watch out for this information in the national press, in about three weeks' time.

*DO YOU dream in dark colours? Do you like Celtic music of disconcerting sounds, the wailing of banshees? Poetry of disturbing images? The fur cup and saucer of Meret Oppenheim? If so, you will be interested in a cassette of surrealism in 1988.*

Details from: **Tony 'Doc' Sheils**  
3 Vale View, Ponsonooth,  
Truro, Cornwall



AMK: No, unsuitable for *The Raven*; destroyed as requested.



**Anarchism: theory and practice, past and present.** Sixth annual series of six weekly meetings, with talks by Nicolas Walter followed by discussions, at Mary Ward Centre. Begins at 6 pm on Tuesday, 19 April. Inquiries to: Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, London WC1N 3AQ (telephone 01-831 7711).

## London Anarchist Forum

Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, WC1 (behind Southampton Row, opposite Russell Square). Meetings start at 8pm. Forum people usually in ground floor cafe beforehand.

February

19 Felix Dodds (ex-chair, National League of Young Liberals): **The Alignment of the Left**

26 Open discussion

March

4 Cliff Harper: **Art and Anarchism**

11 Open discussion

18 People from the **Federation of Anarcho-Pacifists** will spark off a discussion.

Centre closed for Easter

April

22 Open discussion

29 Ruan Bowden: **Anarchism and the Fear of Freedom**

May

6 Open discussion

13 Peter Neville: **The Anarchist Game Plan**

20 Open discussion

27 Peter Lumsden: **Anarchism and Christianity**

Centre closes for summer

Mary Ward Centre

42 Queen Square, London WC1  
Fridays at 8pm

## London ACF

The Anarchist Communist Federation will be holding the following discussion meetings, open to all:

Technology	25 February 1988
Family	10 March 1988
Leisure	24 March 1988
Education	7 April 1988
Health	21 April 1988
Future Society	5 May 1988

Alternate Thursdays starting at 8.30pm  
Marchmont Street Community Centre

Marchmont Street  
London WC1

(Nearest tubes: Kings Cross, Euston, Russell Square.)

# Child Abuse

THE BRITISH are well known for child abuse. I remember at the elementary school I attended in the thirties there was a teacher who used to go through pupils' work and give them a stroke of the cane for every mistake. After fifty years the British have only just (reluctantly) given up such barbarous methods of inducing knowledge to the brain. Nor were such peculiar activities confined to the schools of the working class, in the educational establishments of the ruling class they got some pupils to beat the others.

Violence as a method of child nurture is of course bound up with the private property system which regards children as the property of their parents. This makes it difficult for the authorities who are supposed to protect children from the worst excesses of their parents or owners. Most parents were quite prepared to hand over their children to the state where the attitudes to child nurture were similar to their own.

Of course it is only the sex question that makes news, owing to the attitude of inhibition that the British have to sexual matters. The Thatcher attitude that it is only the nuclear family, and not society, that matters reinforces the view that children are the sole province of their parents, and children are in effect regarded as second class citizens. Unquestioning obedience of parents and schoolteachers of course leads to unquestioning obedience to the State. The difference in the attitude

of many Mediterranean cultures to their children to the British is that children in Britain are often regarded as an appendage that has to be put away at the convenience of parents. It is extraordinary that all sorts of expensive educational courses are undertaken to enable people to do jobs that are often useless and in some cases detrimental to our common environment, and yet the nurturing of children both psychologically and dietary is totally ignored.

As Doctor John Bowlby observed: 'The very high incidence of mental ill-health, loneliness, suicide and depression: these are the fruits of inadequate care for children.'

Bowlby in his work stressed the importance of early nurture and listening to what the child has to say before it can communicate in an adult manner.

There is also the imposition of religious and social attitudes on children imposed before children have the capacity to analyse the truth of what was being imposed on them. The various activities like male and female circumcision is also a form of abuse.

Bowlby points out that enormous efforts are made to mitigate the results of physical disease but the source of mental and social problems are sadly very slow. In a talk to Ann Shearer in the *Guardian*, 22 July 1987, he observed: 'But people don't want to take the responsibility for mental health. It's

inconvenient; looking after small children takes a lot of hard work to do it well. But all the evidence is that one's on the right track. I am no different from a paediatrician who says your child's got rickets because of a lack of Vitamin D'.

Alan Albon

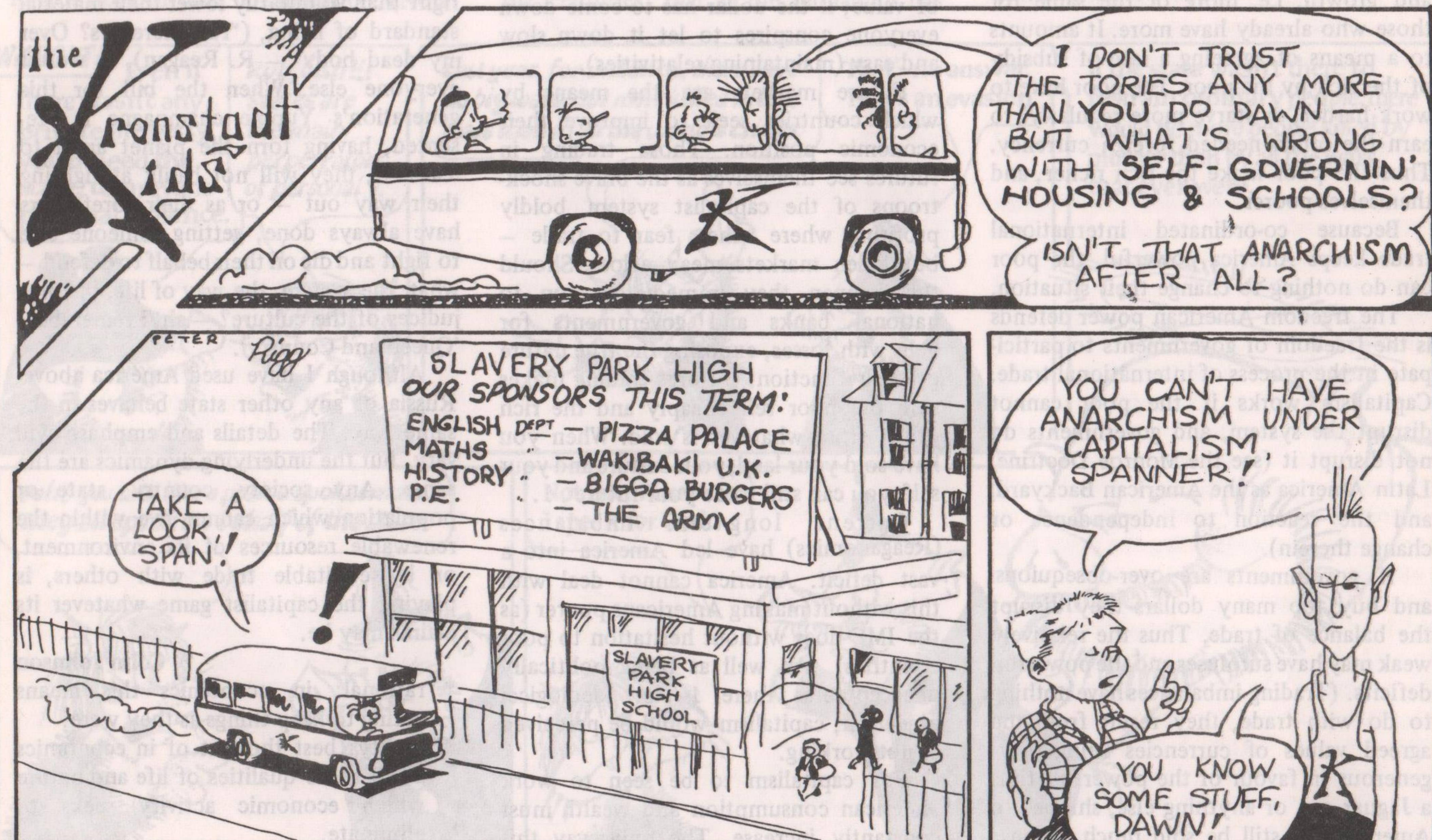
## IN BRIEF

A soldier in the Royal Signals Regiment, stationed in the Falklands, has been charged with arson. He set fire to Port Stanley Cathedral using straw borrowed from the Christmas crib.

Money is the leading cause of household arguments among Americans and one person in three believes it could enhance his or her sex life, according to a survey by *Money* magazine.

A Chinese woman died at her wedding because a kiss from her new husband was of such passion, intensity and duration as to cause heart palpitations.

A council official in Merton, convicted of corruption, avoided a prison sentence because, according to the Judge, 'You have a wonderful war record and in this court that always counts for a lot.'



# The Current Capitalist Plot

A HIGH value dollar means a powerful America and rich Americans.

American power defends the free world against many undesirable -isms. From communism to Kinnockism. Anything, no matter how unlikely, which might change the status quo is considered undesirable.

Therefore governments sheltering close to America, particularly those of Germany, Japan, and Britain, buy over-priced dollars to keep its value high. This makes the people of these countries relatively poor and more dependent (economic imperialism — baseball results on radio 2 news now). But it gives their governments means of control, the economic stick/carrot — 'you must be more competitive/efficient to earn dollars in the export market against the Germans/Japanese/British (delete those which are not you).

Thus improving the American status quo maintains the domestic status quo among America's close allies. To compensate for making their people poorer governments sell their currencies to poorer governments who seek shelter by alliance, ('you must pay for the guns/cars in our currency, you know — or in your exports priced in our currency'). This is called a bilateral trade agreement, or International Aid by the more imaginative.

The whole process is called economic co-operation. It is the way civilised nations trade with each other. Its ethic is progress and growth, i.e. more of the same for those who already have more. It amounts to a means of agreeing a rate of subsidy of the rich by the poor. The poor have to work harder, or starve more regularly, to earn the much needed foreign currency. Thus the poor make the rich richer, and themselves poorer.

Because co-ordinated international trade keeps America powerful, the poor can do nothing to change their situation.

The freedom American power defends is the freedom of governments to participate in the process of international trade. Capitalism works if the poor cannot disrupt the system, and governments do not disrupt it (see the Monroe Doctrine; Latin America as the American Backyard, and the reaction to independence or change therein).

If governments are over-obsequious and buy too many dollars they disrupt the balance of trade. Thus the relatively weak may have surpluses and the powerful, deficits. (Trading imbalances have nothing to do with trade, they result from the agreed values of currencies being over-generous in favour of the powerful: thus a Jaguar car, or anything else, shipped to America can still be sold much cheaper



than one in the showroom next to the factory.)

Currency markets are supposed to adjust the relative values of currencies, but the agreements between governments stop this. If dealers attempt to act outside agreed values, the national banks step in to maintain them. The subject of different currencies would be exposed if the world worked on one currency; the irrational and unjust nature of the cost/value of goods would be obvious. Currency dealers are the guardians of capitalism's ramparts; well fed, little to do, occasionally indulging in greed-inspired minor rebellion.

