

EAST GERMANY THE WALLS COME TUMBLIN' DOWN?

THIS August as always saw rallies and demonstrations in West Berlin on the anniversary of the building of the '13. August Mauer' (Berlin Wall). As usual, no demonstrations of any kind were permitted in East Berlin. Eastern Europe, however, is changing, and as East German politics lag behind, people living there are becoming impatient. In early September, the Hungarian government opened its side of the border with Austria and in one day alone nearly 10,000 East Germans flooded across it, some from 'refugee camps' within Hungary, others holidaymakers taking advantage of their sudden opportunity.

Nowhere perhaps is State repression and forced division of people from each other more starkly obvious than when contemplating the Berlin Wall, recently described by George Bush as a 'monument to the failure of Communism', and still standing at a time when Glasnost is the buzz-word of the day, when Solidarinosc

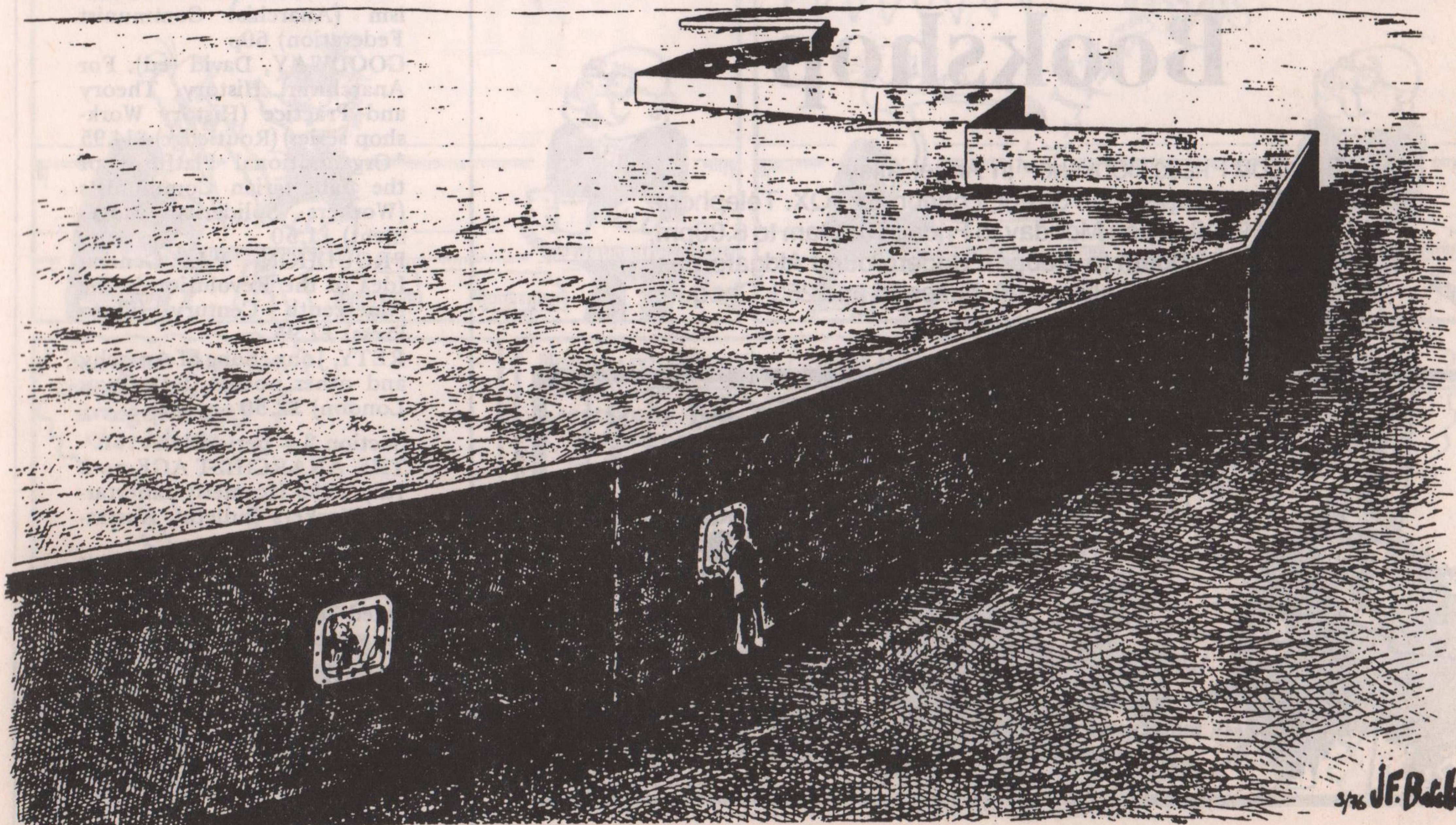
is invited to join the Polish government (probably the surest way to destroy its popularity, as Solidarinosc can no more stimulate Poland's economy than the Communist Party), when elections are being allowed in Hungary, and when elsewhere the 'Iron Curtain' appears to be developing holes — in May Hungary (largely due to the plight of ethnic Hungarians in Rumania) became the first Warsaw Pact state to sign the Geneva Convention on Refugees.

Removing the Iron Curtain has been paraded as a 'humanitarian' objective by Western governments since the end of the war; however, this is more anti-Soviet Cold War propaganda than humanitarianism, and now borders are opening the real concerns of Western European governments will out. Governmental attitudes to free movement of peoples, even those to whom they acknowledge they have some responsibility (such as British subjects in

Hong Kong who have no right of abode in the UK) are not generally very liberal.

Unlike Eastern Europe, the rulers of Western European states do take some notice of their subjects — as Bonar Law once said, 'I must follow them; I am their leader'. A July opinion poll in West Germany found 70% of respondents felt immigration to be the most important problem facing West Germany, and right-wing parties gain votes on this issue especially in Berlin. Much immigration had come from Southern Europe, notably Yugoslavia and Turkey, but now more people are allowed to leave East Germany legally (albeit selectively as most are elderly or have various social problems) and the illegal exodus via Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria has reached immense proportions. West Germany does not officially recognise the East German state as a separate entity, so East German

