

THE REVOLUTION IS DEAD — LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION

GENOCIDE, the war of a ruling elite against ordinary civilians, is nothing new and not confined to any one part of the world or social system. As was seen in Spain in the 1930s, for example, it is used whenever there is a popular movement against a ruling class which seems likely to be successful.

By calling for 'democracy' and 'reforms' the Chinese students were unwittingly challenging the nature of the State itself. The mystery is quite why the massacre of Tiananmen Square took place. Although it was the third mass student demonstration in four years and it was assumed that it would just fizzle out, coming just at the time of Gorbachev's visit it caused

some embarrassment to the government. The answer must be to do with internal power struggles.

Martial law was declared on 19 May, two weeks before the troops entered the Square. At this time it was reported that Deng had flown to Wuhan to a secret meeting with commanders of the armies of six of the seven regions — he did not trust the commander of the Peking region. When the armies started to move towards Peking there were numerous reports of army recruits starting to fraternise and 'many began throwing off their uniforms and melting into the crowd'. But by the time the political hardliners had gained control it was still another week before

they acted against the students. It is reported that troops moved in to Peking unarmed on 3 June and that arms were given to them. Again it is a mystery why the troops went in at 4am when the students were, according to some reports, already planning to evacuate the Square at 5am. And why did they shoot unarmed people? The *Sunday Times* (11 June) reporting the 'mysterious disappearance' of history student Wang Dan, said that 'just before the troops overran them, he had made an impassioned speech to his student comrades to march out of Tiananmen Square. He argued that the best way of serving the cause of democracy in China was by survival, not by a martyr's death'. We might add that this is the best way of furthering anarchism, too.

Possibly the causes was a matter of military tactics: the need to take a strategic position for fear that another military faction would seize it, or fear of the spread of wider mutiny. Or did the leadership really plan to mow down and terrorise a section of its intelligentsia?

For who were the student demonstrators? They are, after all, the sons and daughters of fairly high-ranking officials. It is notable that the executions which have taken place so far are almost all of 'workers', a drop in the ocean of executions of 'peasants, unemployed workers, vagrants, people with criminal records'. *The Observer* (25 June) reports: 'after years of executing thousands of people for putting up posters, smuggling, embezzlement and counter-revolution, and of considerable army and police violence in Tibet, Peking is puzzled by the horrified foreign reaction to its recent behaviour'.

One thing is certain, the Chinese leaders don't have to worry about any reprisals. Gorbachev won't have anything to say, having been pretty heavy with his own troops in Georgia, though he was heard to mutter in Peking that he didn't care for the demonstrators. But his visit to China was a political triumph — now Sino-Soviet hostilities are at an end, trends in South East Asia are no longer in favour of the United States. All of a sudden South Korean and Japanese businessmen are being feted in North Korea, and there is the possibility of the Americans finding their presence no longer necessary in South Korea. It's important for Japan to do business in

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FREEDOM

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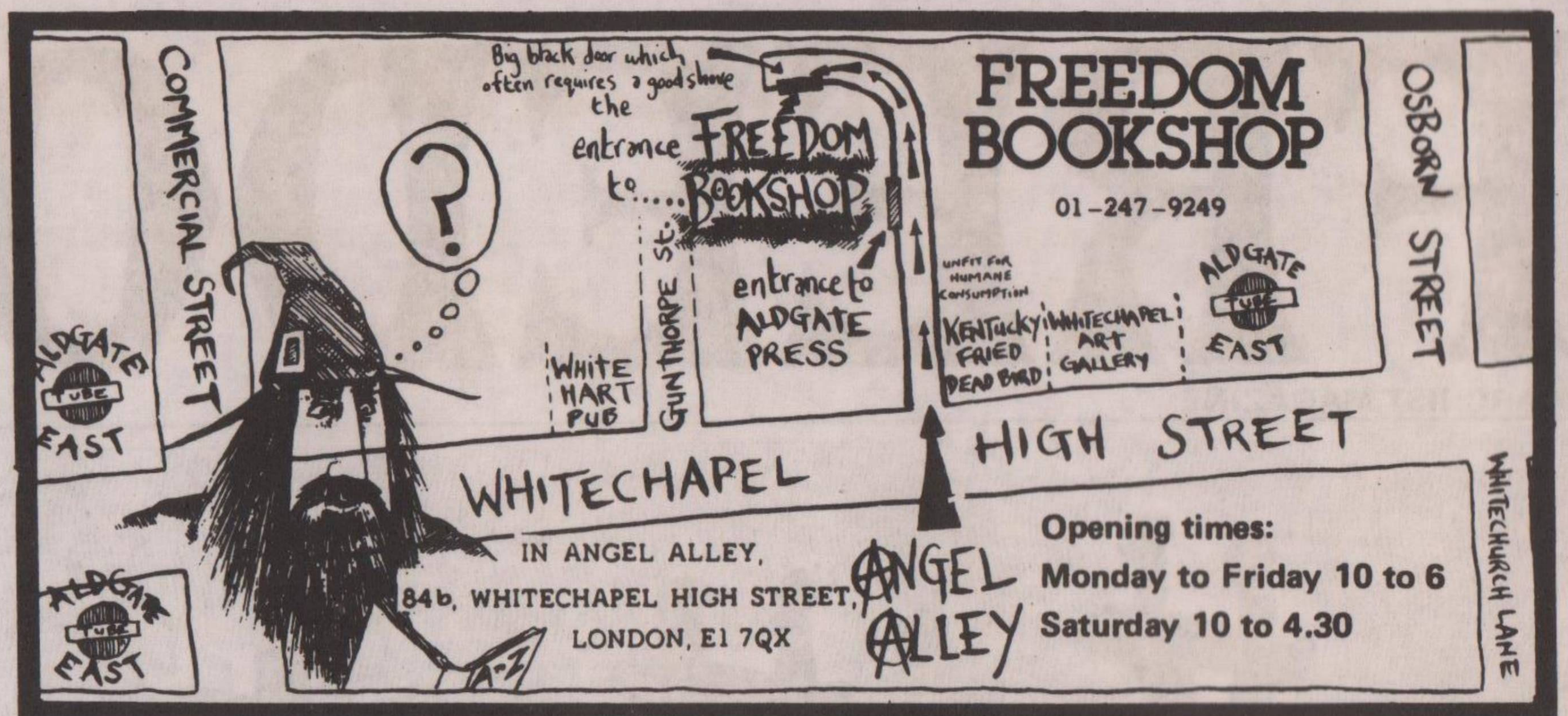
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Note for Raven readers

A number of *Raven* subscribers have been enquiring about issue no. 7. Editorial problems have delayed publication. We are hoping it will be ready for dispatch some time in *April. May. June. July.*

DONATIONS

MID-APRIL to MAY 31st

Freedom Magazine Fund

Hailsham SF £4; Wolverhampton JL £4; London J McG £1; London N8 VP £7; Uxbridge RCS £6; Oxford MH £2; Wolverhampton JL £8; Stockport DW £40; Accrington PG £3; Heidelberg RS £3.55; London W4 MF £2; London, sale of books donated by Alan Albon's family £40.18.

Total = £120.73

1989 TOTAL TO DATE = £747.56

Freedom Press Overheads Fund

Birmingham AJB £6; Wolverhampton JL £6; London N8 VP £7; Newton Abbot HE £1.50; St Cloud Min MGA £13.50; Hove BP £6; Liverpool KD £1; Stockport DW £35; New Zealand RVT £1.94; Cheltenham TKW £20; Wolverhampton JL £12.

Total = £109.94

1989 TOTAL TO DATE = £562.39

Anarchist Picnic. 1 o'clock on Sunday 16 July 1989 on the southward facing summit of Parliament Hill, Hampstead Heath, North London. Bring friends, food, drink, kites, children, pets, etc. Weather permitting. Organised by Peter Neville and friends. Let us forget our differences and relax for a while.

Cornish Anarchists

ANYONE interested in setting up a Cornish anarchist group is invited to contact Damian Noonan, c/o Plymouth Anarchists, PO Box 105, Plymouth.

London ACF

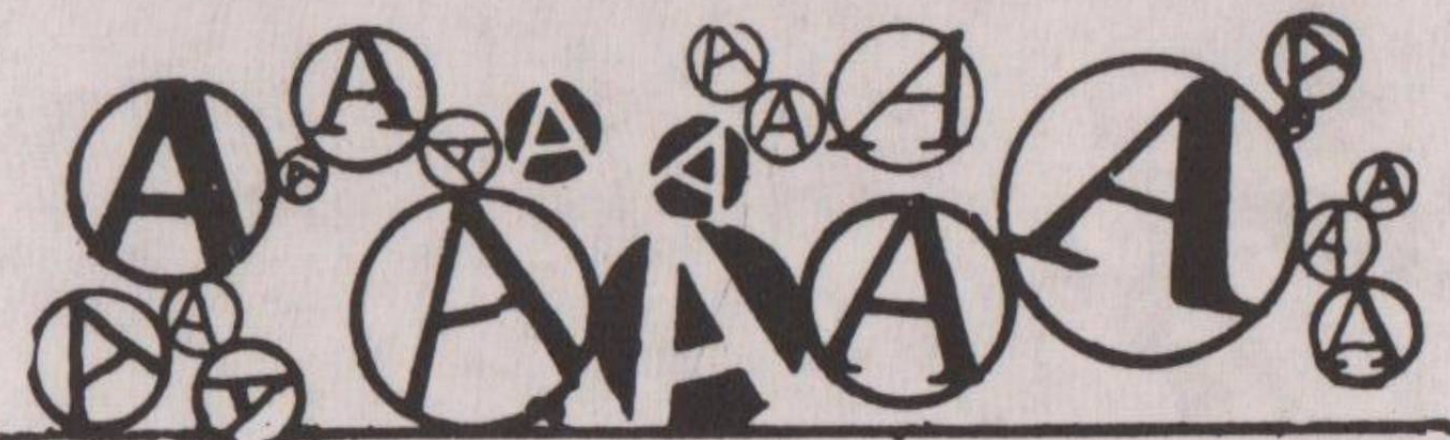
Anarchist Communist Federation DISCUSSION MEETING

13th July at 8.30pm

at Marchmont Street Community Centre,
Marchmont Street, London WC1 (nearest
tube: Russell Square).

200 YEARS SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

There are discussion meetings at the same
address and time on the first Thursday of
every month.



BOOK SIGNING

at Freedom Press Bookshop

Thursday 27 July 1989 : 4pm to 7pm

WILLIAM J FISHMAN

author of *Streets of East London* and
East End Jewish Radicals 1875-1914
will be signing copies of his latest book

EAST END 1888

Duckworth, now in paperback.

Lee House

THE Vegan cafe at Lee House continues to serve hot nutritious meals from Thursday to Sunday 3 pm to 8 pm. The bookshop has been 'refitted' thanks to Earth Exchange and Archway, making the stock look all the more irresistible, and until 23 June we are showing the Art Strike exhibition.

Every Sunday and Thursday night at 8pm we have a video show of controversial, thought provoking, or at least interesting, videos.

In the garden we now have a mega-size 'half-pipe' skateboard ramp for the local kids and the 'anarcho-skate muties' alike.

Unfortunately, Lee House's days are numbered, so come and share in the experience now!!

Lee House, 6a Rectory Road, Stoke Newington, London N16 E8.

13th International March for Demilitarisation

31 July to 13 August 1989

Contact Florennade
Route Charlemagne 20
5526 Rosee, Belgium



SUBSCRIPTION RATES FOR 1989

(Giro account: Freedom Press 58 294 6905)

	Inland	Abroad Surface	Air. mail*		Inland	Abroad Surface	Air. mail*
Freedom (12 issues)				Joint sub (12xFreedom, 4xThe Raven)			
(Claimants 4.00)	—	—	—	(Claimants 11.00)	—	—	—
Regular 6.00	7.50	11.00		Regular 14.00	16.50	23.00	
Institutional 10.00	11.50	15.00		Institutional 20.00	22.50	30.00	
The Raven (4 issues)				Bundle subscription for Freedom			
(Claimants 8.00)	—	—	—	2 copies x 12 10.00	11.50	15.00	
Regular 10.00	11.00	15.00		5 copies x 12 20.00	22.50	30.00	
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				other bundle sizes on application			

*European subs paid at Air Mail rate will be sent by Letter Post.

Coping with Catastrophe

AS THE land sinks, and the greenhouse effect grows, so the coastlines of Essex, North Kent and Sussex will become outlined as the island marshes they once were.

Some ten years ago Richard Doyle, a descendant of Arthur Conan Doyle, wrote a book called *Deluge*, a fictional account of what might happen if London flooded before the Thames Barrier at Woolwich was completed. The joke is that now the barrier is in place, it will be useless in 100 years, assuming land sinkage continues at the present rate.

Meanwhile in the mouth of the Thames there lies the wreck of the Richard Montgomery, an American ship sunk during World War Two, still carrying its cargo of explosives. It could explode at any time, creating shock waves which could reach the vast oil and gas refinery at Canvey Island, a little upstream. The rest of the picture I leave to your imagination. It is the stuff of disaster movies. Especially if at the same time areas of East London have to be evacuated because unexploded Nazi bombs have been discovered.

No doubt we face more Chernobyls or Three Mile Islands, and more Krakatoas, hurricanes or Armenian earthquakes. Of course we can close down and dismantle nukiller power stations, and we can take

sensible measures to make life safer in known earthquake zones. But we cannot predict the time and place when a bomb from some old war will be dug up, or prevent a meteor from falling.

Now, suppose we built the decentralised anarchist society we all wish for – and the sooner the better – how could such a society organise the co-ordinated protection of hundreds of miles of coastline, the supply of relief to an area devastated by earthquake, or the necessary action when an old bomb is dug up? There will be such problems however society is organised. Of course we can say many of them (such as the bombs) are caused by organisation in terms of power structures; but this is not true of them all, and in any case it is no answer.