Those countries stuck with the surpluses cannot use them without causing a devaluation of the surplus; this will cost them, not the originator. (A general principle of all surpluses.) The buying country would thus lose twice, when buying and when selling. Accepting this loss might mean the politically unacceptable; slipping a rung or two on the international economic ladder. This encourages the maintenance of value; if the dollar has to come down everyone conspires to let it down slow and easy (maintaining relativities).

Future markets are the means by which countries seek to improve their economic position. Those trading in futures see themselves as the brave shock-troops of the capitalist system, boldly profiting where others fear to trade — but fallen markets mean a loss. Should this happen they immediately run to national banks and governments for help with losses, exposing the true nature of their function. Futures trading makes sure the poor sell cheaply and the rich profit from whatever is sold. When you have sold your land, your culture and your self, you can still trade your future . . .

Current long-term imbalances (Reaganomics) have led America into a vast deficit. America cannot deal with this without making Americans poorer (as the IMF does without hesitation to poor countries). As well as being politically unacceptable, there is an ideological objection; capitalism would be perceived as not working.

For capitalism to be seen to work American consumption and wealth must constantly increase. The only way this

can happen, once a deficit is past the point of rational\* adjustment, is by constantly increasing the deficit. This becomes the only way to maintain American power and defend the capitalist system.

In the past a deficit economy suffered (horror of horrors) inflation. Under these circumstances America and its currency would be seen to be, in reality\*\*, relatively weak; the dollar would buy less Refinement of the international trade system has helped avoid this heresy. The devaluation is effectively passed down the economic ladder, and transferred into labour values; thus the British unemployed prevent inflation at home and in America. Passing the buck down the ladder increases starvation at the bottom among those who do not have even a future to sell.

Such minor refinement does not provide an answer to the long-term effects of deficit economies. However the pattern of capitalist evolution this century indicates a way out. Traditionally rising unemployment, and refusal to buy more over-valued currency to further increase deficits ('a lack of markets') has led to war.

War cancels monetary values, sheds surplus people and goods, and clears the ground to allow the cycle to start up once more.

The question economists should be addressing is: has the American economy gone beyond the point of no return? Make no mistake, Americans would rather fight than voluntarily lower their material standard of living, ('Tax increases? Over my dead body' — R. Reagan), as would everyone else. When the bill for this generation's Yuppie champagne is presented, having torn the planet apart to 'earn' it, they will not balk at fighting their way out — or as their forefathers have always done, getting someone else to fight and die on their behalf to defend — what, the system, the way of life, the prejudices of the culture? — ah, I remember, 'Queen and Country'.

Although I have used America above, Russia or any other state behaves in the same way. The details and emphasis will vary, but the underlying dynamics are the same. Any society, country, state or population which cannot live within the renewable resources of its environment, or by equitable trade with others, is playing the capitalist game whatever its claims may be.

**Colin Johnson**

\* rational: in economics this means acting to keep things as they were.

\*\* reality: best thought of in economics as all those qualities of life and nature which economic activity seeks to eliminate.

# Princess 'Di' comes to visit The Maltings

[Text of a leaflet distributed in St Albans during a recent visit by the Princess of Wales.]

THE Royal Family intrudes into our lives constantly. The television and press interminably churn out stories of their lives and doings – the birth of yet another Royal brat, Princess Diana's new hat, the removal of a blackhead from Princess Margaret's bum. Overwhelmingly, what is reported is flattering trivia (less picturesque coverage, such as the Queen Mother's alcoholism, Diana's imbecility, Margaret's nymphomania go unreported) and pure advertising industry deception (the Palace press people stood Charles on a box for the official portraits so that he'd look a good head taller than Diana). The concept of a divine right to rule may have been constitutionally abandoned years ago, but reading the British press you wouldn't have guessed it.

Why this constant adulation? Why this steady stream of drivel? The existence of the monarchy is not, as some would suppose, of slight political consequence. It is a central feature of our governmental system and the maintenance of Conservative politics. So much so, the Labour Party dare not criticise the monarchy – to do so would mark a break with Labour's long history of class collaboration. (Note

the queues of ex-Labour MPs awaiting their turn to be asked to join the House of Lords.)

The monarchy is virtually deified by the whole of the British establishment. Even lesser Royal figures such as Princess Michael of Kent cannot be tainted. The fact that her father was a member of the counter-revolutionary Freikorps, an early Nazi and an SS officer had to be white-washed. Little mention is made of the Queen Mother's admiration for failed white supremacist Ian Smith. Prince Charles' wife *had* to be a virgin which gives her a certain purity (a la Virgin Mary). Also, of course, her virginity would remove any possible 'fucked the future Queen' talk among the idle rich. The purpose of this deification is to put the monarchy *above* the problems of day to day reality. The House of Commons may be a bear garden in reality, but given the dignity it receives through its association with the monarchy it is still acceptable. Thatcher's reactionary laws are given added legitimacy through the addition of the Queen's signature and the whole authoritarian structure is strengthened.

The monarchy upholds the system in another way. It symbolises an unchangingness, constancy and stability. The Royal Family can trace its ancestry back over the centuries. Just as the monarchy has

remained intact, so must the establishment with which it is the head. The monarchy is ideologically linked to political conservatism. They share many of the same ideals – 'one nation' (we are all one big happy family, especially at Christmas when the great matriarch talks to us on television), patriotism, private property, inequality of rank and wealth. The monarchy, conservatism and capitalism reinforce one another, for they each benefit from the continuance of the present social order.

Produced by some St Albans anarchists

## IN BRIEF

Good news for God. Some at least of his faithful servants on Earth may be exempt from the poll tax due to hit Britain shortly.

The Churches Main Committee is currently working out with the Department of the Environment a definition which will allow monks and nuns to be exempt from the poll tax on the grounds that they have no personal disposable income and their lives are dedicated to certain non-profitable activities such as 'contemplative prayer'.



# Post-Industrial Agriculture

Talk given at the Mary Ward Centre on 9 October 1987

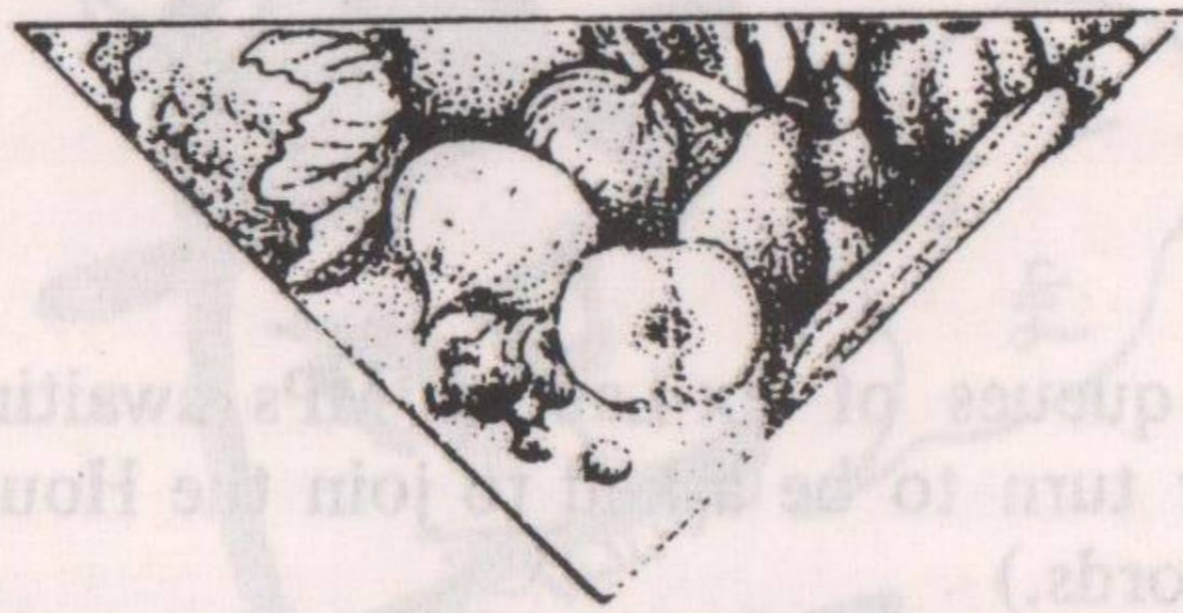
WHEN looking at post-industrial agriculture let us take a look at pre-industrial agriculture first. It was of course highly developed and efficient, which is why it was able to develop the surplus on which the industrial revolution was based. The widely practised Norfolk rotational system maintained a high level of fertility and a good proportion of organic soil content. The limitation of horse power also prevented the ploughing of slopes that are now cultivated and more liable to erosion.

A large proportion of the land was owned by a small class of aristocrats and gentry from the days of the Norman Conquest (and contrary to popular knowledge is still so today; that establishment still has a grip upon society through its ownership of land, not only agricultural land but also prime city sites). Farms were largely tenanted, unless the landowner ran them himself through agents. There was, of course, some owner occupation.

The farm worker was poorly paid and his quality of life depended very much on who happened to be his employer. Much of the land was set aside for the sporting activities of the landed gentry, and their predilection for blood sports was shared by the next strata in the hierarchy. (The landowners are still among the richest in the establishment and they have largely widened their financial interests. They are probably still generous contributors to the Tory Party which is why the same so-called market forces requirements are not rigorously applied to matters agricultural as to manufacturing.)

When the cheap corn from virgin lands overseas made itself felt, the land was returned to pasture for sheep and cattle. There was a period when wool provided great returns for the landowner, hence the woollen sack on which the Lord Chancellor sits. The return to dog and stick farming also released a large labour resource with which to man, woman and child the dark satanic mills. The cheap imports of corn resulted in agricultural wages being further depressed and the workers of the day formed the first associations to resist this, resulting in persecutions like the Tolpuddle Martyrs.

How does the agricultural scene look today? At the outbreak of World War Two much of the land had been returned to pasture. This suited the landed gentry who regarded the land as a playground for their traditional pursuits and riding over ploughed fields. At the beginning of the war I worked for a tenant farmer who was a fellow anti-militarist prisoner of my



father's in World War One and he had some sheep that were being attacked by a fox. His land was owned by the Debenhams and he had to ask the landlords for permission to kill the fox. The Debenhams were also into retailing, showing how the gentry had spread their financial interests.

The consequence of all this was that the country had a fertile resource that enabled the country to supplement food supplies disrupted by the war.

The returning of large areas of land to the plough was organised by local War Agricultural Committees on which sat local large farmers, landowners and incidentally some failed farmers. These committees also had an assortment of machinery communally available and farmers were given a ploughing up subsidy. More up-to-date machinery was thus available. This started the system by which the rich farmers and landowners were able to become richer. During the war the Friesian cow became popular as it was bred for quantity and after the war they had to breed the cream back into the milk. Shortage of labour during the war started farm industrialisation, but it was not sufficiently advanced to manage without some form of conscription to maintain the labour force.