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5/76 J.F. Batelier

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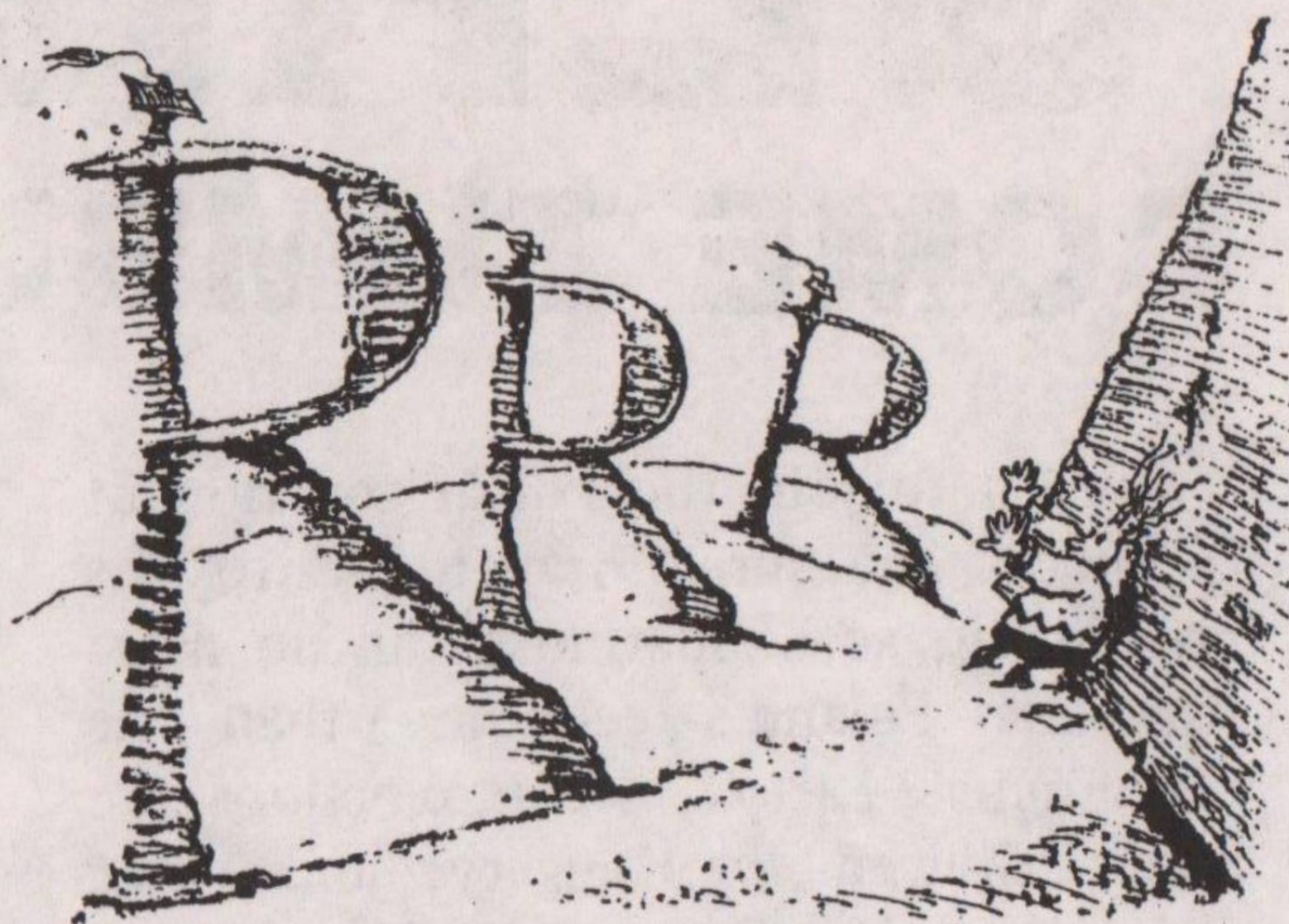
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September 29 – Introductory meeting & open discussion.

October 6 – David Dane *The Future of Anarchism*

October 13 – Peter Neville, subject to be announced.

October 20 – open discussion

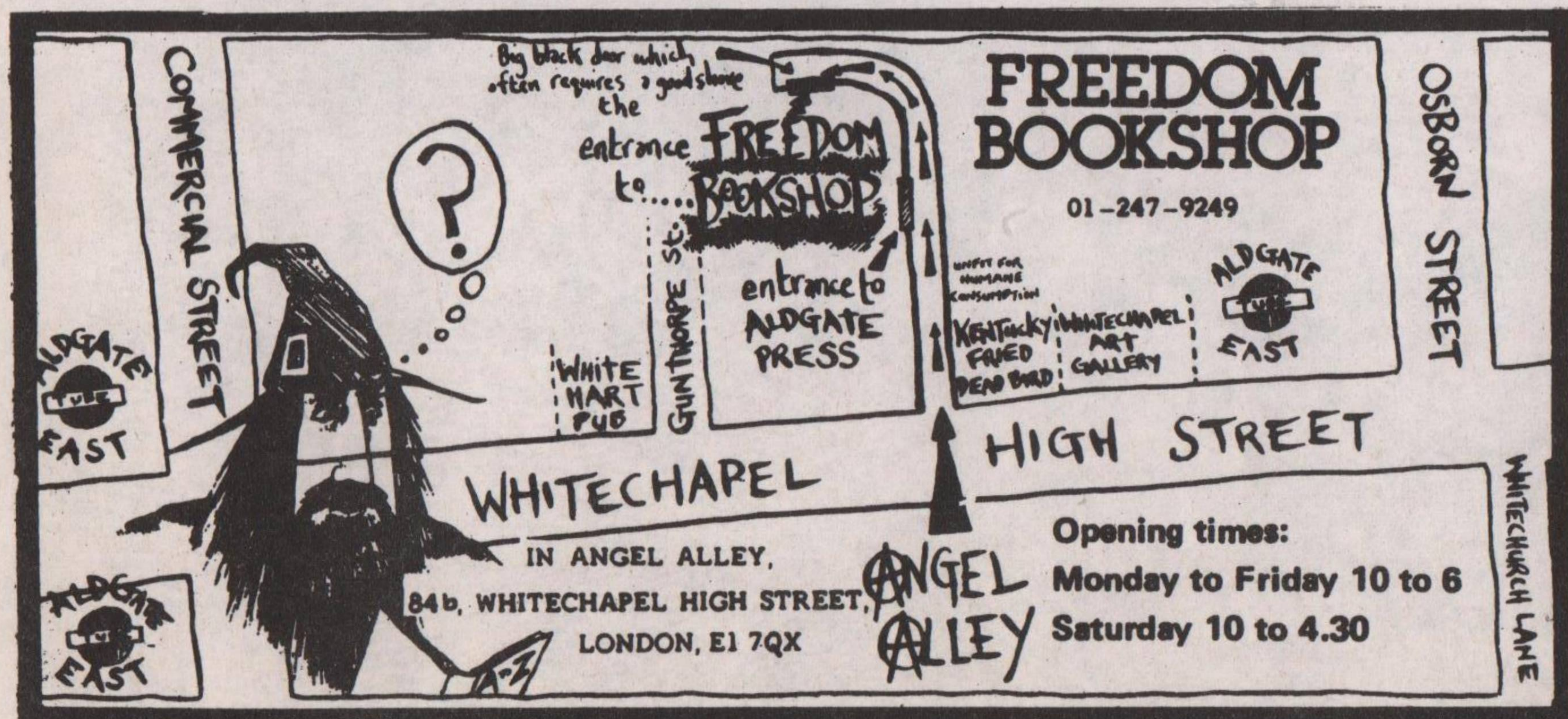
October 27 – speakers to be arranged

November 3 – open discussion

November 10 – John Griffin *Summerhill and Libertarian Education*

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PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED
Section 1 – FPD titles, inland
post free, overseas 10% part
postage and packing

BERKMAN, Alexander. *What is Communist Anarchism?* (Phoenix Press) £3

*Cabaret 1980-88: an anthology of Political Buffonery (Christiana, Leeds) £1.50

*Do-It-Yourself Guide to the Liberation of Learning (Lib Ed) £1

KROPOTKIN, P. *The Great French Revolution* (Black Rose) £11.50 (with intro by George Woodcock)

PAZ, Abel. *Durruti: the People armes* (Black Rose) £7.95

ROUSSOPOULOS, D. (ed) *The Anarchist Papers 2* (Black Rose) £7.95

KNABB, Ken (ed) *Situationist International Anthology* (Bureau of Public Secrets) £9.90