It seems clear that such problems can only be solved by acting as a global community, and using people with specialised knowledge to deal with special situations. Many – non-anarchists – would say that therefore a decentralised anarchist society would have no way of dealing with large-scale disasters, except to sympathise with the victims from a distance.

My opinion is that a free society could organise large-scale emergency work, not perfectly since every emergency is unexpected, but at least as efficiently as governments. I make no blueprints and

give no instructions to the denizens of a free society, and in this short article I will not even discuss a fictitious example.

What I will say is that I think we as anarchists spend too much time looking at our past history, and too little time considering the practical problems, small and large, that will create a future history. The question of what to do about flood protection and the Thames Barrier might seem of 'no political interest', but it is the kind of question which building anarchy is all about.

It may never happen, but I think a fictionalised disaster movie about the flooding of London would be good fun, and draw attention to the point that London's water defences need looking into *now*. Mind you, the way the water is at present – contaminated by sewage, lead and nitrates – we are more likely to be poisoned by it than drowned by it. Funny stuff, water.

Martyn Lowe

8 April 1989, police were called to quell trouble at a football stadium. By mistake they went to the baseball stadium and arrested 300 peaceful spectators, who were released without charge when the police error was discovered. There were twenty cases of concussion from police truncheons. It happened in Ankara.

WILDCAT

Take no notice, comrade
These anarchists are all the same,
give 'em a bit of authority...



He's just compensating for his inferiority.
He says you tell lies, that's because
he's a compulsive liar himself.



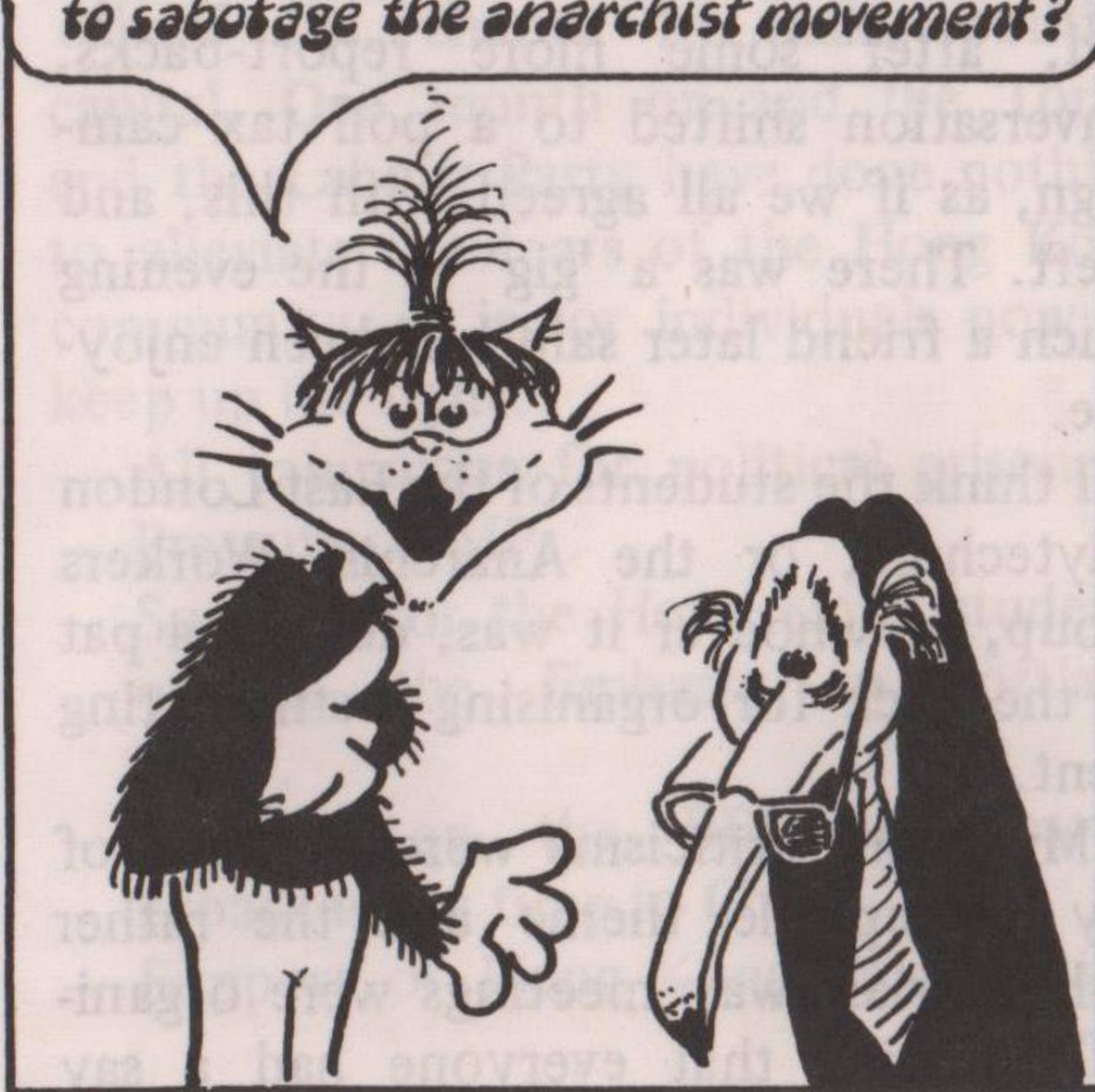
He says you make false claims to be an
expert on anarchist history, that's
because he'd like to be an expert, only
his memory isn't good enough.



He accuses you of working for Mi5 ...



Hey! What if he's being paid by Mi5
to sabotage the anarchist movement?



Slander!! I'm doing it for free!!!



Compassion fatigue

AT THE same time the Chinese tanks were moving into Tiananmen Square, waves of boat people from Vietnam were heading for Hong Kong. Officials were said to be 'struggling to overcome local prejudice' to find space to house 3,000 people. One reason for the sudden upsurge of Vietnamese refugees is precisely because of the threat of a cut-off date: these people who say they would rather die than go back to Vietnam, who have escaped the perils of the open sea — the murdering and looting pirates — find that the Hong Kong populace is democratically suffering 'compassion fatigue'. It seems that 55 per cent of Hong Kong residents want the boat people 'towed out to sea'. Presumably some opinion poll was held, but what action could be taken by the 45 per cent who still feel 'compassion'? Opinion polls are taken in order to justify what action the authorities are going to take anyway.

A week later, when the Chinese Secret Police were rounding up demonstrators, the *Sunday Times* (11 June) reported: 'After protests from local people forced Hong Kong to abandon plans to accommodate the Vietnamese in a derelict housing estate and in a deserted army camp near the Chinese border last week, it dumped several hundred boat people, including small children, on a barren

island without electricity or running water'.

But when have officials ever taken any notice of 'protests from local people' except when it suited their book?

At the same time the question arises of the admittance of Hong Kong citizens to Britain, and although our press has not yet taken an opinion poll since there is little evidence that very many Hong Kong citizens have any wish to come to Britain, our press seems to be agreed that, should the Chinese government engage in some kind of massacre of Hong Kong citizens in 1997, though there is a case for admitting *some* of its three and a half million citizens, of course we can't be overrun by these people.

Since we are also told that last year 50,000 people left Hong Kong — 24,000 to Canada, 11,000 to the United States, and less than 800 to Britain, one wonders: a) Why there is no room for 45,000 boat people in Hong Kong; and b) Why there should be all the fuss about the right of a few Hong Kong business people wanting to opt to settle in Britain — for the rich can escape, the poor not, and of those who opt out most would choose to go elsewhere.

The answer is, of course, that Britain's overriding concern is for the *stability* of Hong Kong in the run-up to the hand-

over to China in 1997. Above all they want to avoid anti-British demonstrations, therefore there has to be given some assurance that, as a last resort, some Hong Kong people can come to Britain. But there must be no general right of asylum in Britain as this would make it more difficult to keep out other refugees, e.g. Kurds, boat people. After all, where would they stay? At the Savoy Hotel? If we doubled the population of London to the density of that of Hong Kong, would all the tourists stay?

One of the oddest things is that Hong Kong people cannot understand why their future has been decided by a parliament in which they have no say. They have started to call for 'democracy'. They must be very naive. There is a 'democratisation programme' for Hong Kong, with directly elected seats to a legislative council, but who on earth will want to sit on them? In the event of a purge in China, these would be the very people who would be eliminated. The success story of Hong Kong is due precisely to the fact that it is a colony run by British bureaucrats, and as a consequence talented Chinese have had to go into business rather than politics. These people have nothing to fear from China. As for the masses of low-paid Hong Kong workers, there will be little change for them — any more than for the masses in China — unless of course they start demanding 'democracy'.

CC

LONDON ANARCHIST CONFERENCE (East Ham Poly, Saturday 27 May 1989).

I arrived an hour and a half late owing to waiting for repairs to my car window which had been smashed the night before. I was somewhat surprised to gather they were still discussing what they were going to talk about. One would have presumed they knew this before organising the event.

After an interesting and cheap vegan meal we split into groups. Arriving from the loo somewhat late, I found the groups already formed. A friend told me I should see the lady in blue in the group over there. I wandered over and was told I could join them. They turned out to be the women's group.

It promised to be a happy and informative occasion, despite the woman from the Anarchist Workers Group who insisted on chairing the meeting to ensure that everyone had a chance to speak whether they wanted to or not, until about half way through where another late-comer arrived. This was a self-confessed lesbian feminist, who wanted to know why there were men in the group (two of us) and why we were dominating the proceedings (we had

only started to speak). We waited for her to come or go but she kept rabbiting on for ten minutes until she and three others left to form their own group.

The 'organisers' then announced time to change groups whence we became something else with some new people and again later as well. In fact the same discussion continued (without the AWG chair) and we discussed problems of males and females in society, homosexuality and lesbian stereotyping, and democracy in meetings, and had a pleasant afternoon.

In the plenary our interrupter and her supporters demanded passionately why men were allowed into a woman's group. And, after some more report-backs, conversation shifted to a poll tax campaign, as if we all agreed with this, and I left. There was a 'gig' in the evening which a friend later said had been enjoyable.

I think the students of the East London Polytechnic, or the Anarchist Workers Group, or whoever it was, deserve a pat on the back for organising a stimulating event.

My major criticisms were the lack of any perceptible theme and the rather authoritarian way meetings were organised, insisting that everyone had a say

irrespective of whether it bore any relation to the matter under discussion. When I suggested they could chair in an issues related manner they completely failed to grasp what I was talking about. I put that down to lack of experience.

The feminist problem is probably related to the fact that more and more women are now moving with greater confidence into mainstream anarchism. This may be very disconcerting to some of the leaders of the women's movement who liked the idea of being a big fish in small seas, and fear their domination might be eroded. Not so much a matter of women's rights but a matter of (their) power and control.

Lastly, (I suppose it is inevitable in a student-organised affair), there was a little too much of the youth cultural response rather than well-reasoned discussion. Did it not also occur to the organisers that not everyone likes organised pop music? I attended a conference recently where three attenders gave us a rendering of music from Bach and Vivaldi to classical jazz on a flute, recorder and synthesiser. Just a thought. Anarchism is not just another name for a youth movement.

Peter Neville

Chinese struggle is Our struggle

OVER the past two months events in China have firstly inspired, then sickened, the world in an unparalleled way. The self-professed disregard by the Chinese leadership for life and love and truth — values which they discuss as bourgeois — calls for a response from all decent human beings. For those of us with a commitment to increased freedom in our world we must take care that the events in China will not be forgotten. The struggle of the Chinese students is also our struggle.

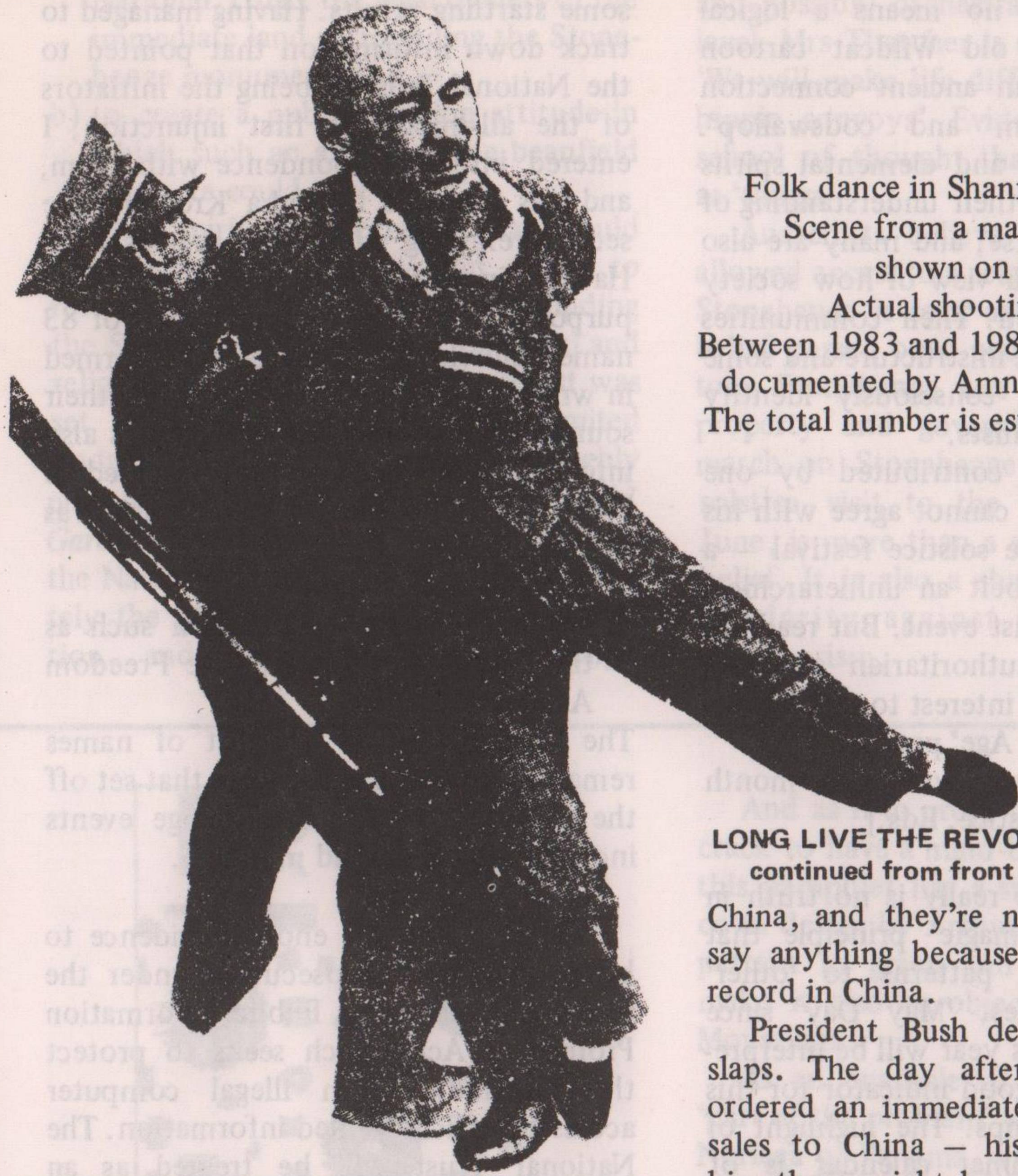
In the current situation it is difficult to resist despair. Aside from the tens of thousands now in China forced to silently grieve the most brutal murder of their young relatives and friends, millions are suddenly exposed again to the full force of Chinese repression. For many a living death with the loss of all their timid aspirations. People scared to reveal their thoughts even to their close families and friends. And yet another generation involved with the bitterness of injustice and oppression.