The continuing food shortage advanced the subsidy system; grants were made to root up hedgerows, copses and small plantations; specialisation was introduced in the interests of efficiency; the livestock was separated from arable; and farming became a chemical process with large chemical companies lapping up the cream which did not remain in the farmers pockets. Chemical companies also became a big influence in agricultural schools, to influence the coming generation of farmers. The rotational system was largely replaced by chemical fertilisers, pesticides and herbicides. This was done in the interests of strategic necessity. However, it no longer applied in a nuclear age when there would be no population to feed, and anyway modern agriculture is so dependent on imports that even if imported food was curtailed, owing to war activities, we no longer have the basic fertility that we had in 1939.

The Common Agricultural Policy, designed to keep continental peasant farming to some degree intact, has resulted in the consumer one way or other paying above world price for food. Its social

effect in this country has been the opposite of that in many European countries, where land ownership is limited. The number of small farmers has decreased. The industrialisation of agriculture has had environmental consequences for which the whole population has to pick up the tab, besides paying more for food. In fact farmers are getting grants to replace hedges and trees that they received large sums to destroy.

Policy on woodland culture has been just as shortsighted and damaging. Pine forests are not indigenous to this country and yet it is proposed, by subsidy of course, to hasten the jack boot advance of serried rows of conifers advancing payment to already rich landowners. The excuse that it will save imports and provide rural employment is on both accounts largely false. In fact the timber is inferior and the establishment of mixed woodlands would provide more employment and provide a more pleasant environment with tourist employment spin-offs. Thousands of organisms live in mixed woodland environments, and there is some evidence that a change to widespread conifer plantation leads to climatic changes.

As long as profit is the major motivation for agricultural activity, many of the problems associated with it will continue. Within the context of powerful landowning establishment, who have such a large say in the disposal of the wealth of the countryside, it is going to be difficult to change the way agricultural activity is organised. The pressure to reduce the cost of the Common Agricultural Policy will probably result in the further increase in large farms and demise of more smaller ones, as the large farmers and landowners have the resources to diversify.

What is needed is the return to smaller holdings and the return of slopes to tree cover. Small agriculture is economically better than large, both in terms of yields per acre and in preservation of basic fertility. In fact the humble allotment holder produces more protein per acre than the most highly efficient capitalised large farm. It is slowly being recognised that organic agriculture low in inputs should replace dependence on the chemical industry; but the power of the vast vested interests involved should be recognised, and the urban population induced to take a greater interest in rural life and to see that landowners and multinational companies do not noble attempts to reform agricultural activity. The land here and in most parts of the world has already been privatised, here since the Norman Conquest, with disastrous effects.

Alan Albon

# Unaccidental Death

RUEDA is the Spanish word for wheel. In the case of the killing of the 25 year old anarchist prisoner Augustin Rueda in 1978, the wheels of Spanish Justice have been turning desperately slowly. A slowness which an *El Pais* editorial says 'can't be explained exclusively by the normal sluggishness experienced by Spanish justice'.

Ten prisoners in all had been beaten that same night, in isolated cells with rubber truncheons. Seven had suffered serious injuries, but Rueda was the only death.

This killing of Rueda, the anarchist, occurred in what is known as the 'period of transition' for Spain from dictatorship to democracy. Now as the skeleton of Augustin has finally begun to rattle, with the convening of the tribunal, liberal consciences have started to stir and the Spanish press and media has, for once, begun giving wide coverage to an issue which has its origins in the anarchist movement. It is the tone of moral indignation and guilt about the smelly, not so distant, past of Spain. Even this last comment needs qualifying when one remembers that just before Christmas, an ETA supporter is supposed to have drowned, while trying to escape custody handcuffed.

Only now, ten years after what has been described as the 'violent death' of Rueda caused by some 'traumatic shock' while in custody at Carabanchal prison in Madrid, have nine prison officers, two medical attendants, and the ex-director of the prison been brought before the tribunal accused of being responsible for the death. Somehow on the night of 13-14 March 1978 Rueda died, having been forsaken by the prison medics, who examined him then went off duty as normal at the end of their shift, without referring him for further medical treatment or blood transfusions. It now turns out that he had suffered a 'brutal beating' which had been 'prolonged', 'general', 'intense' and 'technical'. Death resulted between 12 to 18 hours after the injuries had been administered.

Possibly the Spanish establishment now regard the CNT (anarcho-sindicalist trade union federation) as a spent force from which they have little to fear. Certainly the CNT is deeply divided, suffering from a number of self-inflicted wounds. The sometime Catalan communist journalist and writer of political detective novels M. Vasquez Montalban,

commenting on the Rueda case, claims 'if it had been the CNT as it was in the 1930s, the corpse of Rueda would have occupied the whole of our democratic horizon like a political watershed. But the political weakness of the existing CNT has permitted the murder of Rueda to be placed at the bottom of the agenda, which has delayed discussion of the pros and cons of the crime for ten years.'

## Spotted Dick

At the time of the killing of Rueda in 1978 the prison population of Spain had been vigorously rebelling about conditions in the jails, and the anarchists were prominent in this campaign. But equally the opponents of the 'humanization' of prison life among the prison officers resisted change.

The beating of Rueda and the other prisoners followed the discovery of a tunnel in one of the dining rooms. Interrogations and beatings then took place in an attempt to obtain information from the prisoners. Defence lawyers for the accused prison functionaries claim that Rueda had a knife and that some injuries occurred during their attempts to disarm him. The rest of the more serious injuries, it is suggested, could have happened after the prison officers absent-mindedly left their rubber truncheons in his cell. The implication is that the other prisoners inflicted the injuries on the body of Rueda.

One of the prison doctors who saw him told the tribunal that he did not think Rueda's injuries were serious. Yet photographs of the corpse in *Interviú* in December show him to have more marks on his body than a piece of spotted dick pudding. The autopsy describes it this way: 'the area of injuries is of exceptional importance, demonstrated in the form of multiple bruises covering most of the surface of the body; which showed signs of having been struck until the subject was reduced to a state so grievous that the body was unable to recover its normal functions.'

The objects used to strike Rueda included 'one longish instrument of a soft type, possibly a truncheon (rubber)', and a 'hard object of lesser bulk'. Other prisoners who saw Rueda after the interrogation claim he couldn't walk, had no feeling in his feet, and needed assistance to reach the toilet.

The tribunal's inquiries continue.

**Brian Bamford  
Madrid**

# Inter- national Year 1988

FOR those of us who want to build an international anarchist movement, there are several opportunities this year to make contact with comrades in other countries.

1988 is the year in which the post-war 'bulge babies' who were at university in 1968 reach the age of nostalgia, and predictably the big publishers have already rushed out two books, *Sixty-Eight: the year of the barricades* by David Caute, and *1968: a student generation in revolt* by Ronald Fraser.

As reported in *Freedom* (November 1987), the editorial collectives of *'A' Rivista Anarchica* (Milan) and *IRL* (Lyon) have plans to produce a dossier of articles (1968 + 20) to be published in their magazines, and the Centro Culturale LM Vega in Turin has proposed a conference for the spring. The contact addresses are: **Editrice A, Cas-post 17120, 20170 Milan, Italy** and **IRL, c/o ACLR, 13 rue Pierre Blanc, 69001 Lyon, France.**

Dutch comrades are organising 'Europe Against the Stream', the international fair - manifestation - exhibition which will take place in Amsterdam from the 27th to 29th May.

'The fair is meant to give an overview and to stimulate contacts between makers, distributors and consumers of products such as posters, postcards, books, pamphlets, reviews, photos, slides, films, videos, records, cassettes, collages, assemblages, computer systems - in a word, information carriers.'

Those intending to participate in the fair must do so through the bookshop Het Fort Van Sjakoo at: **Jodenbreestraat 24, 1011 NK, Amsterdam, Netherlands.** British participation in the fair is being carried through the Federation of Radical Booksellers, c/o Housmans, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1, and if enough people are going they will hire transport.

In Toronto from July 1st to 4th in the third North American Anarchist Gathering, and with air fares at their cheapest surely some of us can attend. Contact: **Toronto Anarchist Circle, POB 435, Stn P, Toronto M5S 2S9, Canada.**

Later in the year are two British events which draw visitors from overseas, the annual Bookfair at the Conway Hall, London, on October 8th and the History Workshop, which will be held in Brighton in November.

# A Historical and Economic Analysis for Anarchists

THE anarchist political analysis is carefully worked out, persuasive and we all agree about it. The anarchist economic analysis is non-existent, let alone any agreement.

No political movement can get off the ground until it can claim to end poverty. To end poverty a movement must agree on all the causes of poverty. Anarchists do not yet agree on this point.

The object of economics is to determine the causes of poverty, and wealth. History is necessary to construct an economic analysis and also to verify it.

To put my ideas in context I will first describe the other two ideas, capitalism and its derivative marxism. Capitalism's first major apologist was Adam Smith who published his *Wealth of All Nations* in 1776. He said that wealth was created by trade and industry and that the wealth would 'trickle down' through the middle classes and the working classes to the poorest, making everyone richer and so eliminating poverty. Marx agreed that wealth is created by trade and industry. He just disagreed how the loot (from the peasants, I would say) should be distributed between the industrial classes. He would accept that the industrial wealth would 'trickle down' back to the peasants.

And that's where I disagree. Trade and industry do not create wealth. The wealth is the food and raw materials produced by the peasant which feeds the workers.

So how was poverty created? This is where the historical analysis comes in. It starts anthropologically. Hunter-gatherers have been called 'the original affluent society'. They are warm, well-fed, peaceful and healthy. But there came a time when the human species was so successful that it increased beyond the carrying capacity of the land at a hunter-gatherer level. Man was forced, to avoid hunger-poverty, to cultivate. This is harder work. More food is produced but more effort is expended per unit of food. Hunter-gatherers only work about two hours a day. The early cultivators had to work at least three! So the first great 'advance' in the history of man was not progress at all, but accommodation to deteriorating circumstances. Patrick Hutber, editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, coined 'Hutber's Law' that progress is deterioration. He was probably only being cynical. But he was right. It's not history as progress but history as deterioration.

In the middle ages things had deteriorated so much that farm workers were having to work a full six months in

the year (except for feeding the animals, there's actually not much to do in the winter. And even then they didn't work on the 150 or so saints days). Life was hard. By the nineteenth century the men were working 10 hours a day in the factories. By the end of the twentieth century although the men were working eight hours a day, three-quarters of the female population are now working in the factories as well as doing their previous housework. We are working harder and harder and harder. History as deterioration.

So what causes poverty. Basically it's religion. Moses went up the mountain, had a chat with God who told him, he said, that 10% of all that was produced was holy and was the Lord's, and had to be handed over to the Chief Priest, who just happened to be Moses' cousin. Surprise, surprise.

So the crops were taken from the many and given to the few, creating wealth and creating poverty. With all the extra crops, the wealthy could feed servants, or artisans, the workers making baubles for the rich. Workers have never produced goods for the peasants. Their main activity has always been making baubles for the rich. But these rich were only rich because they had expropriated the food from the peasants. It was not the workers making baubles (trade and industry) that created the wealth, but the food.