TEFLON, Zeke. *A Manual of Pirate Radio* (See Sharp Press) £1

WINSLOW, Kent. *Dream World* (from *The Match*) £5.50

WOODCOCK, George. *Aphra Benn: the English Sappho* (Black Rose) £9.95

WOODCOCK, George. *Oscar Wilde: the double image* (Black Rose) £9.95

Section 2 – inland 10%, overseas 20% part postage and packing

*Anarchism and Ireland (Workers Solidarity Movement) 90p

DE LIGHT, Bart. *The Conquest of Violence* (Pluto Press) £7.95

DOLGOFF, Sam. *A Critique of Marxism* (Soil of Liberty, USA) 90p

FONTENIS, Georges. *Manifesto of Libertarian Communism* (Anarchist Communist Federation) 60p

GOODWAY, David (ed). *For Anarchism: History, Theory and Practice* (History Workshop series) (Routledge) £14.95

*Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists (Workers Solidarity Movement) £1.50

PROUDHON, P.-J. *General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century* (Pluto Press) £7.95

RETY, John. *Song of Anarchy and other poems* (Box Two, London) £2.50

Section 3 – periodicals

THE ANARCHIST AGE no 1 July 1989 (formerly Libertarian Workers Bulletin, Australia) £1.50

BRITISH AND IRISH SKEPTIC, a publication dedicated to the scientific examination of the paranormal, vol III no 3, May-June 1989 £1.50

TRANSFORMATION, journal of the Federation of Anarcho-Pacifists, winter 1989 50p

TRIBAL MESSENGER (festivals etc.) Bristol £1.90

secrecy, security and anarchism

A GREAT many anarchists I have known were and are very security conscious. Often this goes to the level of paranoia. Reading a letter in an interchange between two comrades recently I noted a comment 'Where did you get my address?' as if some great moral code had been broken. 'From the London telephone directory' came the reply. However, witness the preponderance of articles written by initials or *noms de plume*, box numbers and forwarding addresses. I have even heard this wish for apparent secrecy used as an argument against the poll tax.

No one in their right mind believes this secrecy is going to worry the police, the security services or private snoopers like The Economic League. The only people it affects are you and me. If you move it is often enormously difficult to find and contact any local anarchists because they are so well hidden. If you want to find where an anarchist meeting or conference is it is quite simple. You go and ask at the local police station. They will know. It's only the comrades that keep it hidden.

I am not necessarily calling for absolute openness. We all should have a right to privacy (that is if we are in the 'rights' game). It must be a fundamental freedom. I remember a comrade some years

ago who sent an article to an underground magazine with a stricture 'please do not publish my address, I'm having enough hassle as it is'. They did. They published it in full. The only full address on the page. He was immediately raided. If you are in their sights the police bureaucracy generally catches up with you, it simply takes time. His comrades merely made the police job easier.

For the anti-poll tax freedom fighters who object to their presence being known. Did you not know of those of us who are on the voting list, which includes all rate-payers, have our presence open to public view in any local library or post office? Join the club. This new public openness is merely bringing everybody in line with normal practice. Your names and addresses are on file with, depending on your circumstances, National Insurance, the Benefits section of the DSS, the MSC, the Inland Revenue, Customs and Excise, the gas board, British Telecom, the electricity board, the passport office, and/or various other bodies.

There are measures we can all take to improve our security. Stop giving out and writing addresses without post codes; absence of a post code draws attention to the letter. Don't put stamps the wrong

way up or decorate the envelope; the postman may be an ex-serviceman or a member of the National Front, to say nothing about GPO Security. Avoid unnecessary box numbers; they attract attention. Do not make your phone ex-directory; that puts you on the internal list of ex-directory numbers and makes people wonder why you are on it. Assume you are watched, filed, coded, and under suspicion, and just be yourself. Do not try your strength against the juggernaut. It will just roll over you.

What really throws bureaucratic thinking is unpredictability. Remember Lemmy Caution in Goddard's 'Alpha-ville', reversing a car instead of driving forward. Remember the time in Wolverhampton, when the anarchist group on a demo was hemmed in by police, so they went through Woolies. Or the Brixton demo followed by the SPG which crossed the railway by a footbridge. Think laterally. Think anarchistically. Security is a system; systems are broken by subjects being unsystematic.

We need to do something about security within the anarchist movement, but the best overall security is to be an intelligent anarchist, throwing spanners in the works at unpredicted times.

Peter Neville





SAVE TIPI VILLAGE

'The Whites were always trying to make the Indians give up their way of life — go to farming, work hard and do as they did — and the Indians did not know how to do that and did not want to anyway ...'

WAMDITANKA (BIG EAGLE) OF THE SANTEE SIOUX

AFTER 13 years living peacefully on their own land, a unique community in West Wales now faces homelessness due to the unbending attitudes of local planners and the Welsh Office.

The community was originally set up in 1976 by people inspired by the North American Indian philosophy of living close to the earth and in tune with Mother Nature. They bought some derelict isolated farmland near Cwmdy, Talley, in mid West Wales and lived in tipis. They set out to live as simply and as self-sufficiently as possible. Over the years the village has grown to become a community of over 100 people, with many others visiting every year to learn more about their way of life. Contacts have been built up with North American Indians and other native peoples struggling to maintain their traditional way of life.

Initially it was considered unnecessary to apply for planning permission since a tipi is not a permanent structure and especially as they are deliberately moved around to give the land underneath a chance to regenerate. However, in Nov. 1984 the local council, Dinefwr, issued two enforcement notices alleging a change from agricultural to residential use of land, and requiring the tipis to be removed. The Tipi Village appealed against these notices and a public enquiry was held in Llandeilo in July 1985. The inspector's report was, however, suppressed by the Welsh Office and remained on the shelf for two years. When Peter Walker took over as Secretary of State for Wales he decided to uphold the council's enforcement notices and gave the tipi dwellers until August 1988 to comply or be liable for fines of up to £2,000 per day!

Yet the suppressed inspector's report had been broadly sympathetic to the Tipi Village. He stated that 'the degree of visual intrusion or environmental damage [is] minimal ... in relation to the local ecology their presence seems to me, on

balance, to be beneficial rather than harmful ... to reject such claims as they make for special consideration in what they regard as a near ideal location and on land that they have purchased would almost inevitably transfer what is, at its highest, a problem of limited local significance to some other location where it would less easily be accommodated'. He concluded, '... in land use planning terms, I consider [the Tipi Village] to be, in principle, acceptable in the special circumstances of the case.'

Despite the threat of huge fines, the community decided to fight on. Last February they engaged a barrister and went to court to try and get the decision

of the Secretary of State for Wales overturned. This was unsuccessful. Some Tipi dwellers decided to leave and move abroad where they hoped to live with less hassle, but most are fighting on. They've organised a petition which has already got over 9,000 signatures, including many local people who think Dinefwr Council are just being bureaucratic and vindictive and are wasting ratepayers' money.

At long last their campaign may be getting somewhere. After five years refusing to negotiate, the council have set up a special sub-committee to talk to members of the tipi community, but it's obviously important to keep up the pressure.

Although few members of the Tipi Village would call themselves anarchists, their commitment to a non-hierarchical community based on individual freedom and mutual aid demonstrates anarchy in action. Their commitment to living in harmony not only with each other but with all living things and with the Earth itself embodies a holistic vision of anarchy. Many of us criticise the materialism of modern life and moan about the inability of the political system to change anything. Few have the courage to seize the moment and live the lives we argue for.

We can support the Tipi Village by contributing to their campaign and requesting petition leaflets from: Save Tipi Village Campaign, PO Box 1, Salem Post Office, Llandeilo, Dyfed.