Beyond all this China now faces a double disaster. Deng has slammed his open door in his own face for the time being. The modernisation programme has been dealt a more serious blow. Without truth and freedom China's now famous scientists are stifled. The already looming economic crisis will not be helped by the absence of tourists and new contracts. And no amount of propaganda will convince the peasants otherwise.

What then was the value of the students' democracy campaign? Did the intellectuals overreach the mark? Was it premature in a country like China with its unpoliticised masses? Libertarians must resist the argument that a people is not yet ready for freedom. In China it has been the leadership, not the people, who have resisted change in the status quo.

The cautious and timid demands of the Chinese city folk were always a greater threat than may have seemed at first sight. Both the student demonstrations of 1987 and the recent democracy movement have been answered by an anti-bourgeois liberalisation campaign. In this the appeal to the Cardinal Principle of the leadership of the Party has been the chief argument.

It did not take a direct attack on the Party for the Party to feel threatened. The Party is not quite the popular institution the Chinese press would have the people believe. Despite the acclaimed (and sometimes genuine) altruism of many it is inherently a corrupt mechanism. Being a Party member means privilege, access to scarce commodities and power. The Party spies on and interferes with the lives of people. Resentments abound.



Demonstration is a threat to the status quo of the Party.

China has four distinct classes — cadres, intellectuals, workers and peasants. The present unrest is clearly confined to the big cities. In their propaganda campaign the Chinese government seem to be winning, taking the country as a whole. A war of truth is on, however. The universities have mostly closed down early for the summer and students have returned home — many to the countryside. Hong Kong broadcasting has kept the whole of southern Guangdong alive to the real events in China. The present war of words should be of utmost interest to us all.

In Britain a dismal response from the major political parties has allowed others the chance to make political capital. One month on and the Tories and the Labour Party have done nothing to alleviate the fears of the Hong Kong community. It is for individuals now to keep up the fight.

- All campaigns for political prisoners.
- Pressure on MPs.
- Support for the Hong Kong students outside the Embassy in Portland Place.
- Pressure on the BBC to increase broadcasting time to China.
- Support of Hong Kong broadcasting.

TM

Folk dance in Shanxi province, 1988.

Scene from a mass sentencing rally shown on Chinese television.

Actual shootings are not shown. Between 1983 and 1988, 1,500 executions documented by Amnesty International. The total number is estimated at 30,000.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION

continued from front page

China, and they're not in a position to say anything because of their own past record in China.

President Bush delivered a few mild slaps. The day after the massacre he ordered an immediate embargo on arms sales to China — his advisors had told him there might be a military coup. His Embassy sheltered a dissident, and he's promised support for students wanting to flee the country. Now he needs to build a new strategic relationship with China. But if he hits at China economically, the Chinese could 'play the Soviet card' and create military ties with Moscow (secretly, the Chinese had earlier assured him that they would not do this). Last week, Richard Nixon of Vietnam fame made a come-back in a newspaper article: 'It is imperative that Sino-American relations remain strong so the United States can help maintain the balance among China, Japan and the Soviet Union'.

So it's business as usual. Mrs Thatcher expressed her shock and dismay. This sort of thing couldn't happen in this country, could it? Well, there's Northern Ireland. Remember 'Bloody Sunday'?

The lessons of Tiananmen Square will not be lost. All governments want stability. All armies exist to oppress the people. To statesmen what matters is the balance of power, to politicians it is who holds the power (which comes from the barrel of a gun). Student Wu'er Kaixi, who escaped to Hong Kong, has given a graphic account of the massacre in a video interview. He says: 'This kind of government cannot exist any longer because they are the enemies of the people'. To anarchists, all governments are enemies of the people.

Charles Crute

The Stonehenge Land Struggle

[The association of anarchism with rationalism is by no means a logical necessity. As an old Wildcat cartoon put it, 'there is an ancient connection between anarchism and codswallop'. Believers in magic and elemental spirits are unorthodox in their understanding of the physical universe, and many are also unorthodox in their view of how society should be organised. Their communities are mostly anarchic in structure and some of their members consciously identify themselves as anarchists.]

This article is contributed by one such anarchist. We cannot agree with his contention that the solstice festival — a religious service albeit an unhierarchical one — is an anarchist event. But read on. The account of authoritarian attitudes to the festival is of interest to unbelievers as much as to 'New Age' people.

Note that it was written a month before the 1989 solstice. Eds.]

ALBEIT that there really is no truth in the 'sympathetic magic' principle that attributes weather patterns to 'other' patterns, the hottest 'May Day' since 1905 registered this year will be interpreted by some as a good indicator for this year's summer camps. The highlight of the anarchist summer calendar is of course the highly publicised Stonehenge summer solstice gathering of the clans and bands of nomads. For some time now this has been overshadowed by the efficiently organised oppression sadly generated throughout the Thatcher years.

Stonehenge from the perspective of this government is being primed firstly for a police riot squad training ground, and secondly for a money spinning private propertied tourist venture in direct contravention of the spirit of the will of the last legal owner of the late Cecil Chubb. English Heritage claims to be protecting the monument are based on nothing more than irrational fears. There are no recorded instances of damage to the monument by festival goers. This alone feeds the suspicion that the events of the last few years have been nothing more than a front for government scapegoating.

In 1985 an injunction was taken out against 83 named individuals, by English Heritage, the National Trust and 'other' landowners. It is the policing of the 'peace' under the terms of this injunction that the state are using as a reason to legitimate the deployment of very large numbers of police officers, roads being blocked, people's right of free movement impeded, homes criminally damaged, and countless unnecessary arrests, producing a wartime-type siege state in the southern counties of England.

Detailed research so far has produced some startling results. Having managed to track down information that pointed to the National Trust as being the initiators of the all-important first injunction, I entered into correspondence with them, and was surprised to find a 'Kremlin'-like secrecy existing within the organisation. Having inquired for purely academic purposes how they compiled a list of 83 named individuals I was quickly informed in writing that they could not reveal their sources. In a subsequent letter I was also informed that they were not prepared to deny that the source of compilation was

- a) the police;
- b) other landowners; or
- c) an independent organisation such as the Economic League or the Freedom Association.

The compilation of the list of names remained an important trigger that set off the unfurling of the Stonehenge events including the beanfield massacre.

There is not yet enough evidence to bring a criminal prosecution under the terms of Thatcher's Public Information Protection Act, which seeks to protect the individual from illegal computer access to officially filed information. The National Trust will be treated as an innocent party in accordance with the principles of British justice, but if, as the government recently suggested, silence implies guilt, then the National Trust appears to be guilty. The compilation of the initial list of names clearly constitutes the first action against the anarchist movement popularly known by the name 'hippies' or 'peace convoy'. By determining the source of compilation anarchists

can for historical reasons establish further the role of, we suspect, the highest offices of government.

The beanfield massacre of 1985 took place within sight of the Earl of Cardigan, who is on record as being totally shocked and appalled by the police behaviour. The Earl in fact later gave temporary sanctuary to the families that were grossly attacked, beaten, turned out of homes, and arrested. The official arrest figure of the beanfield massacre totalled some 500 people (see NCCL Stonehenge Report), the biggest single peacetime mass arrest in a single incident in British history. Some future historian may group it together with the Peterloo massacre of 1815. It is up to anarchists here and now to give these issues proper discussion in what remains of the subterranean free press.

Since those 1985 events, which witnessed the crudest state display of force for many a year, many of the unpoliticised innocent festival goers have chosen, unsurprisingly, either to miss out the solstice festival completely, or only to attend on foot as a token gesture in order to protect their mobile homes from further criminal damage by the British police. It is rumoured that the police were assisted on that occasion by army units dressed in blue, and recent direct observations of policemen without the statutory number displayed on the outer arm at the proceeding Stonehenge solstice gathering feeds the rumour.

In the year preceding the beanfield massacre I was told by a group known as the 'Mutants', a sub-section of the peace convoy, that they had actually received unofficial sounding-out visits from



members of the SAS. The type of questions that were posed included general theoretical ones concerning attitudes to land ownership and Stonehenge in particular. It is now believed this visit was to establish intentions and military capability, in the event of a possible future attack upon the peace convoy as a whole. This is how the state appeared to be viewing a bunch of their own citizens with a proven record of pacifism.

It seems possible that information collected on these sounding-out visits may have led the authorities to suspect a plan, by the peace convoy, to squat the land at Stonehenge for ten years, and then claim squatters' rights to land ownership. But there is no hard evidence of such a plan.

It seems that the state also orchestrated a hate campaign through the mainstream British media against the peace convoy,

despite a decade-long record of proven pacifism at the Stonehenge festival site. This was done:

- a) to protect the land rights of the National Trust, the legal owners of the immediate land surrounding the Stonehenge monument; and
- b) to create a public opinion attitude in which such an attack as the beanfield massacre could take place.

In a spirit of reformism that would allow the peace convoy and others to return to freely use the land surrounding the Stonehenge monument for social and religious purposes the Solstice Trust was set up in 1986, and despite a limited budget were able to publish a highly professional and well thought-out *World Garden Site Plan* which was presented to the National Trust and others. Unfortunately the plan received little or no attention, and the orchestrated campaign

against the peace convoy generally, and anarchists in particular, continued unabated.

The campaign is certainly initiated, and possibly orchestrated, at the highest level. Mrs Thatcher is on record as saying 'We will make life difficult for things like hippie convoys'. Evidently she is of the school of thought that describes people as 'things'.

Anarchists believe people should be allowed access to a relationship with land. Stonehenge is seen as the temple of this belief passed onto people by their ancestors. Stonehenge was there long before property and government. The annual march on Stonehenge, culminating in a solstice visit to the monument on 21 June, is more than a symbolic gesture of belief. It is also a show of strength and solidarity against government and Thatcherism. CA

DRUGS are in the news again! Last week a sensationalist daily newspaper made its lead story a 'giant acid party' attended by thousands of youngsters at Maidenhead, while a Sunday paper thought fit to devote part of its colour supplement to a lurid feature on 'The Yardies', a gang of drug dealers operating in London and being played-up by the media and Met.