So capitalism (and marxism) is quite wrong that trade and industry create wealth.

Let's look at another era of great wealth, Louis XIV, the Sun King, of France in the 17th century. Louis forced the French peasants to hand over their crops to him. With that food he fed the architects, builders, labourers, who created the glittering palace of Versailles. With that food he fed the road builders and the ship builders. With that food he even fed the beggars at his palatial gates. With that food he fed the weavers of his Gobelin tapestry factories. It was not the weavers that created the wealth but the peasants food. And all during this Golden Age the peasants of France, because their food had been taken away, starved. Louis XIVth's ministers had benefitted from the food, so had his mistresses, his middle class dancing teachers, lawyers, his soldiers, his workers, even the beggars at his gates, all had benefitted. The French peasants starved. The workers depended on a strong ruling class to expropriate their food from the peasants.

Today in Ethiopia, with the capitalist and marxist excuse that trade and industry creates wealth, western governments have armed the Ethiopian government to drive the peasants off their land on which is grown coffee for export. Half Ethiopia's farmland now grows coffee. The Ethiopian government benefit, so do the Ethiopian middle classes, and the workers. The peasants, driven out onto rocky marginal land, starve when there is a drought. The wealth created by the coffee never trickled back down to them. Trade and industry generate no jobs. Only food generates jobs.

## How trade causes poverty

Marxism and capitalism say that trade causes wealth. I suggest that it also causes poverty. Marxism and capitalism say that the crops from the peasant create trade and feed the industrial workers who produce the wealth which then 'trickles down' back to the peasant. The crops 'trickle down' from the elite to the middle class then to the working class, but by that time the crops have all been used up. All that's left to 'trickle down' to the peasant is soot, shit, scrap and secondhand clothes. Trade does not make the peasant wealthier. By taking their food, by using their land to grow cash crops for export, they are made poorer.

## Higher technology kills local industry

Before the invention of cotton spinning and weaving machines, when the work was done by hand, the chief cotton-goods exporting country of the world was India. When textile technology came to Manchester, India was forced by the British conquerors to import Manchester-produced goods, and the Indian textile industry was deliberately destroyed.

This is just one example of the way industry is killed, and poverty produced, by technological advance. Higher technology does not create wealth. It only facilitates the robbery of the poor.

This analysis is useful. If anarchists could accept it, we would be in a very strong intellectual position to attack both the marxists and the capitalists.

There is a new green group — The Association of Socialist Greens — who have seen its usefulness. They accept the analysis and are using it to attack the liberals and the new ageists.

Until we have sorted out the causes of poverty we are not going to move. When we have sorted it out we will take off.

**Richard Hunt**



# A Libertarian Manifesto for the end of the Century

[This is a re-writing into better English of a circular to the international libertarian press whose meaning is sometimes obscure. We hope we convey the authors' intention, but give no guarantee. We will supply a photocopy of the circular to anyone who writes enclosing a stamped addressed envelope, and we presume the Portuguese original may be requested from the address below. The authors ask for comments.]

LIBERTY is our tradition. Radical movements of the past, demanding liberty without defining it, gave rise to the anarchist movement with its explicit concept of liberty. The movement and the concept are still up-to-date.

There is no certainty about how individual autonomy and collective self-government may be achieved or developed but the aims are fundamental and irreplaceable. And we think they have the potential to answer the deadly problems which face society, as we approach the end of the century.

Freedom can only be established if it is equal freedom for all. Equality without liberty is mere uniformity; liberty without equality is mere fiction. Liberty is our fundamental principle, but it is meaningless to advocate liberty, unless we advocate equality too.

Equality is a necessary condition for liberty, and vice versa. Therefore the liberty of initiative, which we advocate, cannot be understood as the liberty to impose a condition of less liberty on others.

We know the results of bureaucracy

and the corruption of social relations in the 'socialist' countries. In the light of this knowledge, we must demand the freedom to work, to embrace different political ideologies and religious beliefs, and to set up economic and social initiatives, even in so-called 'third world' countries. We do not forget that such things can also bring abhorrent practices of domination and exploitation. But independent and co-operative work, workers' participation in the organisation of work, and a human dimension in the work environment, are positive steps towards the building of a true social economy, with participation, choice, co-operation, and democracy, among consumers and at all levels of economic activity.

Anarchists a century ago first of all claimed the right to be themselves, and then sought help in building a perfect society, without oppression, state or violence. We consider ourselves their heirs, mainly on the wish for freedom. The main problem is to remain free within our densely populated societies. Disorder and conflict are inescapable. The ideal society should be able to respect disorder and tolerate conflict, but without injustice or suffering.

Tension between the individual and society, a rich source of history, is inescapable. We cannot choose either and reject the other. There is no place for isolated individual activity where individuals depend on fragile social interdependencies. What we consider a 'good solution' to an individual's problems cannot be one which is bad for other

individuals. A free society can only be one where every individual has autonomy and the right to be different.

Ancient anarchism relied on the working class revolution. Our strategy on the brink of the twenty-first century must be different. There is no privileged agent of radical change. The project for freedom that we inherited and are pursuing requires the active and committed participation of most human beings, the promotion of an alternative relationship between individuals and society, Man and Earth, creation and regulation, the private and the universal.

We repudiate terrorism and every coercive means of action. We choose to act at the level of social action, not of institutional domination. We choose to offer our ideas and thoughts frankly, not to attempt emotional or irrational manipulation of people. The principle of our action, in the words of the classic formula, is not to reach anarchy today or tomorrow, but to walk towards anarchy today, tomorrow and always. We work for a society in which all individuals have maximum freedom.

There is hope in some recent social developments:

1. the new social strength of the young, and the growing participation of women in fields from which they were formerly excluded;
2. a wider access to knowledge and culture, allowing individuals the internal and personal freedom to develop their own understanding of the world;
3. the new popularity of social movements characteristic of post-industrial society, such as nature conservation, the defence of minorities, and the creation of new cultural forms;
4. the urgent need for people at work to have more fulfillment, more autonomy, and more responsibility founded in growing scientific and technological knowledge.

The 'perfect society' does not exist. This is fortunate, because if it existed it would probably mean the total suppression of individuality. We are not interested in any type of 'anarchist society'. We are interested in the growth of freedom and solidarity in societies which actually exist, making them more libertarian than they are. Today as yesterday, this is our challenge.

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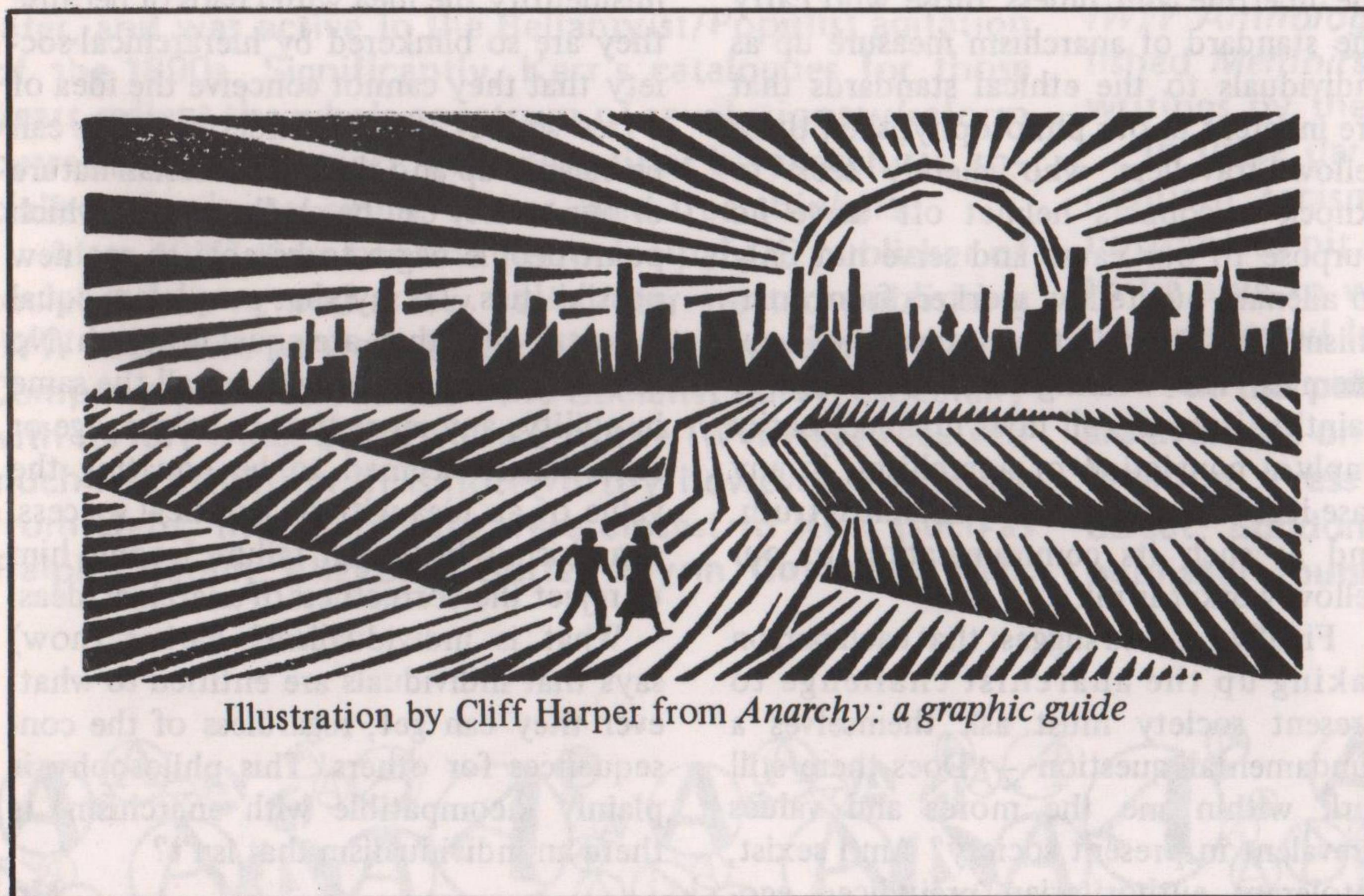


Illustration by Cliff Harper from *Anarchy: a graphic guide*

# The Missing Factor

THE HISTORY of revolutions has been a history of tragic disillusionment, the dreams, ideals and aspirations of those who fought and struggled for a better society have seen them wrecked upon the shores of a new tyranny. The Russian revolution which was hailed as the great liberation by anarchists and syndicalists alike overthrew the autocracy of the Tsar only to be superceded by the inhuman cold bureaucracy of the Bolshevik Party, resulting in tragedies like those that took place in the purges, Kronstadt and the Ukraine.