Chris Draper

*Declaration of the Surrealists
on the Andy Warhol Retrospective
at the Chicago Art Institute, June 1989*

POINT-BLANK

Homage to Valerie Solanas

A hundred and eighty-one years ago William Blake warned us against certain artists who the ruling class "Hired to Depress Art." Today Capital and its State monopolize Art itself while stifling all real free expression. Contemporary society is one huge prison, and it comes as no surprise that the various celebrities of the Art Market are guards armed with stun-guns and tear-gas.

Avowedly racist and sexist, a devout Catholic, professional flatterer of corporate complacency, apologist for imperialism and every other form of exploitation and degradation, Andy Warhol exemplifies the sort of scum that rises to the top in this intolerably miserabilist society. The stinking corpse of this rich toady—the Richard Nixon of Modern Art, who boasted that his greatest ambition was to make himself a machine—remains the perfect embodiment of today's official culture.

Never having had the chance to spit in Warhol's face when he was alive, we take this opportunity to spit on his memory, on all his work, on all his admirers, and especially on all those curators, critics and other highly paid liars who have managed to convince a certain number of people that this putrid non-entity was and is actually of some importance.

Some day—and sooner than you think!—we shall have the
of trampling and pissing on Warhol's loathsome represen-
sions, on the ruins of this and other museums
ruins of the whole stupid social
commodities.

NOW REFER TO PAGE 8!!

THE WALLS COME TUMBLIN' DOWN

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'refugees' are entitled to Bundesrepublik passports on arrival.

If the Turks are resented by German workers, who compete with them for cheap housing and to some extent jobs, the influx of ethnic Germans from the USSR arouses as much passion. Stalin's regime uprooted this large community from its 'autonomous homeland' on the Volga during World War Two, and they have never been permitted to return there. Over 300,000 have recently been allowed to leave the USSR for West Germany. In the 300-odd years since their ancestors accepted Catherine the Great's offer of lands in Russia, their path has diverged from their brethren in the fatherland. Still modestly-dressed, peasant in attitudes, frequently members of fundamentalist Christian sects such as the Mennonites, their values are out of tune with modern West Germany. Younger members of the community often know no German. Many are religious pacifists, but some of the younger men want to join the West German Army, which has severe manpower problems, and 'fight the Russians'.

Once in Germany, they are lodged in transit camps, generous social welfare is organised and they are then moved into permanent and usually cheap housing, often bypassing long-term local residents on the way. Now many Germans, especially in towns like Osnabrück with large transit camps, are pressing the government to persuade the USSR to restore the autonomous homeland instead before too many ethnic Germans have left to make this option unviable.

Austria too is finding the increasing numbers hard to cope with, and many 'refugees' cross into Austria from Eastern Europe via Hungary. Recently the Austrian government said it would no longer treat Poles and Hungarians as refugees as of right. In the last week of August, West German embassies in East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were closed, and Chancellor Kohl appealed to the East German government to limit the numbers leaving to prevent a confrontation between the two Germanies on this issue. This did not, however, prevent some Eastern European states from accusing the West German government of organising the opening of the Austro-Hungarian border, a fortnight later.

Physical barriers to free movement may be coming down across Europe, but the bureaucratic barriers are already under construction in the West, as people enabled to leave Eastern Europe look for somewhere to go.

Osnabrück, where I stayed in West Germany this spring, is in the British zone (and the army's original HQ). Osnabrück and Hannover are full of British army vehicles and soldiers, and

low flying military aircraft regularly shatter the rural peace of the North German countryside. One soon becomes aware that Germany has remained under foreign occupation, however gently handled, since Admiral Doenitz's unconditional surrender in 1945. The West German constitution and government are still only provisional, and no formal peace has been concluded between Germany and the Allies. Allied troops are not widely regarded in an unfriendly light, but there is clear resentment at the continuing occupation (even if it is no longer so called) forty-plus years after the end of the war. The NATO troops are not only there to occupy Germany, however — proximity to the Warsaw Pact bloc is an inescapable fact of military strategy.

For young Germans, the division of Germany is not in question. East Germany is as foreign as Italy, and if the people there speak German, so do Austrians and many Swiss. West Berlin must seem an anomaly, but it is one many West Germans find attractive. Berlin is a young city — artistic, vibrant, political. The population started to rise again recently after the devastation of war and the Cold War, mostly due to immigration, and not just of Germans; the Turkish population is large, and the Republican Party uses anti-Turk propaganda to win popular support for its neo-Nazi ideas.

Visiting Berlin, I stayed with a German

medical student engaged to marry an Israeli scientist. An unrepealed Nazi law of 1938 requires her fiancé, as a Jew, to produce a document from the Rabbinate certifying that he is single before he can marry. The Israeli Rabbinate has refused to issue such a document, so he must now produce a document from them to certify that he cannot produce the required document. Between state and religion, the individual is lost in a welter of petty regulations and repressions. Under another law of 1938, my friend has to provide proof that her grandparents were German in order to qualify as a doctor. It seems incredible that such laws have never been repealed.

It was sheer coincidence that my visit came on the centenary of Hitler's birth; sitting in a small flat in Berlin with a young woman for whom the shadow of the Third Reich still has implications today, perhaps I was more aware of this than might otherwise have been the case. The Nazi era was an example of the State at its most hideous, which many people might perhaps prefer to forget. Yet most young people in Germany today are if anything anxious to understand and to learn from the lessons of this nauseating episode.

One lesson must surely be that the only certain way to prevent the 'misuse' of State power is to end the whole system of State power.

Katy Andrews

TONY EARNSHAW'S VIEW FROM THE BACK OF TOWN



Feeding the rats in the park.

How to produce social change

WOULDN'T it be marvellous if, next week, all the oppressed of the world rose up against their oppressors, and established a harmonious, free society where all human relationships are voluntary and all enterprise contributes to happiness.

Wouldn't it be even more marvellous if the oppressors should suddenly see the error of their ways and help in the establishment of a free society without the unpleasantness of a fight? Well, perhaps not. I know some comrades would prefer the first scenario, because the second would deny them the opportunity to settle old scores.

But one's preference makes no difference, as the fantasy of the powerful suddenly giving up power, and the fantasy of complete social revolution by means of one big insurrection, are equally fantastic.

Societies are made by people, and when the majority of people want to change a society they can change it, in whatever direction they want. Two recent examples: the masses of Iran wanted public life to be in keeping with religious precepts, so they rose up against the bloodthirsty, secular Shah and established a bloodthirsty hierarchy; and the masses of Britain have become concerned about the environment, so all the politicians who want their votes, and all the multiple grocers who want their custom, are turning 'green'.

If the oppressed in general wanted freedom from oppression, they have the power to get it. But most of the oppressed of the world are patriotic, religious, and convinced that government in general is necessary (though they often object to a particular boss).

I know of anarchists who just want to get the class war started, supposing that people will learn the desire for a free society in the course of insurrection. I have even heard it said, by an anarchist, that since insurrections have mostly occurred when the economic circumstances of the poor were suddenly worsened, we should conspire to worsen the conditions of the poor! But it does not seem likely that people will learn the habit of tolerance by the practice of killing, or the habit of saying no by putting themselves under military discipline. The workers who ran things on anarchist lines during the Spanish revolution were anarchists *before* the revolution, and moved towards the free society *in spite of* the war.

Those comrades who advocate class war without a prior change of opinion should ask themselves if they are not being misled, by allies who want to use a

social shake-up to get themselves in power, or who just enjoy violence.