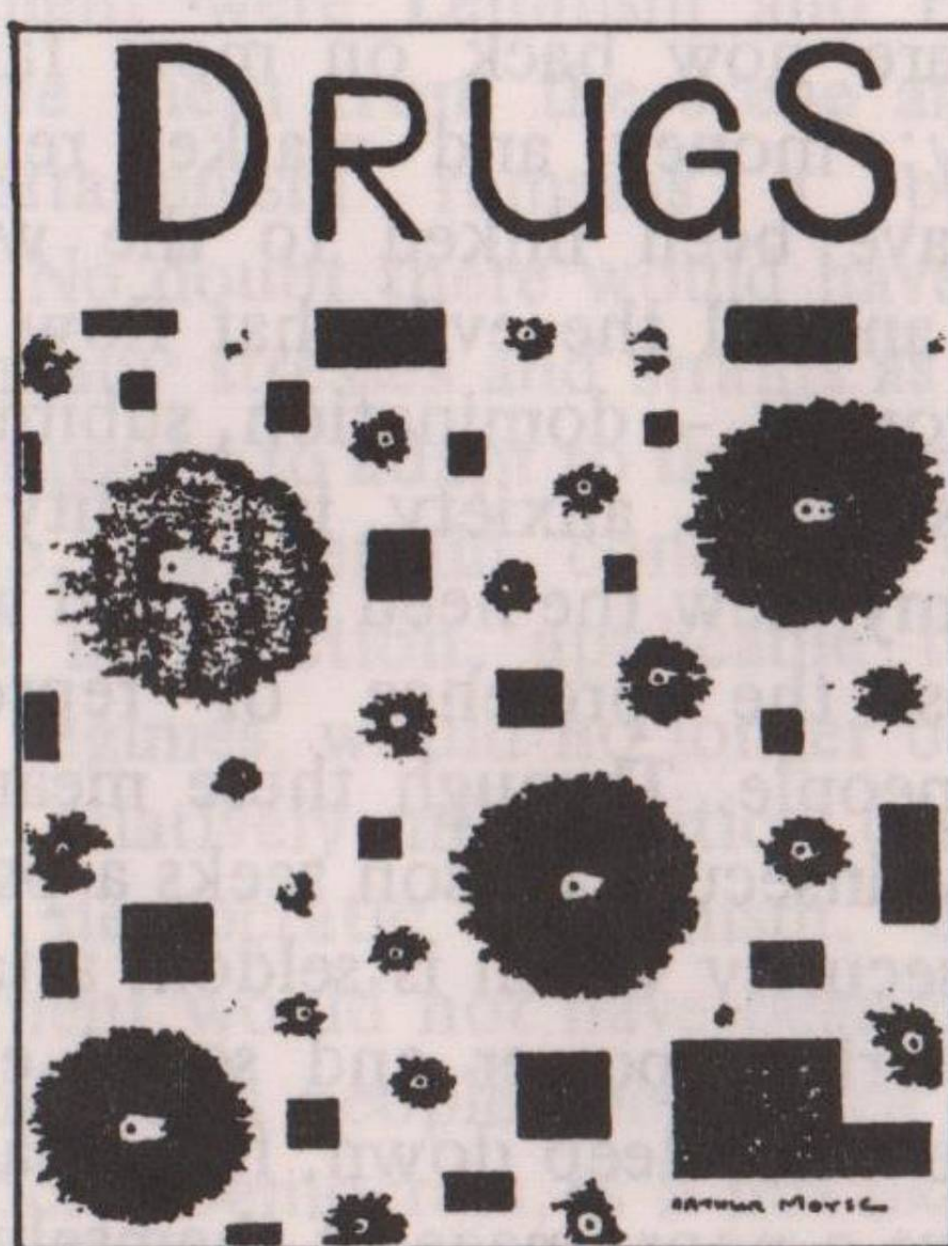
Which reminds us that last month the *Guardian* (19 May) was solemnly assuring us in its editorial that 'drug addiction is already perceived as the single biggest threat facing Britain. A survey of parents, published yesterday, puts drug abuse far ahead of all other risks threatening the future of their children — well ahead of AIDS, pollution, mugging, drink, tobacco, unhealthy foods and accidents.'

Interesting that this survey was published the same day that the Home Secretary Douglas Hurd was discussing international drug traffic control with European ministers. 'Our job', said Mr Hurd, 'must be to work together urgently to ensure that the United States experience is not repeated here.'

One of the most familiar arguments heard against anarchism is the question 'what would you do about . . .' crime, drugs, or whatever problem of our existing society it is currently fashionable to discuss, and we haven't been very good at giving practical answers.

Malatesta, writing on the subject of propaganda, warned against what he called 'exaggerated optimism'. 'It is necessary', he wrote, 'to leave a little on one side the idyllic descriptions and visions of the future and distant perfections, and face things as they are today and as they will be in what one can assume to be the foreseeable future'.

So that 'while on the one hand we reproach our adversaries for being unable



to think beyond present conditions and of finding communism and anarchy unattainable, because they imagine that man must remain as he is today, with all his meanness, his vices and his fears, even when their causes have been eliminated, on the other hand we skate over the difficulties and the doubts, assuming that the morally positive effects which will result from the abolition of economic privilege and the triumph of liberty have already been achieved.'

So we welcome the publication of a little pamphlet entitled *Drugs* (Phoenix Press, 30p) in which the libertarian arguments against the prohibition of drugs are rehearsed. These are that prohibition — that is, the restriction of supply (as advocated by Mr Hurd) — boosts the profits of dealers. That is why it has been a failure, that dealers are free-marketeters, and that the forces of law and order are on the side of the dealers. That the whole thing is a confidence trick, and that government is part of the problem, using the drug issue to justify its own existence. That once government interference is accepted in one area people accept its extension into other areas of private life.

And as if to prove that you don't need crack to have a mind-bending experience, this pamphlet has a striking and unusual cover design by Arthur Moyse, an abstract pattern in green and black, which will make it also an object for collectors of Moyseiana.

As an example of government being 'part of the problem' we may cite General Noriega of Panama, who was in the news last May when he held an election, lost it in spite of beating up those who opposed him, ignored the result, and went on running the country. When we say 'government' we mean General Noriega and his army officers. He has now been indicted in the USA for drug trafficking on a huge scale. All the fuss about drugs in the USA can be seen for the humbug that it is when we find that the USA supported Noriega for six years, giving for example \$20 million in military aid in 1986, and that all the last four elections were overthrown with the support of the USA, which all this time turned a blind eye to the drugs business. Why *this time* does the USA want Noriega out? Formerly, Noriega was reliable as a bulwark against communism — the USA always wants a balance of power in favour of its own interests. As an intriguer, Noriega aided the USA in fighting the Sandanistas in Nicaragua, now he is selling arms to left wing guerrillas in El Salvador as well as drugs in Florida.

Bush has sent two thousand troops to American bases in the Canal zone, but he doesn't really intend to use them to topple Noriega — military adventures are not popular with the public at home. He's trying economic sanctions and using the drugs issue to make Noriega unpopular, but he's stuck with him. And the power of Noriega's army is itself a United States creation.

Thinking about Economics

IT SEEMS to me that remarkably little has been written by anarchists on the subject of economics. Given the dreary content of most of what one reads in the press, maybe this is not surprising. Few can get excited about such things as trade deficits, interest rates and the like, and yet it is in the field of economics that some of the most heated argument takes place between those anarchists who are communists and those who are collectivists. The communists want a society where consumption is determined by individual need, while the collectivists seek to relate consumption to deeds. The latter tend to be chary about the use of such words as money and the market, but of course its only through those means that consumption can be readily related to work done. The communists, on the other hand, deny the market and all exchanges, and can bask in the purity of their totally unregulated system: theirs is clearly the more revolutionary position. My purpose is not to take sides in this debate, but rather in some way to attempt to reconcile the two approaches.

Contrary to popular fiction, we may of course sweep away any notions that markets in capitalist societies are free, or ever can be, so long as they are manipulated by the powerful in both state and business, but what exactly is the market? I would say that for market economic relationships to exist, goods and services must be exchanged either through barter or through the medium of money. Both vendor and buyer apply highly subjective notions of relative values. The item for sale is seen to have a value equivalent to, say, £10, or perhaps a couple of goats. So the market then, as with all other

human social relationships, has a psychological basis.

Now the act of assigning an abstract monetary value to something which has a practical use value clearly involves an alienated way of thinking. Money itself after all has no practical value whatsoever, although I suppose you could use the notes to kindle a fire. Money, in my view, when used to the excess as in contemporary society, provides a way of measuring the entire produce of the natural world by assigning values and thereby *controlling* it. The use of money is also, of course, indispensable to the capitalist, for without it unearned income in the form of profits cannot be extracted from the economy. Amassed profits, as real capital, are themselves a source of *power*, not only over the natural world but also over those who are made powerless.

We are now back on more familiar territory: money and market relationships have been linked to the will to power, and all the evils that flow inevitably from it — domination, submission, fear, insecurity, anxiety, inequality, etc., etc. In my view the need to hoard wealth indicates the presence of repression within people. Through these means the basically insecure person seeks a psychological security which is seldom attained. Wealth brings power and social esteem to those who, deep down, feel weak and who have a poor image of themselves. In this view the presence of capitalism is itself evidence of the existence of varying degrees of mental disorder. This sketch is necessarily crude and brief, but I think it does provide some explanation of the motors which drive our economy, and which are steadily destroying the natural

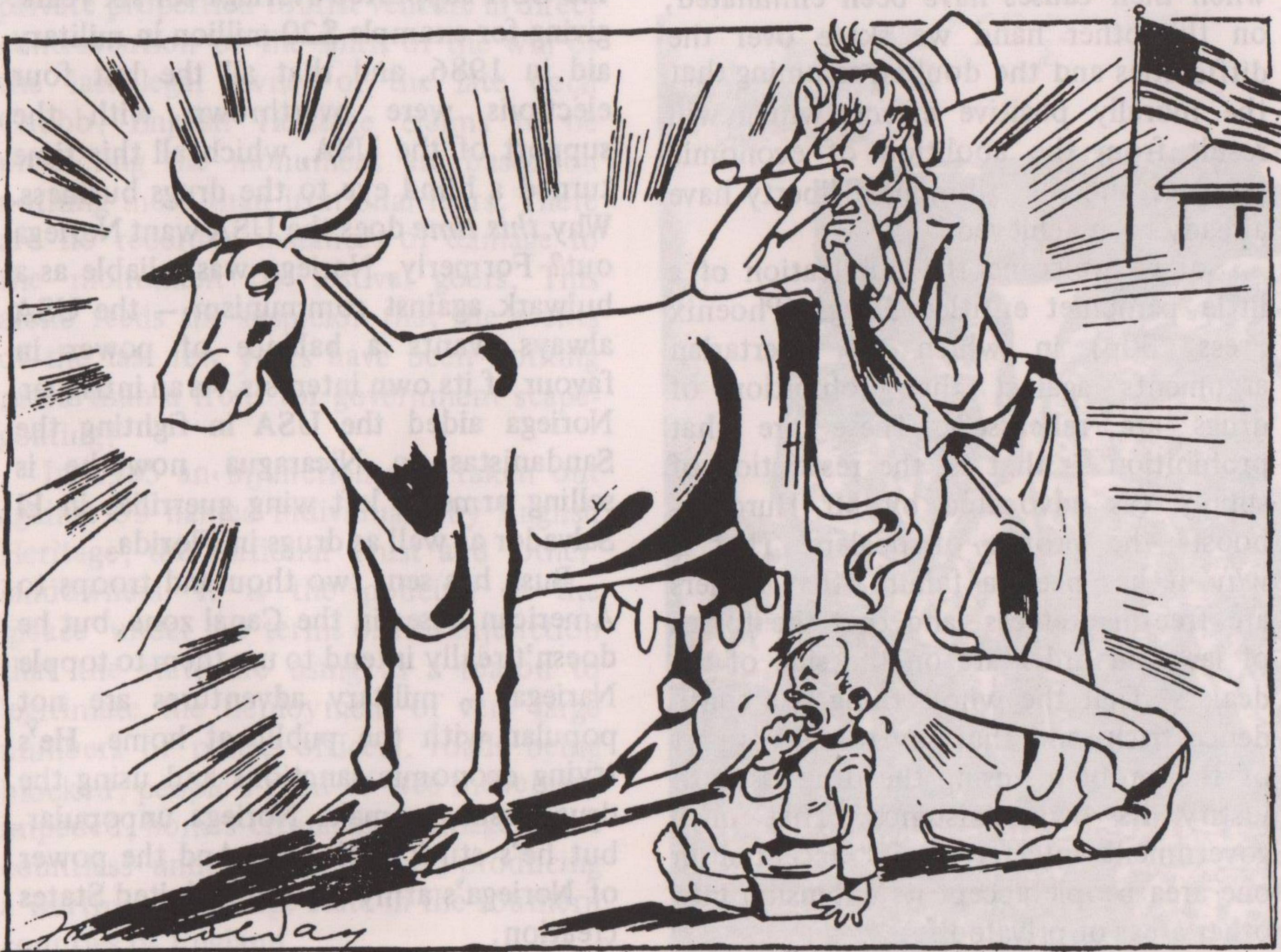
world. Insanity, surely, has to be present in a species which is in the process of destroying even its own habitat.

I started off by saying that I sought in some way to reconcile the collectivist and communist anarchist positions, and I can now return to this theme using the above line of argument to inform the discussion. Having said that the use of money and markets are all part and parcel of the deranged authoritarian mind, it might be logical to conclude that collectivists must be deranged to some degree in comparison with the communists! Such a suggestion is clearly trite and mischievous, and I'm not going to speculate on the workings of the minds of other anarchists. The fact remains, however, that the collectivist's position is the closer to current social attitudes and therefore is likely to have the greater appeal among the general population. The concept of a moneyless economy is, for most people, a very difficult one to grasp, and I think communists should acknowledge this fact, and also that *real* social change takes place very slowly. We all need to find ways to open doors to possible alternatives and achieve conditions where movement and experiment with social organisation are possible. In the past I have argued the collectivist position, and buttressed it, by pointing out that no communist systems have existed in a complex, modern, technological society. That is true, but it does not mean to say that communism is a totally *impossible* objective, only that it is much more difficult to achieve when speculated upon from within the current impasse.

In my opinion, if a libertarian revolution were to occur in more favourable conditions, it would be most irregular in its outcome. In the absence of the state, I can foresee the co-existence of the full range of possible economic structures — collectivist, communist and small capitalist ones, but of course within the libertarian organisations being the most numerous. People will choose to work within the set-up which best suits their psychological disposition, whatever they may be. Money and markets will continue to be used as long as people perceive a use for them and regardless of what anarchists of whatever persuasion may prefer.

If we ever do achieve a libertarian society, economists may concern themselves with matters of real importance to us all, such as seeking ways in which the resources of the planet can be used in the most effective and least wasteful fashion. It will then at last cease to be the 'dismal science' of filling up the balance sheets of human deprivation and resource depletion.

JG



The October Disaster



UNDOUBTEDLY there is a great feeling of satisfaction among anarchists as Leninism appears to be on its way out. Not only have the once powerful 'Marxist'-Leninist groups shrunk or disappeared, but the very foundation of the Workers' Paradise has been shaken to its roots. Talk about your Russian Revolution! Overnight all those nasty social democratic habits such as free elections, the right of assembly, the 'mixed economy', are no longer anathemas in the 'Socialist' Fatherland. But is it all that surprising to see the 'communists' returning from whence they came? Leninism developed out of Social Democracy. Since their ideology has so obviously failed them they are now, like the Prodigal Son, returning home (complete with the fatted calf of European investment!). Perhaps they should have stayed there in the first place and saved the rest of us a hell of a lot of fuss and bother. Consider this slightly heretical notion – the October Revolution was the biggest disaster ever to hit us poor working sods.