Why is it that the noblest of dreams of men and women can become such nightmares of reality. The concept of an anarchist society, that is to say a society in which there exists no domination of man over man is truly the highest and most noble concept of social organisation ever conceived, and the syndicalist form of industrial organisation and method probably the only way in which such a society can ever be achieved.

Anarchists clearly point to the state in modern capitalist and Bolshevik society as the mechanism which facilitates domination and the enforcement of social control in the interest of the privileged few. But the state is but a mechanism, it is a machinery consisting of inanimate objects, the iron bars and walls of its prison, its guns and truncheons of its forces, its forms and rubber stamps of its bureaucracies, these things in themselves are lifeless objects. It is men and women that use them and effect the imposition of power over the community. Merely to remove such machinery does not of itself automatically bring into being the form of human society desired, for the relationships between people are the true determinants of whether a society is good or bad, not the cold blooded socio-economic relationships as conceived by the marxist, but the genuine warm, caring, compassionate, understanding relationships which make human life worthwhile, even under the most stressful of social circumstances. For without these, even in the event of removal of the mechanism of tyranny, human life is a vacuum.

Alexander Berkman in his *ABC of Anarchism* wrote a chapter headed 'The idea is the thing'. However it is not just the idea but its implementation in our relationships which, as William James put it, 'build the molecular moral forces that work from individual to individual, stealing in through the crannies of the world like so many soft rootlets or like the capillary oozing of water, and yet rending the hardest monuments of man's pride, if you give them time.'

It is at this level that the real revolution begins, at the level of mores and values

upon which a future society is to be built, for if this has not been achieved social change may well take place, but this may well result in the exchange of one master for another or a sterile society in which men and women are free to live in a vacuum, for freedom has two aspects, freedom from something and freedom for something. The arguments concerning freedom from domination have been stressed by all anarchist writers and are irrefutable, but freedom does not end there; for a truly human society to be achieved it is not what we knock down, it is what we build up, and thus building takes place at a human level not an institutional one.

Too often the advancement of anarchist ideas has been brought to nought not by the concept of anarchism but by anarchists, who in their urgency to bring about social change have acted vanguardist and have alienated the very people they seek to liberate.

We cannot, if it is to be a people's determined society, go ahead of their understanding otherwise like the marxist we become elitist, a self-styled intelligencia and therefore it is only the level of human contact that the ideas and ideals of a future anarchist society can be spread with out inhibiting limited resources. This is a bitter realistic medicine to have to swallow, but the irresistible truth contained in our philosophy cannot be stopped by any power in their inevitable growth, which feeds upon every attempt to crush or stultify it, every oppression and injustice experienced only nourishes it. Mans desire to live a human life in harmony and freedom with his fellow man is built in to the human soul.

It is an unfortunate fact that the libertarian philosophy of anarchism attracts not only the libertarian but also the libertine and unless those who carry the standard of anarchism measure up as individuals to the ethical standards that are inherent in our philosophy, then these fellow travellers who merely seek to 'knock a coppers helmet off' serve no purpose to our cause and serve not only to alienate our fellow workers from anarchism but serve the interest of our enemies. The wearing of an 'A' badge or painting it on a wall does not necessarily imply a conviction of anarchism, in any case it says nothing of any anarchist truth, and as such its communication to our fellow worker is nil.

Finally I would suggest that each person taking up the anarchist challenge to present society must ask themselves a fundamental question — 'Does there still lurk within me the mores and values prevalent in present society? Am I sexist, intolerant, authoritarian, prejudiced, ego-

centric? Or is my relationship with my fellow workers do I exemplify behaviour equal to the noble ideal I advocate?' This for each one of us must be the measure and it is this which is the missing factor of anarchism today. Anarchism and humanism go hand in hand, for without this human face anarchism is an empty dream.

Bob Mander

## Individual Fruit Pie

For many years Sid Parker was the most prominent British anarchist of the individualist school (these being those who take their ideas from Max Stirner's famous but rarely read book, *The Ego and its Own*). More recently Parker has decided that anarchism and individualism are incompatible and he has renounced anarchism. On Friday 22nd January he gave a talk at the Mary Ward centre in Central London where he briefly recounted his political career firstly as an anarchist, secondly as an anarchist-individualist, thirdly and finally as an individualist. While still an anarchist proper (he now derides his former views as quasi-religious) he read *The Ego And Its Own* and was very impressed by it. But it was some years before its message worked on him to the point that he decided to renounce anarchism.

Parker gave two reasons for rejecting anarchism. People don't want anarchy. People aren't equal in ability. These statements are true but neither is sufficient reason for rejecting anarchism. People don't want anarchy either because they misidentify the idea with chaos or because they are so blinkered by hierarchical society that they cannot conceive the idea of a free society. But misunderstandings can be cleared up and the authoritarian nature of our society can be challenged, at which point people begin to be able to see new possibilities. To say that people are equal is to say that they are equal in worth. No one ever claimed that we are all the same in ability, any more than in height, age or sex. Parker seemed to be equating the value of an idea with its practical success, anarchism's historical failure leading him to reject the correctness of anarchist ideas.

What is individualism? Parker (now) says that individuals are entitled to whatever they can get, regardless of the consequences for others. This philosophy is plainly incompatible with anarchism. Is there an individualism that isn't?

Mo



# THE CHARLES H. KERR COMPANY: *100 Years Old & Still Kicking*

Anyone who hopes to find the truth about working-class struggles in books from the Big Business publishers probably believes in Santa Claus too. Commercial publishers, increasingly owned and operated by giant multinational conglomerates, are interested in nothing but profits. Their only interest in labor is in how to exploit it. And that's why the workers' movement has always needed—now more than ever—its own publishers.

The oldest independent labor publisher in the US—and probably in the whole world—is the Charles H. Kerr Company of Chicago, founded a few weeks before Haymarket in 1886 and still standing fast for the cause of working-class emancipation today.

Indisputably North America's foremost radical publisher in the years 1900 to 1925, Kerr brought out an astonishing range of books and pamphlets long since recognized as classics: Paul Lafargue's *The Right to Be Lazy*, Kropotkin's *Appeal to the Young*, William Morris's *News From Nowhere*, Marx's *Capital*, and major writings by such outstanding US radicals as Clarence Darrow, Gene Debs, "Big Bill" Haywood, Mother Jones, Austin Lewis, Jack London, Mary Marcy, Gustavus Myers, Carl Sandburg, and Upton Sinclair.

Like the rest of the working-class movement, Kerr subsequently suffered more than its share of hard times. But the venerable firm has made a remarkable comeback, and today, in its centennial year, the not-for-profit cooperative is once again recognized as a leading publisher of labor and radical literature.

One of Kerr's most distinctive qualities is the non-sectarianism that has characterized it from the start. The son of militant abolitionists, Charles Hope Kerr (1860 – 1944) was propelled steadily leftward by the march of events from Haymarket to the Pullman Strike eight years later, and was active in the Bellamyist/Populist agitation of the 1890s. Significantly, Kerr's catalogues for those years reflect the whole spectrum of revolutionary/reform currents of the period, including titles by anarchists, socialists, feminists, single-taxers, and free thinkers.

After 1900 Kerr became the principal US publisher of socialist books, and a few years later started publishing IWW literature as well. Labor historians have noted Kerr Company connections with the Socialist Party, especially with its left wing, but the links to the IWW have received much less attention. It is noteworthy, however, that apart from Debs, the SPers who were closest to Kerr (such as Ralph Chaplin, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Covington Hall,

William D. Haywood, and Mary Marcy) are all better remembered today as Wobblies rather than as Socialists. Mary Marcy's *International Socialist Review*, published by Kerr, has been generally acknowledged as the SP left wing's leading journal; but as Paul F. Brissenden observed in his pioneering study of the IWW, the *Review* was also "virtually an IWW organ" whose contributors included Joe Hill, Ernest Riebe, Vincent St. John, and many other Wobblies in addition to those mentioned above.

Indeed, it could be said that Kerr has done more than all other US Left publishers combined to keep alive the IWW's conception of a revolutionary, libertarian, anti-bureaucratic socialism based on workers' self-management. Not surprisingly, several of those who helped re-activate the firm in the early 1970s were in fact Wobblies, including Irving Abrams and Fred Thompson, who between them had chalked up over a hundred years of active duty in the class war.

Last year, when union militants, activists, and labor historians started a support group, the Friends of the Kerr Company, to help Kerr raise funds and collect old books for the firm's Rare and Out-of-Print Department, Wobblies like Minnie F. Corder, Carlos Cortez, Sam and Esther Dolgoff, and Henry Pfaff were once again in the forefront.

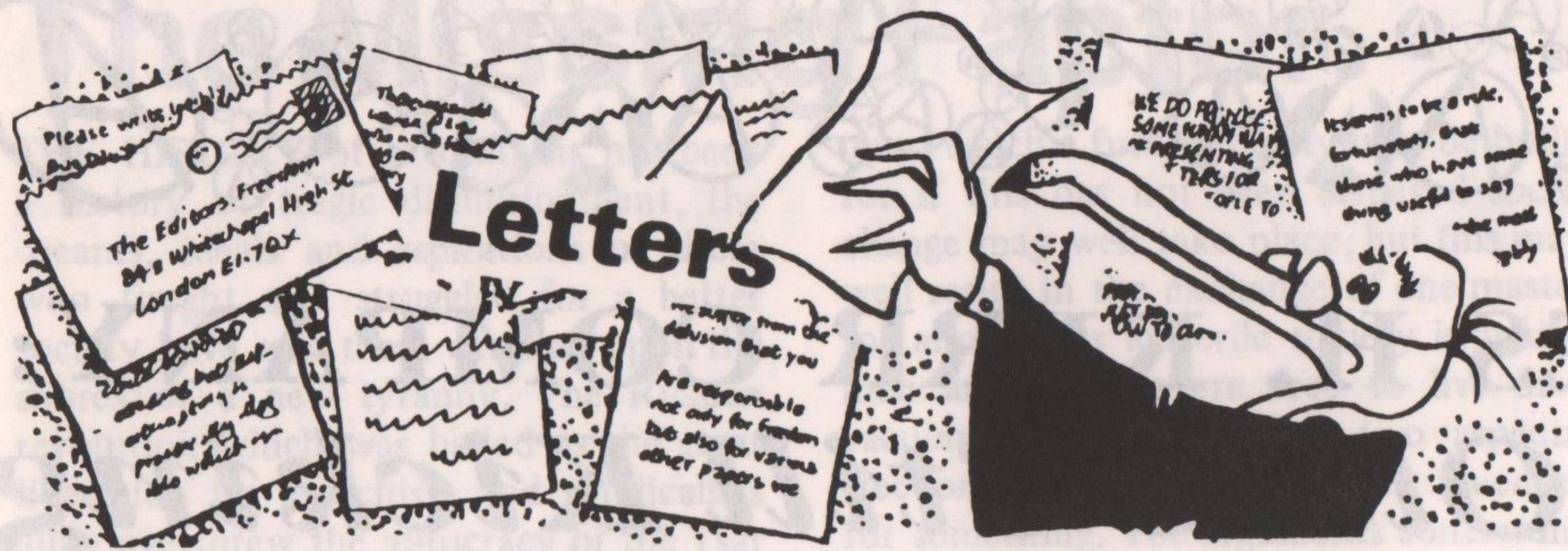
Kerr's current resurgence started with several IWW-related publications, most notably its reprint of Ernest Riebe's *Mr. Block* comic book; Covington Hall's poems, *Dreams and Dynamite*; and Mary Marcy's anti-war writings, *You Have No Country! Workers' Struggle Against War*. The just-published *Haymarket Scrapbook* contains much IWW material.