I do not say everybody must be completely converted to anarchism before there can be any change. A partial change in popular opinion results in partial social change, and the changed society becomes the new status quo from which further changes can be made. Not all changes are in the direction of a freer society, because anarchist teachings are continually countered by the teachings of patriotism, capitalism, royalism, religion, and 'firm government'. But if we can make it that people want more freedom, even if not for the time being total freedom, we can institute a kind of slow spiral towards individual sovereignty.

There is no need for us to make a conscious choice of the next partial freedom we want to advocate. In our propaganda against government in general, we just naturally call attention to the worst excesses and stupidities. To give just one example: at the time of the Oscar Wilde trial, *Freedom* was almost alone in condemning the stupidity and waste of making homosexuality a crime. Sixty years later, most people had come to see how silly it was and the law was changed. Of course, the anarchists were not the only ones advocating such a change, but we were among the first, and it would be difficult to contend we had no significant influence.

Mechanisms of social change are various. I have mentioned the use of voter-power and customer-power. A general refusal to vote, or to buy, would have even more influence.

Sporadic rioting can also produce useful social change, as we have seen in English inner cities in the 1980s. The response of the government is first, heavy suppression and public condemnation of

the rioters, then very quickly second, to relieve the condition of the oppressed, so that riots do not occur again. In the past, industrial strikes have produced social change in the same way.

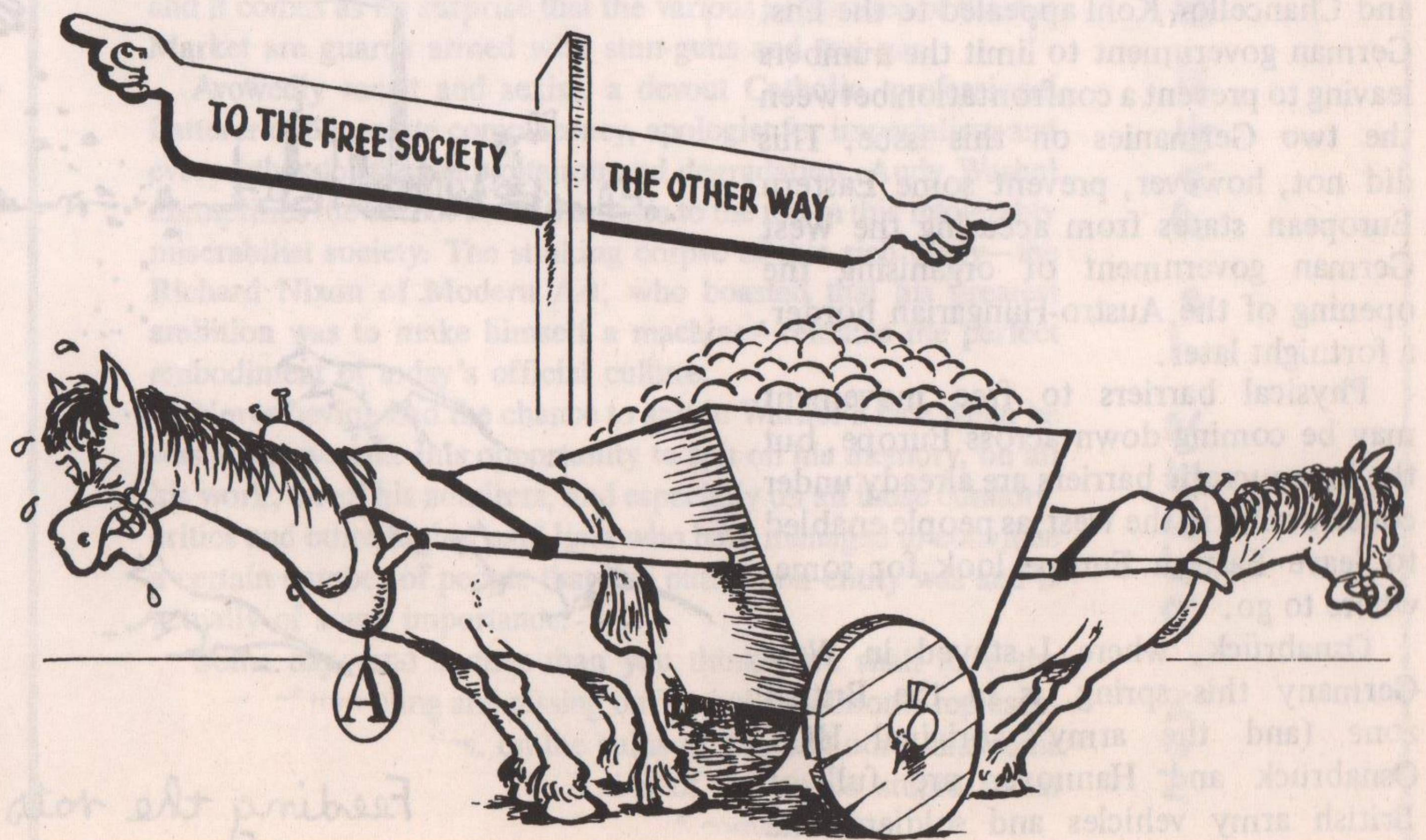
The technique of 'non-violence' — that is being disobedient and then not retaliating when the bosses get violent — can work in the right circumstances. In Britain in the late 1940s, for example, large numbers of people shared the opinion of people in India that the British ought not to be oppressing Indians. By using 'non-violence' the Indians made it clear that they objected to British rule, without giving the imperialists the excuse that the British were in India to protect anybody from violence — and the British withdrew.

Insurrection is the most obvious way of producing social change, and it is inevitable, sooner or later, when people in general sincerely want social change which the rulers absolutely refuse to allow. Most successful insurrections have been followed, it is true, by a 'reign of terror' as a new government sought to consolidate the power it had seized. But it is also true that most insurrections have established conditions where social change in the direction of freedom could take place.

All these mechanisms of social change are the result of large numbers of ordinary people wanting a different kind of society from the one they have. If most people want domination by the priesthood, or the persecution of dissenting minorities, or a society where coercive institutions are impossible, they will get it one way or another.

The education of desire is the horse. The physical process of revolution is the cart.

Donald Room



Chicago May-June 1989

FIRST impressions of a new city, indeed a new country, are always important. Chicago is like everybody's image (rightly or wrongly) of what American cities look like — huge skyscrapers, wide streets and yellow cabs, elevated 'L' trains and armed police patrolling the streets. Such a brief summary doesn't do Chicago justice at all, although it has three of the five tallest buildings in the world, including the tallest — the Sears tower — they rise like beautiful stalagmites majestically pushing ever higher. A walk down town feels like walking through some grand canyon, a veritable metropolitan glass and steel shroud. The view from the Sears tower at night is truly breathtaking, an image of gold dust strewn on black velvet, a memorable dream-like image, one of many that will stay with me for a long time (another was seeing the Chicago Cubs beat the New York Mets 5-4 in the tenth innings, but that is to digress).

Chicago is very much a twentieth century city — huge modern buildings competing on every block, different styles of architecture forming a rich pattern. The only real visible signs of Al Capone's Chicago is the Biograph Cinema outside of which John Dillinger met Wyatt Earp at the shoot-out at the OK Corral. Louis Sullivan (main proponent of skyscrapers) spent most of his working life here, Mies Van der Rohe (of Bauhaus fame) sought refuge here, besides it being the home of my namesake Frank Lloyd Wright. The city is full of public art — sculptures by Miro, Picasso and Dubuffet downtown and murals everywhere, no more so than in Pilsen, the Mexican quarter.