Take the Leninists out of the picture and Russia would probably have become a large and clumsy version of Sweden. Without Bolshevism splitting the world's labour movement into feuding factions, the Social Democratic parties would have taken power in the major European nations immediately after the First World War. Without the fear of Bolshevik expropriations and firing squads, the middle class would not have supported the extreme right – Mussolini, Hitler and Franco would have ended up as shoe salesmen. We would have been spared World War Two, the gas ovens, concentration camps and Stalin's reign of terror. The non-existence of the October Revolution would also have had a beneficial effect on the United States. The American Socialist Party might have remained an important force in American political life, most likely not forming a government but having influence enough to moderate some of the right wing excesses. A social

democratic Europe would have sought some form of economic and political integration (an EEC 30 years ahead of its time). United and not suffering the devastation of the Second World War, Europe would have the strength to restrict American hegemony. Is it too much to believe that we might have been spared Pinochet, the Vietnam War and the Contras?

So much for the Social Democrats, but how about anarchism? Prior to the Bolsheviks bursting upon the scene and proclaiming the infallibility of their methods, revolutionary movements had a libertarian bent, either in the form of anarcho-syndicalism or an anti-statist socialism of Anton Pannekoek and Rosa Luxemburg. The two forces which did the most to destroy the libertarian movement were Leninism and Fascism. Remove them from the scene and anti-authoritarianism remains a powerful force. No doubt there would have been a great many stresses and strains as anarchism struggled to adapt to the new political climate, for certain concepts, such as armed insurrection, applicable to autocratic regimes, would no longer be useful in the relatively mild political climate of social democratic reformism. But the movement would not have been obliterated and when people became fed up with the Social Democrats, is it not likely that many would move in the direction of libertarianism? (Rather than towards the right, which is what has happened, given the absence of a strong anarchist movement.) The Bolshevik victory set us back about a hundred years and we only began to rebuild in the 1960s. Yet we are still tiny and ineffective. Many anarchists are

Oddly enough, during most of the period before the Revolution, the Bolsheviks agreed with the Social Democrats on the impossibility of socialism in Russia. Then Lenin got the bright idea that if the Soviets seized power and were supported by the European working class, the Millennium would be on its way. Lenin was under the impression that European workers, sick of war and poverty, would rise up and install revolutionary regimes. How much of this was based on wishful thinking or on a total misreading of the situation is hard to say. True enough, people were sick of war and poverty and in many areas did revolt, but it was Social Democracy they wanted, not Bolshevism. There were those who wished to go a lot further, but they were not a majority and were soon crushed, for Leninism succeeded in splitting the revolutionaries as well as the reformists. With neither reform nor revolution a possibility, the door was wide open for the right. One obvious lesson from Lenin's costly blunder is to always get your facts straight beforehand!

I am not offering this alternative viewpoint of the Russian Revolution in the hope of creating a new dogma to replace the leftist traditional 'Glorious October'. Such an event is far too complex to reduce to any sort of scheme or fixed idea. What this exercise does show, however, are the inherent dangers of utopianism and minority actions. Any genuine revolutionary change must involve a really broad-based movement, operating as near as possible on a consensus basis to guard against the occurrence of dictatorship.

L. Gambone



Cartoons from *War Commentary* by John Olday

What is anarchism?

IN *I Corinthians* Chapter 13, it says that without love one is nothing. Action, campaigning, altruism are unimportant themselves without love. Prophecies of the future too are themselves unimportant. Without a consciousness of love there is nothing.

In verse 11, Paul says: 'When I was a child I spoke as a child, I felt as a child, I thought as a child. Now that I am become a man, I have put away childish things.' In Chapter 14, verse 1, he says: 'Follow after love'.

In Herbert Read's *Existentialism, Marxism and Anarchism* part 2 'Chains of Freedom. 1946-49', section 10, he says: 'Free is derived from the O[ld] E[nglish] freon - to love (Sanskrit root, pri - to love) and is therefore related to friend.' He also indicates there is a linguistic distinction between 'freedom' and the more legalistic concept 'liberty'.

I see anarchism in the passive sense being about love. In its active sense it is about loving. The desire for freedom which we anarchists feel is a desire for community, for a meaningful life with one's fellows. Read in Section 13 of the above quotes Martin Buber as: 'Life lived in freedom is personal responsibility or it is a pathetic farce', and continuing Read says: 'In communism we are responsible for one another . . . the whole idea of justice arises from that personal responsibility'. Freedom is the centrality of anarchist thinking in the individual and personal sense. In accepting freedom we must accept a love of oneself, of life and humanity. It does not mean an acceptance of 'liberty' that is a guaranteed freedom by the state. To accept a political liberty (even liberties, what some call rights) accepts the legitimacy of the state or, in other words, the conception of a non-anarchist ordered society structured to defined ends. Marxists, for instance, see society and its institutions (patterns of role and behaviour) in this structural way. It is here where the structuralists see the anarchists' view of life (what they would call 'real life') as being utopian, a dream. But does this matter? Should we who are anarchists simply see life as a flat one-dimensional way when the life around you is active and processual? We must take hold of life, grasp it, flow with it — yes but be prepared to push against it when it flows in negative directions. To the anarchist, truth is the expression of a free love, an operable reality held to by free people. This might require courage of course, but as John Bunyan says in part 2 of *Pilgrim's Progress*: 'Who would true valour see / Let him come hither; / One here will constant be, / Come wind, come weather; / There's no discouragement / Shall make him once relent / His

first avowed intent / To be a pilgrim. / Who so beset him round / With dismal stories / Do but themselves confound / His strength the more is . . .' (and so on). Anarchists are those who have entered the enchanted ground on the way to the celestial city. We have done so by a loving approach to life. This is how we express our freedom. Our life becomes not just a model for action or its blueprint or a metaphor, but a processual reality.

But what of equality? Is this not a right? Rights are meaningless in anarchist terms. We are only equal to ourselves, neither greater or lesser than each other. Equality is not a matter of right but agreement.

The feminist who says: 'I demand equality with you (a man)' is making an impossible (and perhaps authoritarian) request. A woman can only grant herself equality by taking hold of herself. She can negotiate an agreement with a man or men just as, in the same way, she can reach an agreement with women.

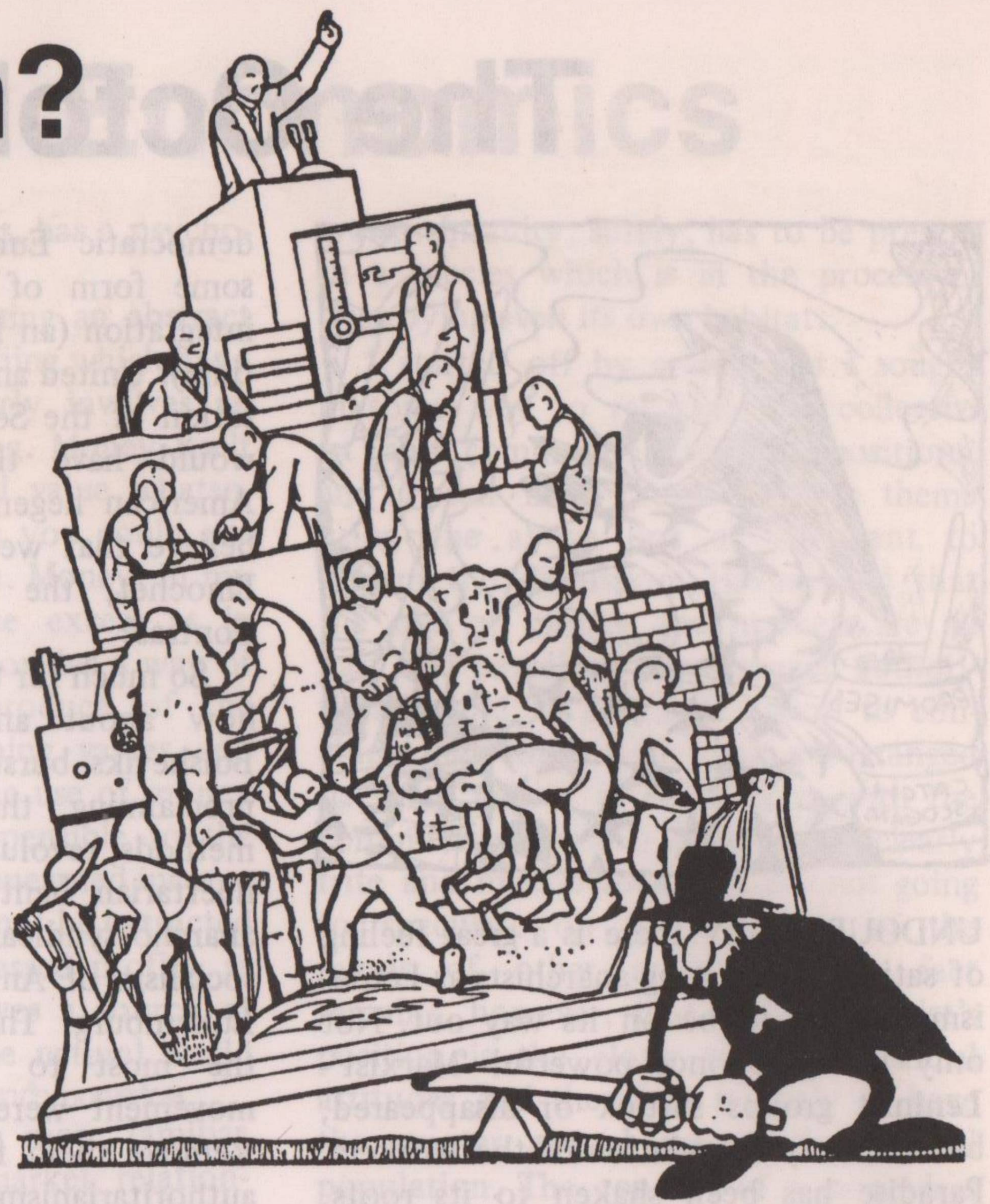
To demand for a legalistic equality implies an acceptance of the state and its provision of rights. A place within its scheme. An ordered freedom. But at the same time the state makes its demands. This is not a condition of a Rousseau social contract between free people but a request for a privilege. This is a Hobbesian subserviance to the ideology of an ordered, structured universe. To claim a right either from Big Daddy in the sky or from the state as machine on earth takes away your freedom, the right to the gift of love on your own terms, to a freely agreed loving relationship. It offers you a place in its structured hierarchy. It may also offer you a movement up its status

hierarchy too, which is what I expect feminists really want.

All feminists are saying basically is: 'We women demand a higher status slavery'. On one level there is nothing wrong with this. Higher status slaveries are often pleasanter than lower status slaveries. Just so as we all realise this is what we are talking about.

I believe in equality. That is equality to be yourself. This requires access and opportunity. I like to see a situation where women are asserting themselves and acting in a freer way. That is not just the equality of vocation and child support which is what many middle class women appear to want, to get incomes as high as the middle class man, and to use the welfare state as a substitute for a servant class no longer available. I would like to see all women assert themselves as free people.

Feminism, as presently constituted, is anti-anarchist. It is anti-free and consequently anti-life. It denies loving relationships and freely entered agreements. By its essence it demands the legitimacy of the structured universe. A universe where ordered slavery is a centrality and love absent. This does not mean that I do not expect women to be asserting themselves legally within the present transitional situation towards anarchism. You use the tools you have got. But one must transcend equal opportunities and equal rights policies to reach the higher state of individual freedom. In that situation, a situation beyond what Paul calls 'childhood', we must revoke the legal framework, as he says 'to put away childish things'. Equality of the sexes will only arrive by an agreement, a mutual respect for each other conditioned through love. That is an anarchist society. **Peter Neville**





UNFORTUNATELY my car was broken into recently and the thief went off with my address book, amongst other items. I only kept one address book and would ask those friends who wish to keep in contact with me to write to me c/o Freedom Press, who generously agreed to send on my letters. Otherwise no Christmas cards.

Peter Neville

IN APRIL my captors transferred me from Monroe to Sun Point, Walla Walla, following my participation in a class action lawsuit in a Federal Court against Washington State over double-celling and bad conditions at Monroe. [A class action is a case brought by one or a few plaintiffs on behalf of a class, for instance the class of prisoners – Eds.]

After we won, and the court of appeal refused the state a stay of execution, the authorities asked the prisoners to agree 'voluntarily' to double-celling, saying that otherwise the prison would have to close.

At a meeting of lifers (those of us serving more than 20 years), a notorious collaborator and informant proposed a vote for capitulation to the state's request, in view of the threatened closure. I spoke against the proposition, saying we had struggled too hard and too long (since 1978), and made too many sacrifices to give up what we had won. The threat to close the prison was a bluff, but if they did close the prison, so what? Prisons are an oozing sore on society and should be closed at every opportunity. And if they closed the prison, it would run 400 pigs onto the welfare lines. This last argument was met with a standing ovation, and there was a unanimous vote of 'no' to capitulation.

The following day I was slammed in an isolation cell, where I was denied contact with my elderly parents who had travelled 7,000 miles to visit me, and refused medical attention for a stomach problem. The reasons given for this punishment were that I was 'actively developing an

international revolutionary network advocating armed resistance against the US Government' (I am involved with *Red Dragon*) and 'offering to share his knowledge of US military bases and nuclear weapons in the United Kingdom with anti-US groups in London, England' (I once wrote to *Class War* opposing nuclear weapons). These are obviously not offences against prison discipline; I still have a clean disciplinary record.

After ten days in isolation at Monroe I was moved here, chained to another prisoner and without food or water for the 450 mile bus ride. Here, I am not allowed to work in industries, or anywhere I am not under direct supervision. Much of my mail is rejected as a 'security threat' (any minority suppressing a majority by force of arms must feel insecure), and some for no discernible reason at all. Despite my clean disciplinary record I have been threatened with IMU (Intensive Management Unit, a sensory deprivation psychological torture regime) if I write 'to anyone or anything' the pigs don't like.