Scheduled for publication later this year are a new and expanded edition of Joyce Kornbluh's *Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology*; Henry McGuckin's never-before-published *Memoirs of a Wobbly*; and a volume of selected writings by the one and only T-Bone Slim.

In these dark and dismal days of war, union-busting, rampant racism, poverty, police terror, and the whole bottomless pit of political swinishness, it is a real solace to be able to wish the Kerr Company well as it starts off on its second hundred years.

All the publications of the Charles H Kerr company are available on trade terms from their British distributors Freedom Press (in Angel Alley) 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX. Freedom Press is an anarchist publisher founded in October 1886, a little after Kerr.





# Tom O'Bedlam

THE recent discussion of the Tom o' Bedlam song ('From the hag and hungry goblin ...') by Dennis Gould (September), Bjarni (November), and Dachine Rainer (January) has got into a muddle with all sorts of mistakes and misunderstandings, and badly needs a dose of hard facts.

This unsigned and untitled poem consists of eight stanzas of eight lines each, with a refrain of four lines. It is certainly not a ballad in the traditional sense — a narrative poem in simple style with short stanzas and no refrain—being too complex and difficult. It was meant to be sung, not recited, and it was sometimes published with music. It is written in the ordinary language of the 1600s, and certainly not in Middle English (the language used between 1100 and 1500). It is one of many 'mad songs' produced in this country during the Stuart period. It is intended to be funny, not sad, and is indeed designed as a parody on the genre (like the songs in John Gay's *Beggars' Opera*). Beggars who were or seemed weak-minded were known as 'Tom o' Bedlam' ('Bedlam' being the popular name for the Bethlem madhouse in London), and the song is meant to mock rather than express their viewpoint.

Its history is certainly difficult but perfectly possible to trace—though all the existing attempts to do so are incomplete or inaccurate or both. The earliest known version appears towards the end of *Giles Earle his booke*, a manuscript collection of contemporary songs made between 1615 and 1626, which has been preserved in the British Museum Library since 1862 (Add.MSS 24,665), and was published in 1932 in an edition by Peter Warlock and Bernard van Dieren. Early printed versions of the song soon appeared in several collections: the supplement to *Le Prince d'Amour* (1660), the second volume of *Westminster Drollery* (1672, reprinted in a new edition by J Woodfall Ebsworth in 1875), and the third edition of *Wit and Drollery: Jovial Poems* (1682).

It was neglected during the Augustan age, but not forgotten, and it was among the many old songs rescued by the Romantic revival. It appeared in several more collections — Joseph Ritson's *Ancient Songs* (1790, 1829, 1877), E F Rimbault's

*Little Book of Songs and Ballads* (1851), William Logan's *Pedlar's Pack of Ballads and Songs* (1869) — but above all in Isaac D'Israeli's very popular *Curiosities of Literature*, which was first published in 1791 and repeatedly reprinted for more than a century (being added to the seventh edition in 1823).

It became a well-known oddity, quoted, for example, in Walter Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* (1818), Edgar Allen Poe's *Hans Pfaall* (1835), Rudyard Kipling's *Light of the World* (1891), and Walter de la Mare's *Henry Brocken* (1904) and *Memoirs of a Midget* (1922). It was imitated by Poe in *Eldorado* (1849) and rewritten by Francis Thompson in 1898. It was frequently discussed in the press, and was published in *The London Mercury* in March 1923 (starting a long and lively correspondence). It was twice published in expensive limited editions: Jack Lindsay's *Loving Mad Tom* (1927), to which Robert Graves contrib-

uted a foreword (included the same year in his study of *The English Ballad* and reprinted in his collections of essays), trying to reconstruct a possible original and suggesting that Shakespeare could have written it for Edgar (who pretends to be Tom o' Bedlam) in *King Lear*; and Arthur Machen's *Tom o' Bedlam and His Song* (1930).

But above all it has been included in several widely read anthologies over the past century: Alice Meynell's *Flower of the Mind* (1897), Fancis Meynell's *Week-End Book* (1924), Louis Untermeyer's *Albatross Book of Living Verse* (1933), W H Auden's *Oxford Book of Light Verse* (1938), Richard Aldington's *Poetry of the English-Speaking World* (1941), and Helen Gardner's *New Oxford Book of English Verse* (1972)—all of which are frequently reprinted. In the end it has been one of the best-known anonymous poems in English for more than three centuries.

Its literary quality is another matter, in which objective facts give way to subjective feelings. I certainly disagree with the view of Dennis Gould and Dachine Rainer that it is 'one of the finest ballads in the English language', which means suspending all critical judgement, and agree with Bjarni that it is 'a somewhat weird song', which is putting it mildly. Its theme and treatment are very eccentric and its rhythm and vocabulary are very idiosyncratic. The simplest test is to try reading it aloud or learning it by heart, which will reveal its true nature. It is surely not a classic but a curiosity, and it really should not be taken too seriously. **AF**



# Tom O'Bedlam

THERE seems to be a misunderstanding, due entirely to my own ignorance, which I thank Dachine Rainer for pointing out (*Freedom* January 1988).

I have heard Tom O'Bedlam sung a few times, but have never seen it printed as a poem, and indeed was unaware an 'original' or early version existed, constituting a 'definitive' text. I may well be mistaken therefore in dismissing Tom O'Bedlam as a ballad.

Incidentally, I doubt Tom O'Bedlam was ever more than a generic folk-character, and the point as I understood it — as Shakespeare suggests in 'King Lear' when Edgar disguises himself as Tom — was that most 'madcap' beggars were not mad but feigned insanity to procure alms. This ruse became common after the dissolution (under Henry VIII) when destitute people were cast adrift from the monasteries which had sheltered them.

On reflection, I called Tom O'Bedlam weird due to the tune as much as the words, but that someone chose to set it to that tune itself reveals an association of ideas.

It seems likely that on this matter I have been wrong, and if so I apologise to Dachine, Dennis and all *Freedom* readers. However, I will not know how far I have erred until I read the printed text. As Dachine gave no reference, please could someone provide one, or send me a copy of the poem.

**Bjarni**

## Agrotechnology

COMMENTING on the letter by H.I. Jones (January). What does Joe Public desire? One of the problems in the countryside is a shortage of accommodation as desperate as that in the inner cities. City dwellers lucky enough to own their own houses, who are able to move following retirement, find themselves sitting on vast capital gains and are willing and able to pay quite a lot to move to the country. I think there are many living in towns who would love to live in the country but cannot because of the outrageous price of land.

Jones's letter contains an obvious contradiction. It assumes that Joe Public does not want to live in the country and goes on to say that if the masses had a choice the countryside would be overrun.

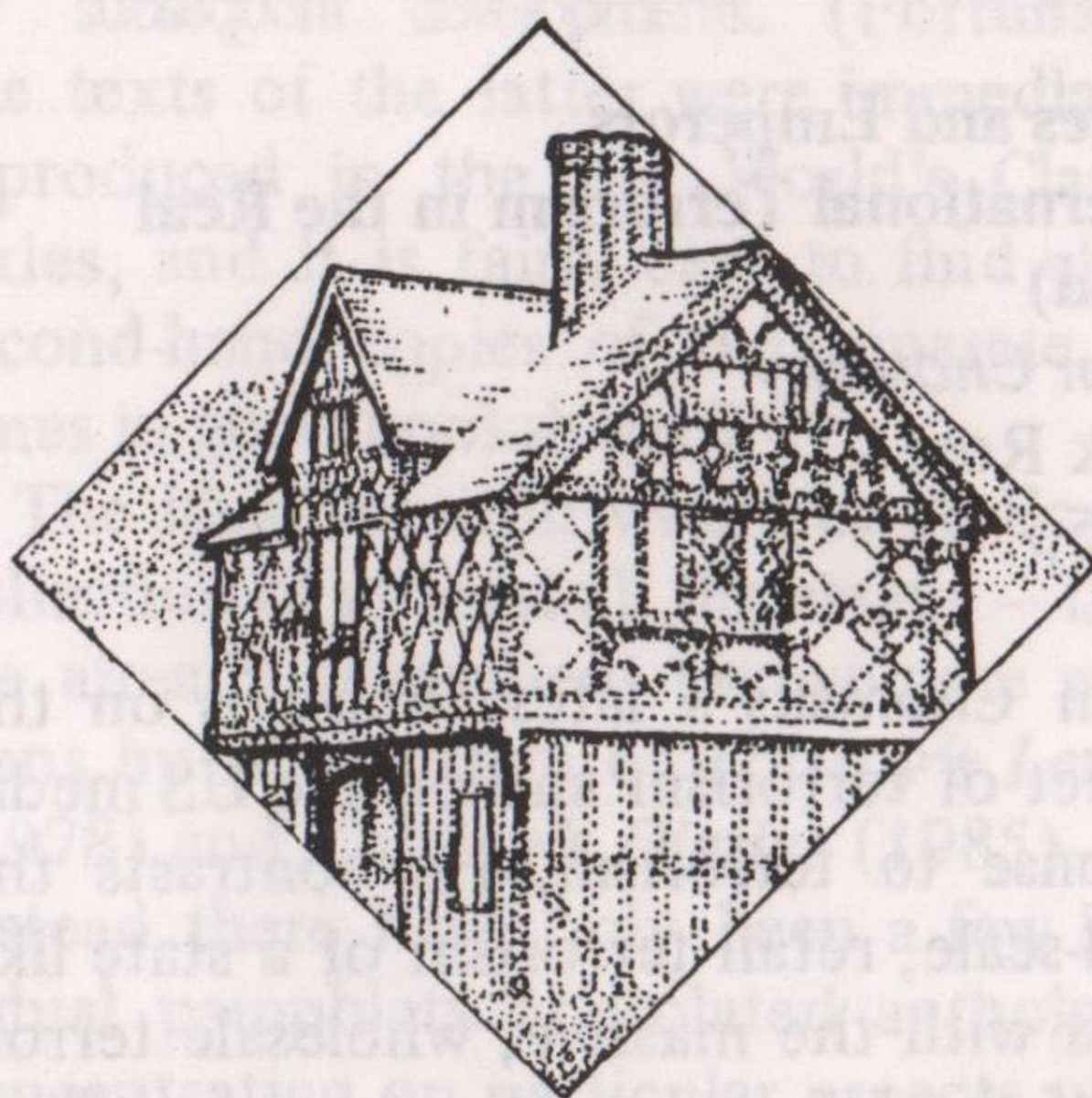
People did not go to towns in vast numbers by choice; they were and are driven there. Free choice presupposes the ability to exercise it and the recognition of limits imposed by our common environment. We should not throw out tech-

nology, but adjust it to those limits, for our common good.