However, Chicago remains very much a divided city, roughly speaking north and east being 'white' areas and south and west being 'black' areas. In the south the old cattle slaughter houses and steel mills have long since ceased to be in operation, but the derelict buildings remain. In the migration from the south, black people could go no further north than Chicago, literally the end of the line and the American dream. American politics is a nasty business at the best of times, but election time is something else. Mayoral elections in Chicago are fought mainly on one issue — race. Present mayor is Richard Daley, son of Boss Daley infamous mayor of Chicago at the time of the Democratic Convention in 1968, beating the heads of Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin and other yippie protestors. 'Shoot to kill' was the order of the day to the police.

Much of the land around the lake shore area is reclaimed swampland, originally stolen from the Pottawomie Indians. I particularly liked the story of the old



above: Barber's shop in Pilsen, Chicago's mexican quarter.

sea captain (from the turn of the 19th century) who anchored his ship in the harbour and refused to move it. When it ran aground they just filled in the area around it and built on it. Hey presto! another downtown throughfare.

I was told (by a member of the surrealist group, so you can take it with a pinch of Lake Michigan salt water) that there are plans to build an artificial island in the middle of the lake to build on because they are short of space in the city. What is true is that they are building an extension to the aquarium to house a whale because they are not satisfied with goldfish, but then the Americans are like that.

Finally, it has to be said that the one thing that was plentiful and came across

as quite sincere was the overwhelming hospitality and generosity. None more so than my hosts Carlos Cortez and his wife Mariana and one of their Polish friends Don Adamowicz, none of whom I had met before but treated me like one of the family.

The only 'down' side was the overwhelming sense of nationalism, American flags flying everywhere — outside Macdonalds or Woolworths, for example, would be the Stars and Stripe and the shop's own flags. One of the present 'problems' they are having is desecration of flags. The following story, although tongue-in-cheek, is not far wide of the mark, and in the States the mark is pretty wide.

Francis Wright

WALTER H. fits the profile of a typical flag burner. He burned his first flag at a party. "Everyone was doing it," he says. "Then I got hooked. After a meal, I would light one up."

Walter H. learned what everyone should know: There is no such thing as controllable, social flag desecration. "Once you start desecrating," says Walter, "you just want to desecrate and desecrate and desecrate some more."

It took over his life. "I got so all I ever thought about was where I was going to get my next flag," he said.

Walter eventually lost his job. "I was burning a flag one afternoon, and the boss walked in. I tried to stuff it quickly into my desk, but that caught fire, too, and burned the whole factory down. Boy, were they ticked."

After that, like most flag abusers or "flunkies", Walter fell far and fast. "I just hustled money to buy flags. Things got so bad, I even worked as an oil tanker captain for a while."

Walter is a casualty in a war, the war against the flag wave spreading across America. So far, only one man has been courageous enough to stand up against the international flag cartel — George Herbert Walker Bush. Aides to Bush have pressed him to concentrate on simpler, more glamorous issues such as the "greenhouse effect", the budget deficit, or sea pollution.

Walter was eventually arrested in a major police raid on a flag den. He is trying to put his life together, but he knows the odds are against him.

"Most flunkies go back," he admits. "I'm using stripeadone, but that's not 100 percent effective. I'm just taking life one perilous night at a time."

Surrealism in the service of the revolution and vice versa

The international surrealist movement has elaborated a profound and many-sided critique of capitalist values and institutions, and unleashed the 'miraculous weapons' of poetry, dreams, humour and merciless invective against them. Always close to the revolutionary workers' movement, surrealists inspired the famous slogans of the May '68 General Strike in Paris ('Be realistic! Demand the impossible!' — 'It is forbidden to forbid!' — 'The more I make love the more I make revolution!')

The first surrealist group in the US was formed in Chicago in 1966 (now 13 members strong with the original members still firing on all cylinders). They organised a World Surrealist Exhibition in Chicago in 1976 with over 180 artists representing 33 countries. The movement has carried on in relentless agitation ever since, producing numerous books, pamphlets, a newspaper and leaflets for every

occasion, the Warhol leaflet produced alongside this introduction being the latest. At a demonstration outside the art institute, members of the group present included Franklin and Penelope Rosemont, Paul Garon, Dave Wells, Debra Taub and Robert Green, and Joel Williams. Placards carrying various surrealist and anarchist slogans were used, more as umbrellas to keep off the pouring rain than as slogans, the message being quite well stated in the leaflet. Best of all was the black flag with skull & crossbones on it waived by Robert Green, a fitting epitaph for one of capitalist art's favourite sons. English comrades interested in repeating this demonstration can contact me via the Freedom bookshop as this exhibition is coming to the Hayward Gallery later in the year.

A few years ago I was ejected from the ICA for giving out a surrealist leaflet

attacking an exhibition of Sir Roland Penrose's work, although it was met with protests, it was all handled with civility, as these things usually are in England. Once outside the art institute we felt quite threatened as you are not allowed to hold such protests/meetings within a certain distance and we were watched over very closely by security guards.

However, many of the American surrealists are active in both the IWW (card-carrying members and at various times editors and contributors to the *Industrial Worker*) and the Earth First! movement.

Two short texts reprinted below illustrate current concerns and illuminate the far-reaching ecological implications of surrealist revolution.

An unjust domination

"I was anxious to change the subject, which is a painful one for every being who belongs to the race which has imposed its unjust domination over all the other animals..." — Lautreamont

It has been said that once colonies are established in outer space (within the decade, some have projected) the threat of extinction of the human race will no longer be in question; that, though nuclear war may annihilate life on earth, mankind will survive on these outposts (we are expected to be satisfied with mere survival).

Can there exist a more despicable example of anthropocentrism at its vilest? Yes, easily, every day: in commercial laboratories where animals are subjected to experimentation that causes them indescribable suffering for such trivial products as food colouring and cosmetics, or in factories of 'intensive farming' where animals are grown for slaughter to supply the demands of fast food franchises.

Everyday life is founded on such false notions of the human species' right to decide on the life and death of every other species on the earth. Our life in the future will mean nothing until the essential worth of every animal being is understood by all, regardless of its size, number, beauty, intelligence or value as food or clothing. In the world that will be, the lives and needs of all other species will be considered above our current standard-of-living's demands for hotdogs, eye shadow

or the perfect depilatory.

With the end of the tyrannies of racism, sexism, capitalism and statism, so must end the tyranny of speciesism. The poetry made by all must include the choruses of cicadas, crows, narwals, timber wolves, okapi, sora rails, screech owls, zebras, kinkajous, rock hopper penguins, orang-utans, tree frogs, Przewalski's horses, laughing thrushes, jerboas, leaf nose bats, hippotami, blue jays, kudu, pangolins, octopi, fiddler crabs, black capped chickadees, cassowaries, mud turtles and flying geckoes.

Gina Litherland and Hal Rammel
International Surrealist Bulletin
September 1986

Why say no?

Against the laughable legion of puritanical movie stars, athletes, TV celebrities and assorted politicians' wives who tell us to 'just say no' to everything from sex and drugs to dropping out of school, the surrealists put forth for the consideration of the public these modest immediate demands:

1. Absolute sexual freedom, eroticisation of everyday life, expansion of pleasure

*Declaration of the Surrealists
on the Andy Warhol Retrospective
at the Chicago Art Institute, June 1989*

POINT-BLANK

Homage to Valerie Solanas

A hundred and eighty-one years ago William Blake warned us against certain artists who the ruling class "Hired to Depress Art." Today Capital and its State monopolize Art itself while stifling all real free expression. Contemporary society is one huge prison, and it comes as no surprise that the various celebrities of the Art Market are guards armed with stun-guns and tear-gas.