I am currently preparing yet more litigation against the prison authorities, this time over my transfer here and my mail problems. *Freedom* has not been forwarded here since my transfer. Please adjust your mailing list to the new address.

Paul Wright 930783

PO Box 520, 8-2-14, Walla Walla, WA 99362, USA

Khomeni: the only good leader

ON the first day of the traditional forty-day Shi'ite Moslem mourning period following the death of the Ayatollah Khomeni, eight people were crushed to death and five hundred injured while trying to see his body.

Such mass demonstrations undoubtedly represent genuine popular emotion: *The Observer* correspondent Adrian Hamilton wrote (11 June) 'the nearest comparison to scenes in Teheran last week were those that accompanied Nasser's funeral in Cairo a generation ago'. There are indeed similarities between Gamal Abdul Nasser and the Ayatollah Khomeni. Just as Nasser built up a fanatical following among the Egyptian poor, so did Khomeni among the poor of Iran by appealing to their hatreds and prejudices and fears.

He returned to Iran in 1979 from exile in Paris, after a popular revolution which overthrew the regime of the hated Shah (who had been kept in power by armaments supplied by America and Britain and backed, in particular, by the last Labour Foreign Minister David Owen), but instead of creating a social revolution he imposed the rule of the Mullahs – the land-owning class. He prolonged a disas-

trous war against Iraq in which 150,000 people were killed – and lost it. He is said to have ordered the executions of 80,000 people. He left behind him a country with 25 per cent unemployment and 75 per cent inflation – caused by the want of the foreign exchange needed for industry to function.

And he didn't even leave behind him any successor, there now being a battle between his son Ahmad Khomeni and Rafsanjani the Parliamentary speaker, members of rival families. What he did leave behind him was a wealthy aristocracy of black market racketeers made rich by the revolution and the war with Iraq, living in the wealthy middle class suburbs of Teheran – and for the poor there was the ending of petty corruption, small improvements, but above all a leader who claimed to speak for them.

Today we hear the howling for the murder of author Salman Rushdie. Go back ten years to 1979 – the same howling for vengeance as Khomeni's followers held hostages in the American Embassy in Teheran, demanding the return of the Shah to be tried by 'Islamic justice'.

And it was just at this time that the Soviet Union – no, not invaded, but gave assistance to the legitimate government of Afghanistan in an attempt to show that it might be sensible for the Iranian government to be friendly towards the Soviet Union. Latest news is that the Soviet Union is making 'friendly gestures' towards Iran, now that the Western powers have broken off diplomatic relations...

The only chance for a free society in Iran, and the whole of the Middle East, is when people here in the West recognise the disgusting nature of the arms trade and the whole game of international politics. It is of little avail to try to argue with Islamic demonstrators in Britain in terms of liberal phrases about freedom of speech and the need to abolish – and not to extend – the blasphemy laws, if we cannot explain to them the nature of the British government's involvement in the Middle East. If we did this, perhaps they would join with us in saying of Ayatollah Khomeni – as we said of Nasser in 1970 – 'the only good leader is a dead one'.

CC

A Day of Solidarity with the Police

A STREET theatre 'happening' entitled 'Galloping Inflation' was staged in Lodz, Poland, to mark the seventy-first anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia. Three organisations participated: the 'Gallery of Maniacal Acts', the Independent Students Union (NZS) and the Peace and Freedom Movement (WiP). There were seventeen arrests, including three who were badly beaten up. We have no other information.

Later a leaflet was circulated, in thousands of copies, calling for 'a day of solidarity with the police' on 13 December, the tenth anniversary of the declaration of martial law in Poland. We are indebted to *Index on Censorship* for permission to reproduce their translation: →

EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM 1989
a day conference
at Vaughan College, St Nicholas Circle,
Leicester
on Saturday 28th October 1989
from 10am - 6pm
plus evening entertainment

Further information, extra booking forms and so on, may be obtained from us by writing to: Lib Ed, The Cottage, The Green, Leire, Leicester LE17 5HL.

PPU ASSETS SEIZED BY TAXERS

On 30 June, Bloomsbury County Court granted the Inland Revenue a garnishee order to remove £4,035.28 from a bank account held by the Peace Pledge Union.

Since 1982 the PPU has been taking PAYE income tax from its employees in the ordinary way, but only forwarded part of it to the government. The rest was put in a separate bank account, 'to be paid over as soon as an assurance was received from a responsible officer of the Treasury that it would be applied solely for peaceful purposes'. Corporation Tax was also withheld.

The PPU has now increased the percentage of tax withheld, to 'claw back' what has been seized.

On 20 June 1989, main roads between the West Country and London were closed to traffic in Wiltshire. When roads are closed for repairs, even for a short time, signs are erected for the guidance of diverted traffic. This time there were no such signs, as if the roads had all been closed by accidents. Policemen asked for directions proved to be strangers to the area. What had happened, in fact, was that 800 police had been quietly gathered from all over the country to close the roads for a few hours, regardless of inconvenience to travellers, to prevent an unauthorised religious ceremony at Stonehenge.

Citizens!

All ye who inhabit Lodz and its environs! Artists and women! Decadents, break-dancers and Party members, blase oppositionists! Priests, bishops, ORMO [*police reserve - Translator*], activists, drug-takers and circus performers!!!

The 13 December is drawing near. This year - as in all previous years - it will be a day brimming with sunshine and radiant joy. Seven years ago this day became a nationwide test of the efficient dexterity and courage of our beloved police. We wish to celebrate this fact with a truly stupendous and world-shattering idea - declaring the 13 December A DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE POLICE.

To participate in these fantastic celebrations it is necessary to:

- fit oneself out with a pair of dark glasses or some other piece of fire-fighting equipment; and
- be outside the 'Hortex' establishment on Poirowstra Street on 13 December at 15.30 hours.

INSTRUCTIONS:

We are to stroll, calmly - and not forgetting the dark glasses - up and then down again, demanding to be arrested by the police.

Boldly we shall enter the paddy-wagons and black marias which have been made ready for our use, at the same time handing over to the officers previously prepared denunciations of ourselves and our friends as well as written requests for searches of all our homes. The ladies are requested to throw their arms in a voluptuous and provocative way round the necks of the ZOMO riot police. We send our fondest regards to all law enforcement organs, for ALL ORGANS are OURS!

Citizen! Lend the police a helping hand - BEAT YOURSELF UP!!!! Down with the tyranny of hard and fast plans! Long live spontaneity!!

The Gallery of Maniarchal Acts
(The Orange Alternative, Lodz)



Executives and secretaries watching
lathes and turners fall from the sky.

Reviews



Wildcat Strikes Again

Donald Room

Freedom Press, 1989, £1.95

WHEN the first book of *Wildcat* was published in 1985 the review in *Freedom* stated that 'serious argument, however, is more or less absent since our artist believes that "a cartoon is no place for intellectual respectability".' I was moved to write to *Freedom* differing from this opinion, in that I believed that some very serious arguments were being presented in a most devastating form regarding the society in which we live and the relevance of anarchists and the anarchist movement to it. The new book of cartoons carries on in the same vein.

When I was asked by someone I met to explain the nature of modern anarchism as she knew nothing about it, I gave her a few serious pamphlets, but these pamphlets puzzled her. They told a lot about anarchism in the past at one level, but what about anarchism now? Then I realised that the best way of explaining about anarchism in modern society was to give her Donald Room's *Wildcat*. It is not easy going I grant you, and a stupid person might dismiss it as mere knock-about farce. The same applies to the later book, *Wildcat Strikes Again*. At a deeper level one comes across what might be mistaken for a shocking degree of hard-boiled cynicism — *this* is what we are all like, whether we call ourselves anarchists or not! Many people have this uncomfortable gut feeling when they first read Max Stirner's *The Ego and His Own*, which has certainly had an influence on the philosophy of the creator of these remarkable cartoons. Yet behind all the black humour there is a very real appreciation of the nobler values to which we aspire. The Free Range Egghead has the highest ideals and understands intellectually how we should behave to attain these noble ideals, but he is cowardly and is an intellectual snob, really preferring the comfortable appreciation of the theory of anarchism to doing anything about it. The *Wildcat* is the opposite: action is all, and we must applaud the fact that the detested and pompous figures get socked

— Pow! — when we would hesitate to sock them ourselves. But the *Wildcat* is sometimes acting like a complete idiot, carried away by an overmastering rage that clouds all rational judgement. The age-old gallery of the powerful and 'wicked' is paraded before us, much as George Orwell paraded them in the guise of pigs in *Animal Farm*, and indeed, I see a strong similarity between Orwell and Room: both are serious satirists in the same mould, although their medium is different. Both are powerful moralists.

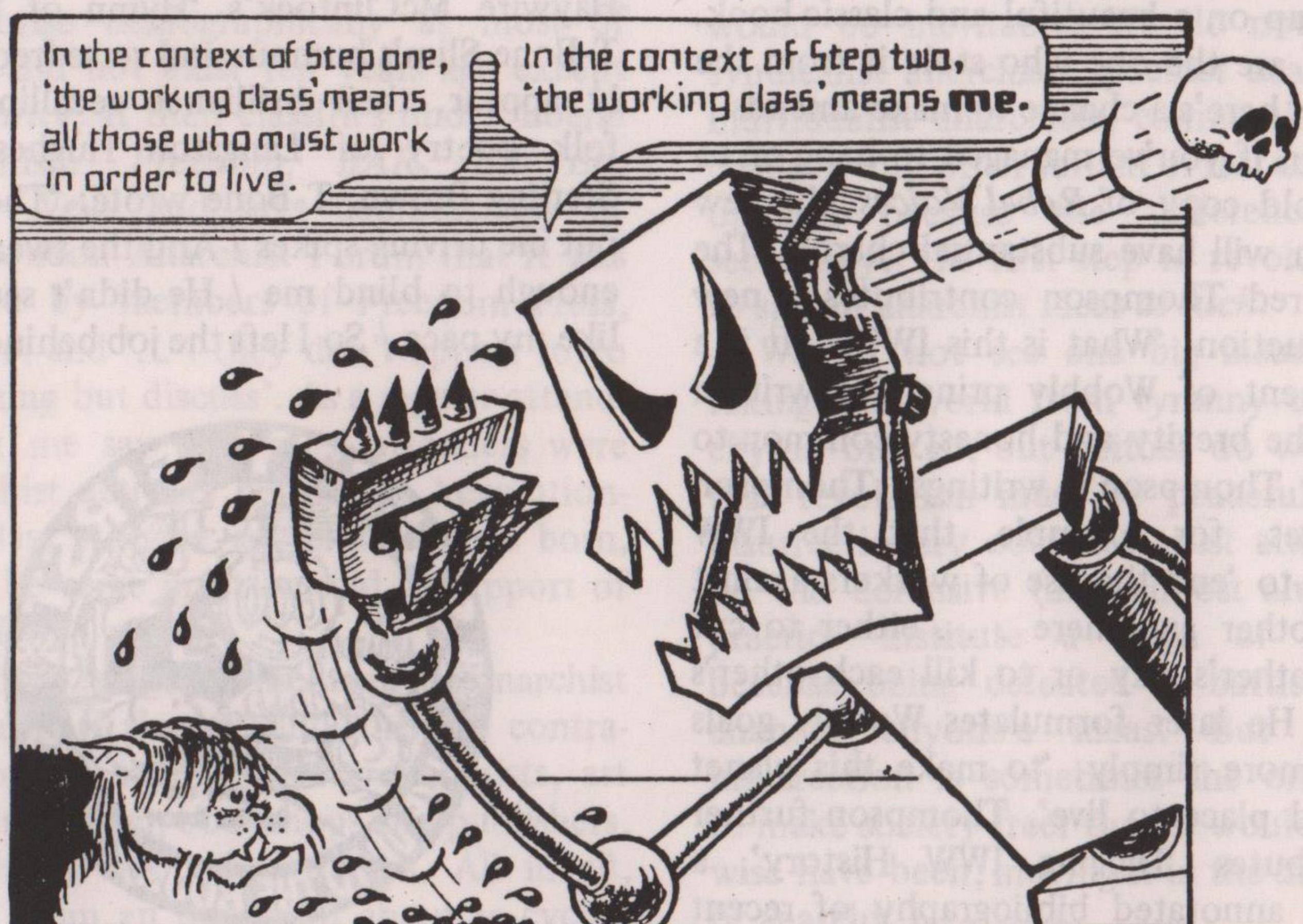
Some may wonder why I have put the word 'wicked' in inverted commas in the sentence above. It is because the full horror that these figures inflict upon their fellow humans is not to be explained in terms of the religious concept of 'sin'. That gets us nowhere. Their monstrous crimes against humanity can be understood only in terms of a tremendous stupidity — their stupidity and that of the dupes who support them. This has always been apparent to great cartoonists, and Room's cartoons will go down in history as have the work of Gillray, Hogarth, Rowlandson and David Low. It will be remembered that in Low's memorable cartoons both Hitler and Mussolini were depicted as monstrous buffoons, horrific in their sick pretensions. He portrayed

Stalin also as a horrible clown — at least until Low eventually capitulated with the Establishment when Stalin and Churchill became 'comrades in arms' in the latter part of the war. In the work of the great caricaturists and cartoonists the concept of 'evil' is more equated with monstrous folly than with the Christian concept of 'sin', and a strong thread of atheism and anti-clericalism runs through their work. The *Wildcat* compares St Paul (Galatians chapter 5, verse 13) on the subject of Liberty with Marx, Horst Wessel and Margaret Thatcher, but the only religious leader who is specifically mocked is the Ayatollah Khomeini. Nobodaddy himself, who featured in the previous *Wildcat*, does not appear in person in the present book, unless the curious head depicted on page 41 is the Old Man himself.