What is happening is that agricultural units are getting larger, and more and more of the best land is being covered by concrete. Agribusiness is now having obvious effects on climate, water, and food, to such an extent that people in towns are beginning to realise that the whole drift of food production and manufacture has to be examined.

A symposium has been organised in London by the political committee of the Co-op, on 20 February 1988, on 'Food Mountains or Food for Health?'

**Alan Albon**



PEOPLE are not all at fault. We may want 'villas in mock rural surroundings' (H. Jones letter) now as an investment, but give us real power to choose the future of the countryside and we would soon abandon chemical factory farming, huge machines and ecodestruction.

Alan Albon's utopia is prevented by government that gives profit only for overproduction. Replace every landowner by a co-op, where there are as many equal share members as the landowner had acres, and profit would be replaced by Green considerations. Joe Public is as much an anarchist as you or I. Unfortunately he is shut up in towns, and cannot see the destruction that government is bringing about, in his name, in the countryside. This will go down in history as the revolution of the 1980s.

**John Myhill**

H.I. JONES (Letters, January) is unfair, I feel, to include the Forestry Commission among those who 'blight the land'.

Many people find patches of lined conifers on hillsides unsightly, but we might think of them less so if we recognised them for what they are: a crop, like a field of wheat or potatoes. The task of raising timber has fallen to State agencies largely because of the time trees take to mature, which the average farmer/agricapitalist cannot afford to wait, for returns on initial outlay.

Rather than calling this a 'blight', perhaps we should encourage it. The EEC could encourage investment in woodland, of deciduous trees on relatively good soil

and less damaging trees on poorer and colder hills, rather than paying farmers to leave good arable land fallow.

The fact is that the planet is short of trees.

**Katy Andrews**

## Aborigines

200 YEARS ago white people came here and decided this was their land. They said this land was uninhabited so they took no responsibility for their violent actions towards Aboriginal people.

Aboriginal people were classified as Flora and Fauna (plants and animals), therefore Aboriginal people were not acknowledged as human beings. Because of this classification there was never a treaty between the black people of this land and the white settlers. Instead of a treaty, Aboriginal people were killed, raped and herded like cattle into the white man's own religion — the missions away from their own tribal lands and sacred sites, separated from their people. The people from the north were moved to the south and vice versa.

They put Aborigines in chains around the neck and ankles, put them in prisons for being black. The white man's fences were put up. The animals imported ruined the Aborigines food supply. And the white man killed the Aborigines for crossing his fences, for crossing his land, land given to him by the newly formed government.

Land never shared with the Aboriginal people. The Bicentenary is celebrating the 200 years of violence, racism and oppression of the Aboriginal people of this land.

What are you celebrating?

Millions of dollars are being spent on the bicentenary while the Aboriginal people are still waiting for compensation.

**Aboriginal leaflet**

supplied to us by Freedom Collective of Fremantle, W. Australia

## Data wanted

I AM a social scientist student currently involved in a land research project. I would be interested in receiving data (use and ownership) and personal experiences and views from anyone who can help. Those that have attempted to reclaim or squat land or those who have unwanted research material (i.e. newspaper cuttings, white papers, old pictures, etc.) please write with details to the address below.

**Clive Allsop**

46 Withern Road, Broxtowe Est.,  
Nottingham NG8 6FJ



**The Heavy Stuff**  
*Class War*  
75p

Class War is the name of the organisation and paper that appeared in anarchist circles in 1983, calling for violence against the rich (much to the consternation of *Freedom* contributors at the time). Since then Class War have succeeded in getting a lot of media coverage and in producing a paper that a lot of people want to buy (unlike other libertarian papers). But Class War have failed in their main attempt to translate rhetoric into practice - the intended disruption of the Henley Regatta - and they lost impetus. (The fact that they seemed to be going somewhere shows their impact. None of the other groups were as dynamic.) Now they have had a rethink and have for the first time produced a theoretical paper, *The Heavy Stuff*, which sets out the (changing) ideas behind the paper.

There are articles arguing for a change in our everyday behavior, against the concept of human rights (rather than class justice), and for taking the initiative in the class struggle. Strategy, as distinct from tactics, is represented by two articles drawing heavily on Marxist economics. There is a heavy stress on community activity rather than workplace. The paper itself has undergone a complete change. It is now aimed not at those disaffected from society but at the average tabloid reader. Gone are the violent front cover and the constant swearing inside. The front cover is now a scandalous story about a someone in the ruling class (probably an untrue story but that's not the point). Class War now emphatically distance themselves from their anarchist background, in colourful language.

Class War are not simply repeating ideas put forward a century ago, ideas whose lack of reality has been exposed by history. They have a new approach, and they are prepared to rethink that approach when it doesn't seem to be progressing. If you don't like their approach, try and come up with a better one.