Avowedly racist and sexist, a devout Catholic, professional flatterer of corporate complacency, apologist for imperialism and every other form of exploitation and degradation, Andy Warhol exemplifies the sort of scum that rises to the top in this intolerably miserabilist society. The stinking corpse of this rich toady—the Richard Nixon of Modern Art, who boasted that his greatest ambition was to make himself a machine—remains the perfect embodiment of today's official culture.

Never having had the chance to spit in Warhol's face when he was alive, we take this opportunity to spit on his memory, on all his work, on all his admirers, and especially on all those curators, critics and other highly paid liars who have managed to convince a certain number of people that this putrid non-entity was and is actually of some importance.

Some day—and sooner than you think!—we shall have the pleasure of trampling and pissing on Warhol's loathsome representations of commodities, on the ruins of this and other museums of commodities, and on the ruins of the whole stupid social structure founded on the fetishism of commodities.

Meanwhile, if some of us take the trouble to show up at these disgusting funerals of yours, the joke's still on you, isn't it? As Daffy Duck would say, "It is to laugh!"

The Surrealist Group
Chicago June 1989

uninhibited by bourgeois notions of guilt, and duty.

2. Global supercession of wage slavery by the cultivation of inspired laziness.
3. Emancipation of children from all forms of patriarchal domination.
4. Expansion of wilderness everywhere, at all times, by any and all means.
5. Destruction of family, church and state — the indispensable first step towards a pleasurable life for all.

The Surrealist Group
Chicago, August 1987

Earth First Movement

Background

Today is the most critical moment in the three and a half billion year history of life on earth. Never before — not even during the mass extinctions of the dinosaurs at the end of the Cretaceous, 65 million years ago — has there been such an intense period of extinctions as we are now witnessing, such a drastic reduction in the biological diversity of this planet.

Over the last several hundred years, human civilisation has declared war on large mammals, leading some respected ecologists to assert that the only large mammals living twenty years from now will be those we humans choose to allow to live.

Other prominent biologists, looking aghast on the wholesale devastation of tropical rainforests and temperate old growth forests, rapidly accelerating desertification, and destruction of 'charismatic megafauna' due to habitat destruction and poaching, say that earth could lose one quarter to one third of all species within twenty years.

Not only is this blitzkrieg against the natural world destroying ecosystems and their associated species, but our activities are now beginning to have fundamental, systematic effects upon the entire life-support system of the planet — upsetting the world's climate, poisoning the oceans, destroying the ozone layer in the atmosphere which protects us from ultraviolet radiation, changing the CO₂ ratio in the atmosphere and spreading acid rain, radioactive fallout, pesticide and industrial contamination throughout the biosphere.

Recently, biologists have warned us that vertebrate extinction may be at an end due to the activities of humans.

Clearly, the conservation battle is not one of merely protecting outdoor recreation opportunities, nor a matter of elitist aesthetics, nor 'wise management and use' of natural resources. It is a battle for life itself, for the continued flow of evolution.

We — this generation of humans — are at our most important juncture since we came out of the trees six million years ago. It is our decision, ours, today, whether earth continues to be the marvelously living, diverse oasis in the blackness of space which it now is, or whether the 'charismatic megafauna' of the future will consist of Norway rats and cockroaches.

About Earth First!

Earth First! is not an organisation but a movement. There are no 'members' of Earth First!, only Earth First!ers. It is a belief in biocentrism (Deep Ecology) and a practice of putting earth first that makes one an Earth First!er.



Because Earth First! is a movement, instead of a specific group, Earth First!ers can be active as Earth First!ers or as members of other environmental groups. Regardless, we promote a philosophy of deep ecology, an uncompromising defence of natural diversity, and visionary wilderness proposals.

Because Earth First! is not an organisation, there are no formal officers, nor any hierarchy. Earth First! was not formed to encompass the entire environmental movement, nor even all students of deep ecology or all militant environmentalists. The green fist and monkey-wrench were consciously chosen as our symbols, as was the name Earth First! — always with the exclamation mark! We represent a specific point of view, a certain style, a particular vigour — and we don't plan to change. We never envisioned Earth First! as being a huge mass movement. While there is a broad diversity within Earth First! there is a general comfortableness with both this diversity and with the 'hardass' militant style of Earth First! If you find yourself uncomfortable with it, don't try to change it — we've been through that a thousand times before. Either decide you can handle the militancy or find your environment group elsewhere. Everyone has to find their own tribe.

The differing entities within Earth First! stream — local groups, Nomadic Action Group, the Rendezvous, the Foundation, different task forces, the *Earth First! Journal*, etc. — are independent and autonomous, but co-operating elements.

For example, there are differences in style, etc., between Earth First! Oregon and Earth First! Montana, Earth First! Chicago and Earth First! Florida.