The book is not without its faults, of course. For instance the old chestnut of a drunk leaning against a lamp post 'more for support than illumination' is dredged up without any obvious justification. There is also an occasional and sometimes bizarre 'Wildcat Fact Sheet' that puzzles me, but satirists like Room sometimes indulge in very odd conceits. Occasionally we seem to be in the middle of a bad dream, and some of the cartoons demand considerable study before their deeper meaning becomes apparent. The comic strip is supposed to convey its meaning, even to the semi-literate, *immediately* Pow! Wham! But this is a very sophisticated variety of comic strip, and there are deeper and more horrific meanings to much of this knockabout humour.

Buy it. You may not understand it all now — that is a measure of your own degree of social and political understanding, but if one day you reach as much maturity as the creator of this remarkable book, you will, and be glad you obtained a first edition when it was possible to do so.

Tony Gibson

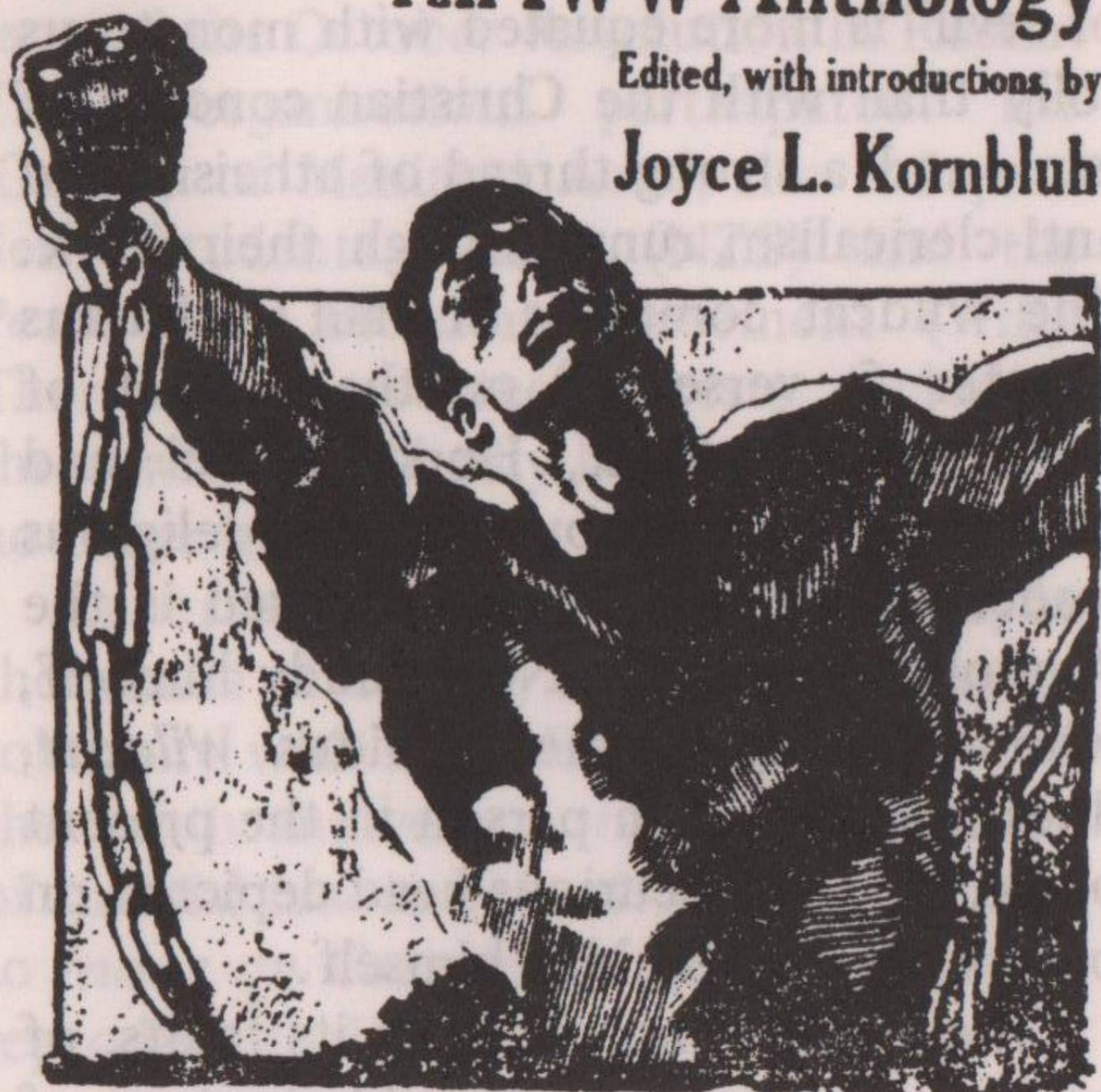


Rebel Voices

An IWW Anthology

Edited, with introductions, by

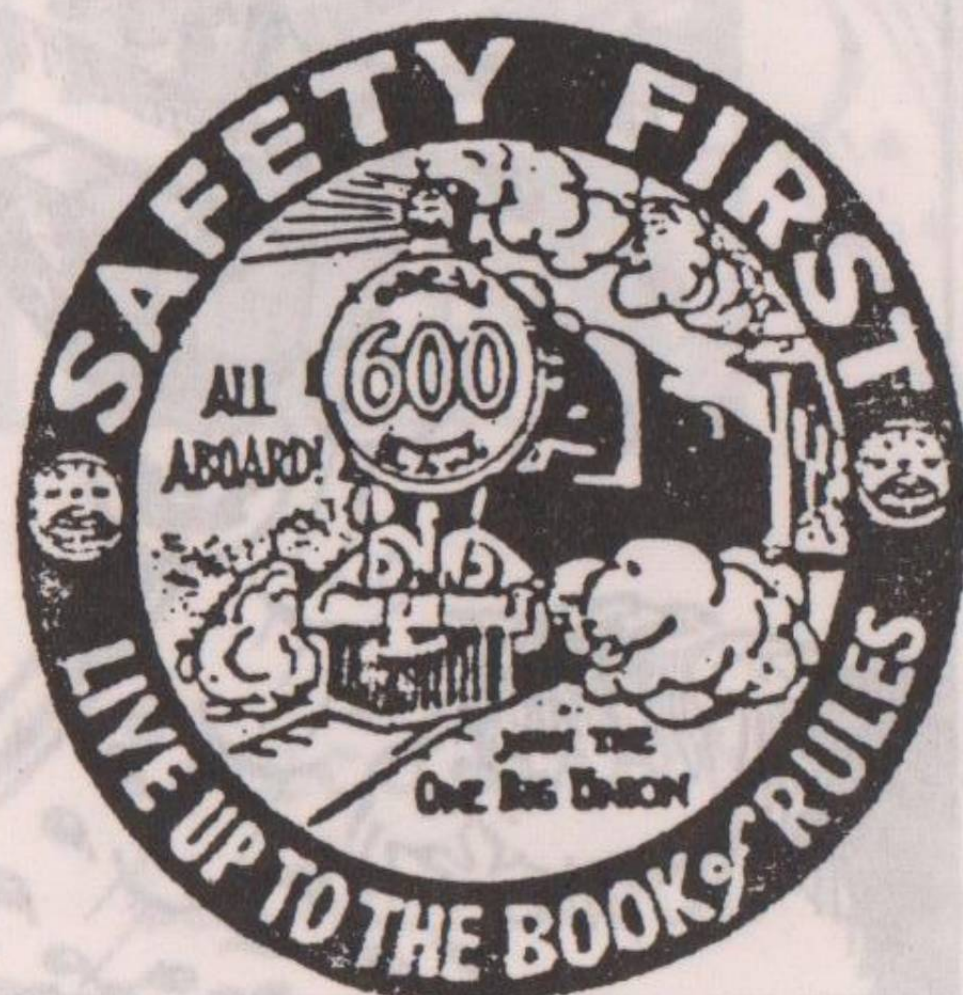
Joyce L. Kornbluh



works on the union. Also new is Franklin Rosemont's fine essay on IWW cartoons and cartoonists and the three dozen extra cartoons. And the book is indexed for the first time.

Kornbluh captures a tremendous amount of the Wobbly heritage in this big book. She reprints almost two hundred articles, songs and poems from the IWW Press. Her well-crafted essays introduce the book and each of the twelve chapters of documents. Individual reprints include brief headnotes. We read the 'socialist Mark Twain', Oscar Ameringer, wonderfully parodying craft distinctions, lampooning mythical unions like the F.O.O.L. and the Undivided Sons of Varnish Spreaders. A stirring chapter presents documents from the free-speech fights. The great strikes at Lawrence and Paterson receive loving attention, as do the struggles among lumberjacks, miners, farm workers and tramps. Wobbly philosophy, Wobbly tactics, Wobbly prisoners and more recent Wobbly activities (through 1964) all find a voice in *Rebel Voices*.

The famous are there: Joe Hill, Ralph Chaplin, Vincent St John, Bill Haywood, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Some of their too little known but most acute writings are reprinted, including Chaplin's 'Sabo-Tabby Kitten' and Hill's 'There is Power in a Union'. The ought-to-be-better known are similarly represented. The poetry of Matilda Robbins, Covington Hall, Carlos Cortez, and Arturo Giovannitti graces the book as does Haywire McClintock's 'Hymn of Hate'. T-Bone Slim's humour and verse frequently appear, their brilliance recalling the folk poetry of Langston Hughes and Sterling Brown. T-Bone wrote: 'The boss put me driving spikes / And the sweat was enough to blind me / He didn't seem to like my pace / So I left the job behind me.'

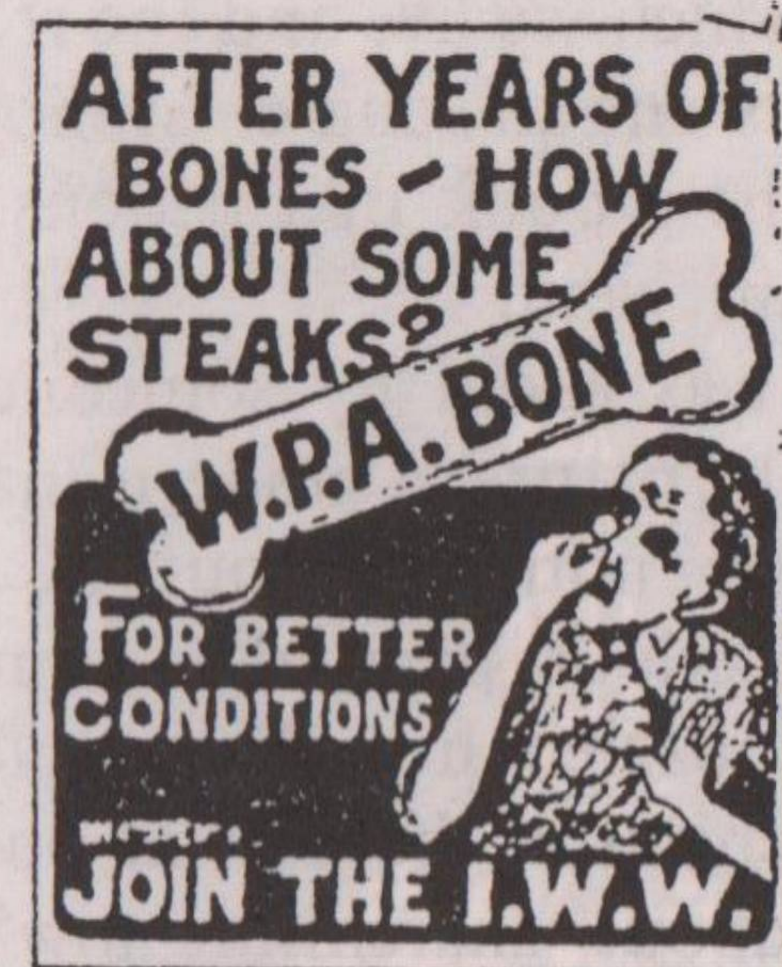


Some of the finest pieces, such as the wonderful play 'Nuthouse News', are unsigned or, as in the case of Mary Atterbury's 'Depression Hits Robinson Crusoe's Island', signed by a fellow worker about whom nothing is known.

Above all, *Rebel Voices* shows how workers built a movement and a culture. In an organisation which disdained condescending saviours, the rank-and-file built on each other's accomplishments in writing and song, as well as in struggles. Notice, for example, the similarities between 'The Outcast's Prayer' and T-Bone Slim's 'The Lumberjack's Prayer'. Still no copyright suits arose. Wobblies borrowed from each other in writing and singing just as they confidently borrowed from the broader culture. They modelled songs on religious and popular music. Radical cartoonists, as Rosemont's essay shows, read and learned from the comics in the mainstream press. *Rebel Voices*, more than any other book on the IWW, shows what it means to try to build a new society in the shell of the old.

David Roediger

[Reprinted from *Industrial Worker*, May 1988]



Decade of Decline: civil liberties and the Thatcher years

Peter Thornton

National Council for Civil Liberties £3.95

AN INDEX of the extent to which our civil liberties have been eroded was provided by a recent letter from PEN American Center (with signatories including Susan Sontag, Arthur Miller and Kurt Vonnegut) to Margaret Thatcher expressing alarm at 'the enhancement of state power at the expense of individual rights' in relation to writers and journalists in the UK. The concern demonstrated by these American writers is an indication of how far 'our' government has gone in threatening our basic freedoms. At the end of the decade of the blacklisting scandal, the Gibraltar shootings, Clause 28 and heavy police actions against striking miners, a book providing some analysis of state incursions into individual liberties should be very welcome indeed. The problem with *Decade of Decline* is that while Peter Thornton carries out a detailed clinical examination of civil rights abuse in Britain in the 1980s, he

neither explains the causes of the sickness nor suggests an effective course of treatment.