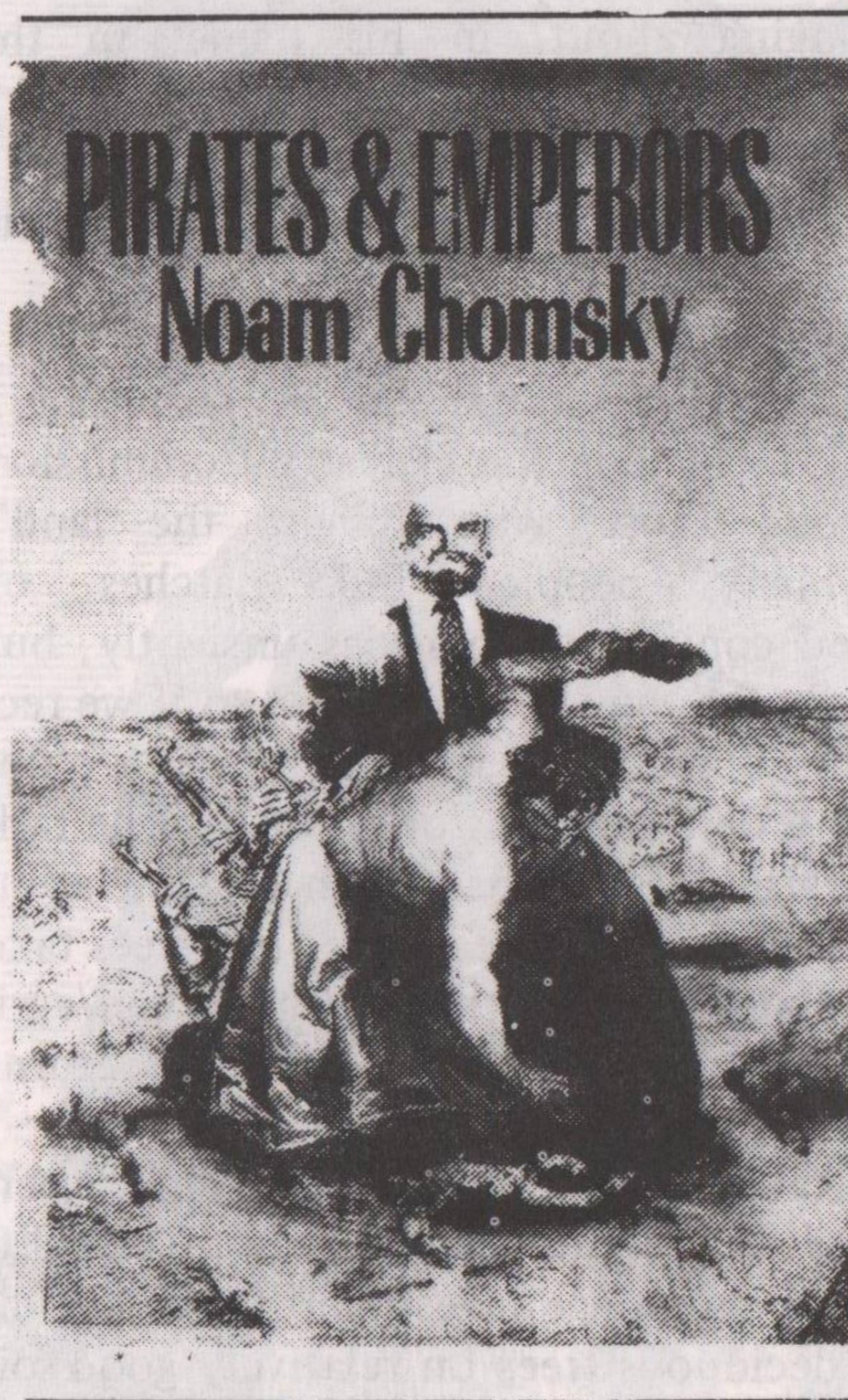
HL

**Pirates and Emperors**  
*(International Terrorism in the Real World)*

Noam Chomsky  
Black Rose  
£8.95p

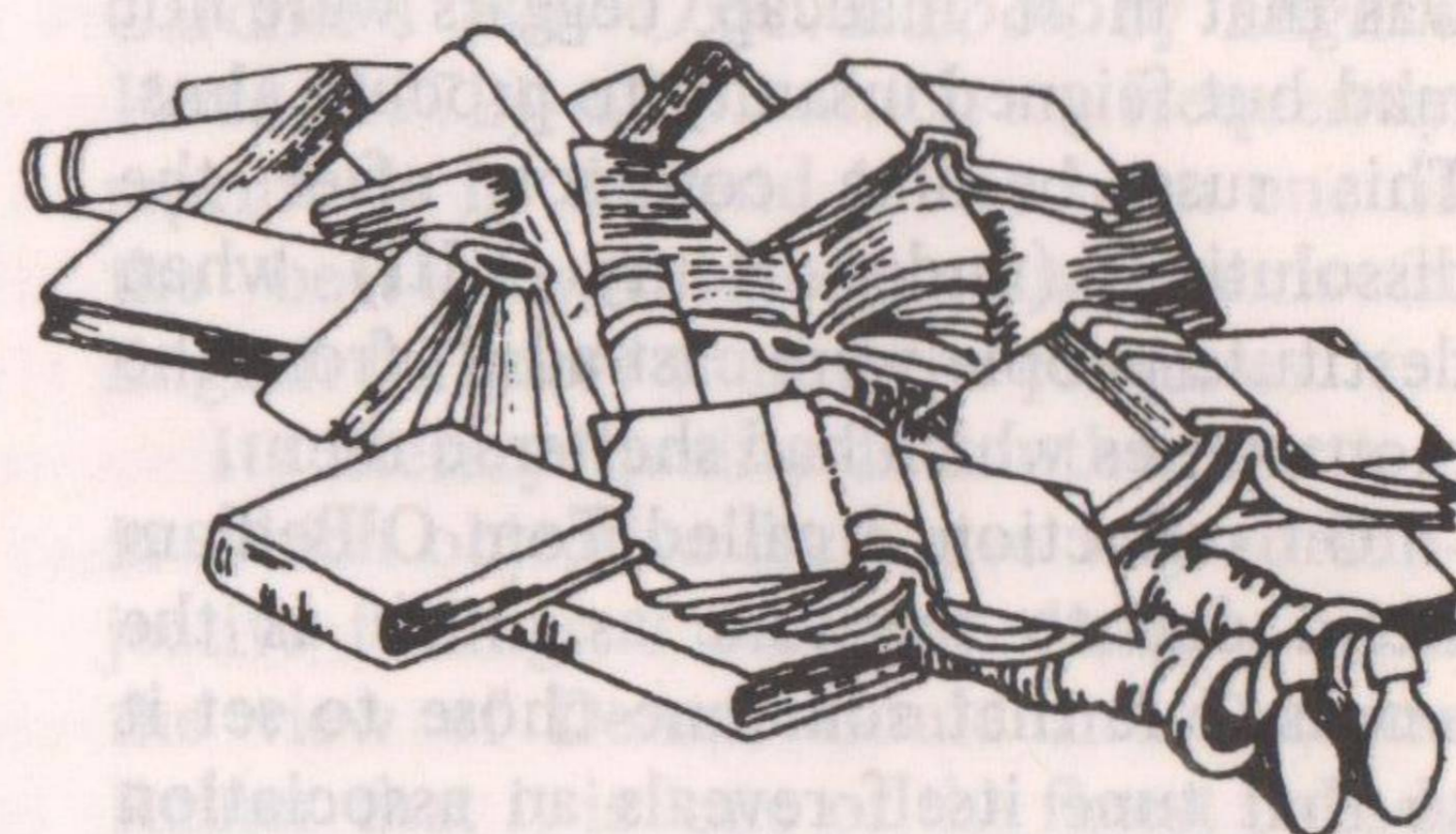
Noam Chomsky's latest book is on the subject of terrorism and on the US media response to terrorism. He contrasts the small-scale, retail terrorism of a state like Libya with the massive, wholesale terrorism of the US and its client states such as Israel and Guatemala. The one is the terrorism of the pirate, the other that of the emperor.

The response of the respectable US media, such as the *Washington Post* or the *New York Times*, is to pretend that US terrorism, whether direct or indirect, simply doesn't exist. Israeli terrorism in the Lebanon is claimed as justifiable retaliation against Palestinian terrorism, for example. The truth is that Israeli actions are not defensive, but offensive, and vastly greater in scale than the genuinely retaliatory (and small-scale) terrorism of the Palestinians. Chomsky repeats his often-made point about the intelligentsia being



the most indoctrinated section of US society. He makes the new point that Reagan's US has falsely inflated the small-scale terrorism of such as Gaddafi (and sometimes invented incidents) to act as justification for and diversion from its own massive violence.

The response of the US government to Chomsky's articles appearing in low circulation journals (he is, of course, denied access to high circulation journals such as the *Washington Post*) is illustrated here by a letter of complaint from a US bureaucrat to one such journal that printed a Chomsky article. Ironically, the journal is called *Index On Censorship*. In the USSR Chomsky's books are banned. HL



**Our Drowning World**  
*Antony Milne*  
Prism Press £9.95

THIS book brings together, in neat and readable form, evidence, arguments, and sensational speculations relating to one particular prediction of environmental catastrophe: that human heating of the atmosphere will melt the polar ice caps, causing the sea level to rise.

Direct heating of the atmosphere is increasing, partly by increase in energy used per person, and mostly by the multiplication of persons (everybody uses fire). Indirect heating by the 'greenhouse effect' is increasing, as the burning of wood and fossil fuel releases carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. Any diminution of polar ice caps causes more heating, as ice reflects sunlight but water absorbs it. Floating ice is all that prevents some land-based ice from falling into the sea, and in any case land-based ice is spreading seawards.

Milne provides maps showing the effect of 200-foot and 250-foot rises in mean sea level. 'The general consensus', however, 'is that it is unlikely sea levels will rise higher than 20 feet'. Among his named sources the worst prediction (from the US Environmental Protection Agency) is that a rise 'as high as 11 feet by 2100 cannot be ruled out', and the consensus expectation is about 2 feet. There is, of course, no contradiction between 'two feet' and 'not higher than twenty feet', but caution is recommended in using this book as a reference work.

DR

**A Confession, and other religious writings**  
*Leo Tolstoy*  
translated and edited by Jane Kentish  
Penguin £3.95

**The Lion and the Honeycomb:  
the religious writings of Tolstoy**  
translated by Robert Chandler  
edited by A N Wilson  
Collins £7.95

THESE two new paperbacks are welcome but problematical. Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) was not only one of the most remarkable authors of prose fiction who ever lived; he was also one of the most remarkable authors of libertarian propaganda. However, there are two obstacles to a full appreciation of his religious and political writings.

One difficulty is that his position is far from clear. Although his opposition to all instituted authority was so eloquent and influential that he has often been included among the leading exponents of anarchism, he didn't actually call himself an anarchist, and indeed he explicitly dissociated himself from the anarchist movement; in effect he was one of the founders of Christian anarchism. Conversely, although he called himself a Christian and concentrated on religious writings from the age of 50, he rejected not only the divinity of Jesus but most of the other traditional doctrines of Christianity, and he was just as unpopular with the Church as with the State; in effect he was one of the founders of what was later called religious humanism. At the same time — and above all — he was during the last 30 years of his life the leading exponent of dogmatic non-resistance and non-violence, and thus the main founder of the ideology which was later called anarcho-pacifism.

The other difficulty is that, while his fictional writings are easily accessible in

several good editions and translations, his non-fictional writings are hard to find except in inaccessible old editions or imperfect new anthologies. The great standard Russian edition of his writings, which was published between 1928 and 1958, consists of no fewer than 90 volumes. By contrast there has never been a proper edition in English; the American collection of 24 volumes produced by Leo Wiener in 1904 and 1905 was not only incomplete but very defective; the British collection of 21 volumes produced by Aylmer Maude between 1929 and 1937 was much superior but still incomplete, and it is now outdated by subsequent developments. (Fortunately the texts of the latter were immediately reproduced in the old World's Classics series, and it is fairly easy to find cheap second-hand copies of the separate volumes in good bookshops.)

The ideal solution would be an English collection of at least all the essays — there are already convenient two-volume selections by RF Christian of *Tolstoy's Letters* (1978) and *Tolstoy's Diaries* (1985)—but instead there have only been a few individual pamphlets or isolated anthologies concentrating on particular aspects of his work. Thus anarchists and pacifists have produced new editions of a few single items. *Tolstoy on Education* (1967), which reproduced the 'Pedagogical Articles' from the old Wiener edition, was superseded by *Tolstoy on Education* (1982), edited by Alan Pinch and Michael Armstrong. *Tolstoy's Writings on Civil Disobedience and Non-Violence* (1967) gathered a score of relevant items without any editorial material. Now here are two separate collections emphasising his religious work.

*A Confession and Other Religious Writings* joins the rather unsatisfactory coverage of Tolstoy in the Penguin Classics. The selection of items is sensible enough: the crucial *Confession*, *What is Religion?*,

*Religion and Morality*, and *The Law of Love and the Law of Violence*; but the introduction and notes are superficial and banal, and the large number of mistakes in factual details and Russian words damages confidence in the translation. Jane Kentish gives little indication of the sources of the texts, and shows no understanding of Tolstoy's significance for the later history of pacifism or anarchism.

*The Lion and the Honeycomb* is a more interesting but still unsatisfactory book. It contains well-chosen extracts from all sorts of writings, but the sources of the texts and the methods of selection are unclear, there are no explanatory notes, and it is absurd to call the result 'the' rather than *some* religious writings. The most interesting thing in the book is the introduction by A N Wilson, one of the right-wing intellectuals known to the media as 'Young Fogeys', who is torn between his attraction to Tolstoy's religious views and his aversion from Tolstoy's political views. 'To my mind,' he says, 'his distrust of all forms of government is at once the most attractive and the least acceptable aspect of his religious thought'; and he adds that it is 'the silliest of his teachings'. But he does take it seriously, even if he doesn't understand it properly. His forthcoming biography of Tolstoy will certainly be worth reading, though it will probably be as annoying as his previous ones of Milton and Belloc.

We are left with a serious gap in the appreciation of one of our greatest predecessors, and the best practical solution we are likely to get is an acceptable anthology of his most important writings bearing on pacifism and anarchism, but this will be a difficult job. Meanwhile it is worth reading the old collections and the new additions, as well as such recent studies as Ronald Sampson's *Tolstoy: the Discoverer of Peace* (1973) and J Martinson's *The Kingdom of God and the State* (1979). NW

## Hunt Saboteurs

ON A cold Wednesday afternoon not long before Christmas, thirteen protestors against cruel sports staged Northern Ireland's first ever attempted hunt sabotage. This was unusual enough to draw long reports and interviews with demonstrators on the evening's local news programmes (which are widely watched).

Now the blood-sports fans have struck back. On January 16th, about two dozen protestors went to Killinchy in Co. Down to disrupt a hunt meeting. However, when they arrived they could not find the hunt, so they travelled on to Newtownards where a hunt was about to begin and set about disrupting it.

As the saboteurs laid false trails and tried to distract the hounds, angry confrontations occurred between the

huntsmen and protestors. When they returned to the six cars in which they had travelled, they found them vandalised.

In their absence, tyres had been let down, windscreen wipers bent and wing mirrors smashed and broken.

Ecology and animal rights have not had the publicity here that they are now getting in Britain, but this sort of behaviour by the 'pillars of society' who enjoy chasing wildlife and killing it may well bring the sort of publicity we need, as this was reported in all the local Sunday papers the next day.

Readers in Ireland who might be interested in helping with the hunt sabotage campaign can get information from Malcolm Samuel, 99 Prospect Road, Portstewart, Co. Derry. Phone 026583-2301. KA



# Concord Maiming

## DRIVER SUES VICTIM

MORE news on American peace campaigner Brian Willson, who lost both legs when protestors were run over by a munitions train leaving a naval base in California last September (see *Freedom* October 1987). The three-man train crew are now suing Willson, claiming he has caused them 'psychological damage'.

Although the trains leaving the base with their shipments — destined for the 'Contras' in Nicaragua — belong to the US Navy, the crews manning them were civilians. Besides a driver, two crewmen rode a platform at the front of the engine, supposedly to spot obstructions. The

crew of the train which sliced off Willson's legs last year claimed not to have seen the group of protestors blocking the tracks in time for the train to stop, although the base (and the local police and media) had been informed that this protest was to take place, and they should therefore have been doubly alert.

The lawsuit was filed on 13 January. Willson was asked to appear on a TV interview, broadcast worldwide by the CNN network, during which he faced a series of hostile questions, including the appalling: 'Well, Brian, what's life like without any legs?' KA

photograph by John Skerce from Workers Vanguard



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