The book is organised around major themes such as censorship and secrecy, privacy, police powers and tactics, the system of criminal justice and 'Intolerance, Discrimination and Inequality'. Each chapter contains legal data and anecdotes outlining specific examples of the assault upon liberty by an increasingly authoritarian government. For example, the chapter on 'Censorship and Secrecy' includes items concerning 'Spycatcher', 'Zircon', 'My Country Right or Wrong' (the BBC programme on the GCHQ trades union ban), and the 'New Broadcast Controls' which forbid the broadcast of interviews with members of Sinn Fein.

In the chapter on 'Intolerance, Discrimination and Inequality' Thornton hints at the dynamic of the erosion of liberty. Legal measures which have served to alienate blacks, women, trade union members, travellers and gays and lesbians are outlined to demonstrate that the old adage of 'divide and rule' has never been more applicable to British society. While Thornton describes the government's role in *imposing* these repressive measures he does not discuss the role of the public in *accepting* them. Many people seem happy to tolerate repressive measures as long as they are directed at 'unpopular' minorities (i.e. unpopular with the media) and do not overtly affect the majority of 'decent' (i.e. white, middle-class, heterosexual and apolitical) citizens.

The concluding chapter specifies proposals for a freer society based upon the notion that liberation (like oppression) can be accomplished by lawyers in the employ of the state. These proposals include a Bill of Rights, incorporation of the European Convention of Human Rights into United Kingdom law, repeal of the Official Secrets Acts, a number of reforms affecting police powers and criminal justice, a privacy act and measures outlawing racial and sex discrimination. It may be Thornton's profession (he is a barrister) which leads him to restrict his analysis of the civil liberties issue to problems and solutions involving legal mechanisms and structures. This emphasis on 'top-down' legal measures ignores the need for us to establish more control over our own lives and develop more tolerant and co-operative attitudes if we are to regain our lost liberties and extend them. Few anarchists will accept that a free society can be legislated into existence!

Decade of Decline is merely a thematically organised list of specific civil rights abuses and provides little or no analysis of *how* and *why* the problem has arisen. For example, while Thornton is not happy to deposit all the blame for

state oppression of the individual at the door of the Thatcher government, and asserts that attacks upon basic freedoms have been accelerating since the war, he fails to define any deeper causes of the problem. This book might just be valuable as a means to shock some people out of their complacency about the state's attacks upon our freedom. I suspect, however, that its main appeal will be to readers who wish to confirm what they already fear.

Andrew Hedgecock

London's Anarchist Movement Today: An Introduction

[no author's or publishers name]

printed by Agit-Press, Box 4, 52 Call Lane, Leeds, LS1 6DT, May 1989, 35p

ONE of the major criticisms of today's anarchist movement is that although several authorities give descriptions as to how it was just before they arrived, nobody writes about the recent and contemporary movement. Not just who is fighting who in recurrent squabbles but what is going on and why.

This useful pamphlet goes some way towards helping us. The author surveys the London anarchist scene dividing the various factions and groups under various loose chapter headings. In the introduction the unnamed author (why this passion for secrecy these days, a nom de plume would suffice) uses the state of anarchism in Birmingham as an analogy, which as a 1960s former Secretary of Birmingham Anarchist Group (as was Sid Parker in the '50s) provided me with much amusement. Who said history does not repeat itself? All life was there.

The pamphlet places those who shout about the working class into the 'revolutionary/class struggle anarchism' category: DAM, Black Flag, ACF, Class War, AWG, and a number of journals, several of which I had not heard of. I suspect a better heading would have been to categorise demographically as most of these did not exist ten years ago except *Solidarity*. It then classifies under 'liberal anarchism' *Freedom*, *BAR*, *Lib Ed*, *Peace News* and says deprecatingly of the London Anarchist Forum that it was started by members of Freedom Press, untrue, and '... they don't appear to do anything but discuss'. As a regular attendee let me say that most attendees were anarchist activists before the 'revolutionary/class struggle anarchists' were born, and the same must be said in support of *Freedom's* workers.

Other categories included are anarchist feminists (I always think this is a contradiction in terms), green anarchists, art and anarchism, bookshops and publishers, squatters, and other groups. All in all, apart from an obsession about re-cycled

paper, the writer tries hard to write in an uncritical and balanced manner for which he should be commended. It is a pity there is not a better produced hardback version. I for one would like this to be available in public libraries. It is the kind of publication we should be supporting. I hope it is revised and updated under a name. It is, however, a bargain at 35p and well worth the read.

Peter Neville

[*Freedom* editors add: We concur in commending this pamphlet, but (inevitably in the first edition of such a compilation) it has many errors, and we should like to correct those about ourselves.

Freedom vol 47, no 1, is not 30p but 75p (yes folks, the price has gone down). What was 30p, until we sold out, was a four-page offprint of one article, a potted history. (There is a fuller history in *Freedom: 100 Years*, no longer in the Freedom Press catalogue but some half a dozen copies left, price £3.) It is no accident that the present *Freedom* editors 'all have something to do with Freedom Bookshop' — the paper and the shop are both sections of the Freedom Press group.

The pamphlet classifies *Freedom* with those 'who don't promote change taking place through a violent insurrection, but rather in the form of peaceful revolution over a long period' and a little later, contradicting itself, says '*Freedom* has no political perspective or strategy'. Both of these assertions are wrong.

The strategy we propose is to spread anarchist ideas. Most people identify with their governments. When governments calculate, for instance, what proportion of their populations they could afford to lose in a war, most people see the conflict as one population versus another, not noticing that each government is versus its own subjects. So long as people think like that, revolution is impossible; whereas if people saw governments for what they are, revolution would be inevitable. We do not reject syndicalist anarchists, pacifist anarchists, individualist anarchists, communist anarchists or any other variant of real anarchist opinion because the differences are secondary. The first step to revolution is to spread anarchist ideas *as such*.

We do not see one big insurrection taking the world from tyranny to anarchy in one go, but neither do we insist that revolution must be peaceful. Post-insurrectionary societies must always be on the defensive (and almost always in practice institute a reign of terror), because being defeated in battle rarely changes anyone's ideas. But violent insurrection is sometimes the only way to make society freer than it would otherwise have been, moving it in the *direction* of anarchy.]

Fission, Fusion, Fossil

MEDIA and politicians have recently been active in talking about different sources of power. As their efforts usually lead to confusion, I want to comment and hope for reactions. This topic involves physics and chemistry, as well as politics.

Power is the ability to do work against a force, lift a weight against the force of gravity.

Many uncritically accept that it is good to have more power, which is certainly not always true.

Fission. This involves the natural splitting of the atomic nuclei of certain heavier elements. Fission occurs throughout the earth's crust and has the effect of moderating the rate of cooling of the planet.

The nuclear industry uses concentrated radioactive material to boil water and generate electricity with quantities of artificial radioactive elements which are extremely dangerous. The real possibility of catastrophic failure of the plant and the continued exposure of the whole population to radiation make this process highly undesirable.

Fusion. This occurs when the nuclei of two light atoms fuse, usually at high temperatures. Another element is formed and matter is converted into a large amount of energy. This is the process which occurs in the sun and stars, so our major energy sources come ultimately from fusion. Unwanted radiation is largely absorbed by the atmosphere.

As artificial radioactive elements are not formed, this process is in vogue as a way of supplying unlimited power — 'too cheap to meter'. Unfortunately, so far, research has been expensive and without useful results, except for the hydrogen bomb — a good example of too much energy!

A recent claim for fusion in a test tube (or rather, in a crystal lattice) has up till now produced more words than energy.

There are two disadvantages in fusion. First that we cannot produce it in a laboratory and secondly, that commercial use of the abundant supply from the sun is unattractive because it is not easily monopolised.

Fossil. Fuels such as coal and oil come from living matter, so that the sun's energy is stored in them. On burning, there is a chemical combination with oxygen from the air to produce heat, which can be converted into energy. Also formed are large quantities of carbon dioxide and water, together with several undesirable gasses such as sulphur dioxide. As this is a chemical reaction, not as much energy is produced as for fission

and fusion so that large amounts of fuel are needed.

In the now obsolete process for producing gas from coal, the noxious products were removed and sold at a profit, but the electricity industry has been allowed to discharge these into the atmosphere.

Among disadvantages of fossil fuels are the need for mines or damaging open-cast pits and the massively polluting operations of the oil industry. However, the major hazard is that the emission of vast quantities of carbon dioxide has already altered the delicate atmospheric balance and will lead to global disasters unless a remedy is applied.

After decades of warnings being ignored, suddenly we are told of the impending crisis by all of the top people — but their policies do not change. The crisis has arisen basically because Western society is founded on waste and exploitation. Fundamental remedies are needed which involve reorganisation of society for individuals and not big business.

Perhaps the politicians hope that tomorrow a scientist will come up with all the magic answers. Meanwhile we might consider what is required. It is not enough to hope that if we stop using lead in our pipes and petrol and we plant trees that this will suffice.

We need to reduce our consumption of coal and oil to about a fifth of present levels in the next decade. There are several ways to do this without harming the quality of life at all.

Present methods of electricity generation and use are extremely wasteful, much heat is wasted at power stations and more in transmission and at the point of use. Steam can be better used, firstly to generate electricity and then for process heating in industry or for heating houses, as pointed out by Oliver Lyle in the 1940s. Houses can be better insulated and designed and wasteful use in commercial premises curbed.

Electricity can be produced in small units near to the consumer. This should include power from rivers, wind and waves. Large dams and tidal barriers are not needed.

Finally, the motor car represents a profligate use of scarce resources. Our government encourages the provision of cars as a 'perk' instead of proper salaries. We should keep cars for at least 30 years and close down the car factories. Ships, trains and public transport should be promoted for our transport needs.

I hope this summary will stimulate discussion.

Norman Albon

CONTACTS

ACF Anarchist Communist Federation Nat Sec, PO Box 125, Coventry CV3 5QT
ANARCHIST STUDENT, c/o E. Grigg, Christchurch College, Canterbury CT1 1QU
ASHTON A's, c/o 3 Stanhope Street, Ashton under Lyne OL6 9QY
BANGOR A Collective, c/o UNCW SU, Deiniol Road, Bangor, Gwynedd
BAR Bulletin of Anarchist Research, c/o T.V. Cahill, Dept of Politics, Univ of Lancaster LA1 4YF
BRACKNELL A's, Box 21, 17 Chatham St, Reading RG1 7JF
BRISTOL Drowned Rat, Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 37 Stokes Croft, Bristol
BURNLEY A's, 2 Quarrybank, Burnley
CAMBRIDGE Box A, c/o Cambridge Free Press, 25 Gwydir Street, Cambridge
CHRISTIAN A's, Pinch of Salt, c/o Peter Lumsden, 23d South Villas, London NW1
CLASS WAR, PO Box 467, London E5 8BE
COVENTRY Group, PO Box 125, CV3 5QT (don't mention anarchist on envelope)
DAM Direct Action Movement, PO Box 19, Wythenshaw PDO, Manchester M22 7JJ
DERBYSHIRE A's, Jon (0773) 827513
DURHAM A's, c/o DSU, Dunelm House, New Elvet, Durham
EDINBURGH Counter-Information, 11 Forth St
ESSEX Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex
FAP Federation of Anarcho-Pacifists, c/o John Hill, 28b Clifton Road, Ilford, Essex
GLASGOW CR, c/o Clydeside Press, High Street, Glasgow PH3 37 (don't mention anarchist on envelope)
HASTINGS A's, c/o Hastings Free Press, 14 Lower Park Road, Hastings, E. Sussex
JEWISH A's, Box JAG, 52 Call Lane, Leeds 1
KEELE Resist Group, Students Union, University of Keele, ST5 5BG
LEAMINGTON A Group, 21 Tachbrook Road, Leamington Spa, Warks
LEEDS A's, Box JAG, 52 Call Lane, Leeds 1
LEICESTER A Group, c/o Blackthorn Books, 70 High Street, Leicester
LIB ED Libertarian Education Collective, The Cottage, The Green, Leire LE17 5HL
LIVERPOOL A's, PO Box 110, Liverpool L69
Liverpool University Anarchist Group, c/o SU, 2 Bedford St North, Liverpool L7 7BD
LONDON
Freedom Box Number Users: A Distribution, ACF, Rebel Press, Spectacular Times, Organise
121 Centre, 121 Raiton Road, London SE24
Greenpeace (London), 5 Caledonian Road, N1
Solidarity, c/o 123 Lathom Road, London E6
Polytechnic of North London Anarchists, c/o PNL
SU, Prince of Wales Road, London NW5
MANCHESTER Anarchists, c/o Raven, Room 6, 75 Piccadilly, M1 2BU
NORTHAMPTON A's, Blackcurrent, 50 Guildhall Road
NOTTINGHAM A's, Rainbow Centre, 180 Mansfield Road, Nottingham
Anarchist Socialist Group, Box 1, Hiziki, 15 Goosegate, Nottingham
OXFORD A's, Box A, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford
PLYMOUTH A's, PO Box 105, Plymouth
PORTSMOUTH A's, Box A, 167 Fawcett Road, Southsea, Hants PO1 0DH
READING A's, Box 19, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham Street, Reading RG1 7JF
SALISBURY James Walsh, 14 Churchfield Road
SOUTHAMPTON University A's, c/o SU, Southampton SO9 5NH
SPANISH (TU) Information Network, (mail only) 6a The Drive, Leeds LS8 1JF
STIRLING A Group, c/o CSA, University of Stirling, Scotland
SWANSEA Black Sheep, c/o Box A, Emma's Community Book Shop, 19 Bryn-y-Mor Road, Brynmill SA1 4JH
TONBRIDGE Black Adder, c/o WKAR, PO Box 75, Tonbridge, Kent
WORCESTER College of He Anarchists, c/o SU, WCHE, Henwick Grove, Worcester

Our contacts list, often ripped off, is the best way to get your existence known to the movement. We need information on groups which have ceased to function.