Monkeywrenching

Monkeywrenching, ecotage, ecodefence, billboard bandits, unauthorised heavy

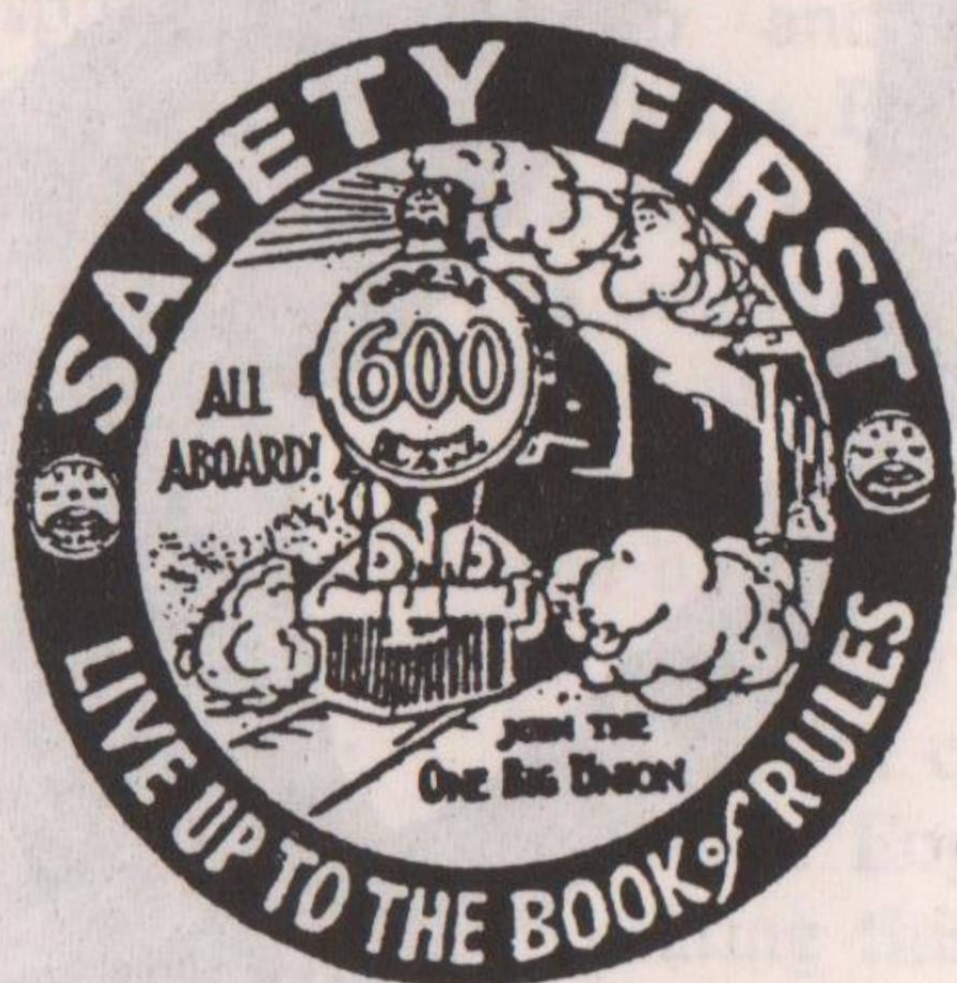
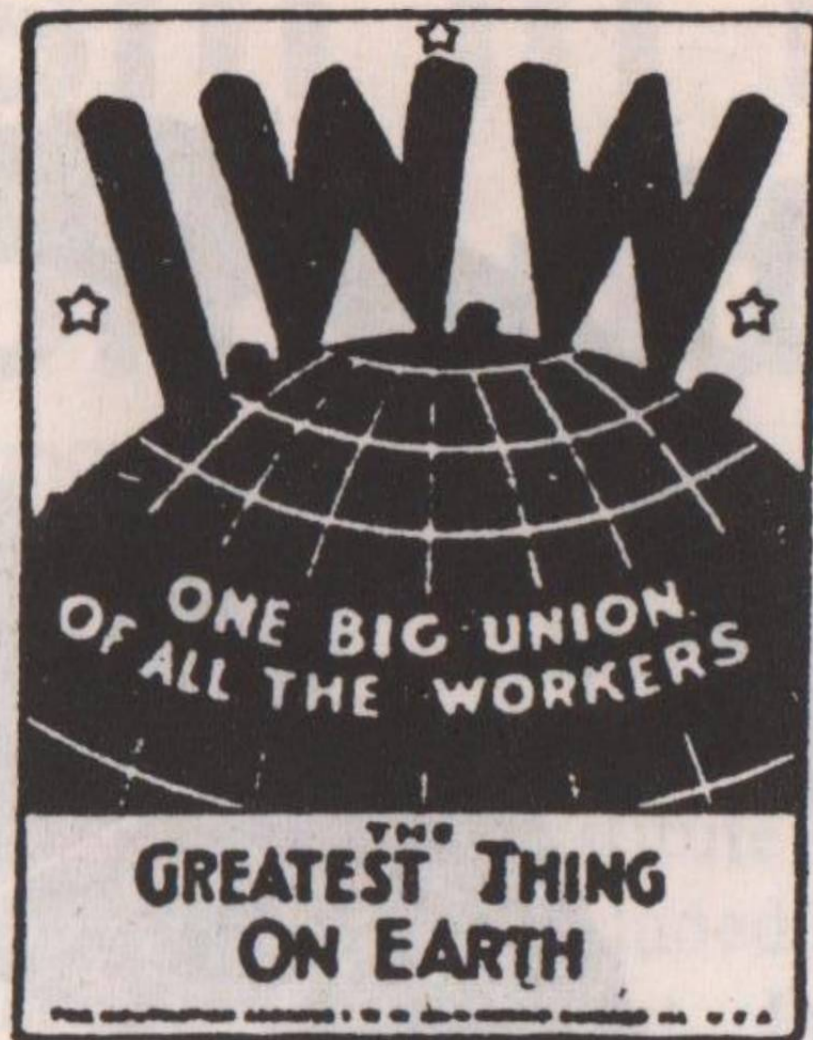
equipment maintenance, desurveying, road reclamation, tree spiking. Monkeywrenching is a step beyond civil disobedience. It is non-violent, aimed only at inanimate machines, and at the pocket-books of the industrial despoilers. It is the final step in the defence of the wild, the deliberate action taken by the earth defenders when all other measures have failed, the process whereby the wilderness defender becomes the wilderness acting in self defence.

Although Earth First! is often associated with the practice and mystique of monkeywrenching, the organised elements of the Earth First! movement do not engage in monkeywrenching. Although some individual Earth First!ers are active monkeywrenchers, the Earth First! movement officially neither advocates nor condemns monkeywrenching. The *Earth First! Journal*, however, carries a regular column — 'Dear Ned Ludd' — about monkeywrenching and does take an editorial position in favour of the practice. Monkeywrenching is ultimately an individual decision.

Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching, available from Ned Ludd Books, PO Box 5871, Tucson, Az 85703, is an informative manual on monkeywrenching techniques in 311 pages, heavily illustrated, as well as careful discussions of security, safety, strategy and justification. Any potential monkeywrencher would do well to carefully study it before embarking on the clearly illegal and potentially dangerous path of ecotage.

Although primarily aimed at the American situation, where it is a 'best seller', it could be useful in other countries. If anyone is interested in obtaining copies write c/o Freedom Press.

SILENT AGITATORS



Probably no labor union has been so misunderstood as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). We believe that it is vital for all unorganized workers, and the growing number of workers who are disenchanted with the business-like character and wholesale indifference of their own trade unions, to know the truth about the history and current activities of IWW, and its increasing relevance to the struggles of working people across the world.

Our members are always reading that the IWW died in 1917, that it never had more than 10,000 members, that it only caused violence and left as soon as it had come. We intend to show that this was not the case by taking each of these myths separately and comparing them with the facts.

• Sabotage And Violence •

Was the IWW really as destructive as they say? A 1939 Johns Hopkins University study concluded that "Although there are contradictory opinions as to whether the IWW practices sabotage or not, it is interesting to note that no case of an IWW saboteur caught practicing sabotage or convicted of its practice is available." In the more informal words of a North Dakota employer, "The IWWs I know are swell fellows, but them alleged IWWs I read about in the paper are holy terrors."

One problem was that not everyone who claimed to be a "Wobbly" was actually in the union. Many people and groups took advantage of its popularity to proclaim their own beliefs. In addition, the police, army or hired thugs often attacked striking Wobs (and other union members), then pointed out the IWW's violence when strikers attempted to fight back. To quote a resolution adopted at the IWW Convention of 1913, "It is the employing class

who provoke violence and then cry out the loudest against it. . . the program of the IWW offers the only possible solution to the wage question whereby violence can be avoided or, at the very worst, reduced to a minimum."

• Subversive Activities •

Wobblies believe that workers should directly own and control the place where they work. The IWW also places a heavy emphasis on democracy, in the workplace and the union itself (the IWW is the most democratic union in existence). This belief in democratic rank-and-file control over the means of production precludes any attempts to support any of the many alleged "marxist" or "communist" ideologies or governments.

Because the IWW believes that national differences keep workers from uniting against those who own and control, its ideal world has no nations. Wobblies do not endorse the Marxist/Communist belief that workers must be welded into a class by an intellectual elite, nor do they preach revolution as a solution; instead, the IWW supports rank-and-file unionism as an end in itself, to improve the conditions of workers through organization. The IWW's final goal is the uniting of all workers across the world into One Big Union, and the ending of the current capitalist, socialist and "communist" systems, along with the so-called democracies, oligarchies and dictatorships they operate in. The IWW gained its reputation for subversive activities mostly by refusing to remain silent, fighting through civil disobedience for freedom of speech and the right to congregate and associate peacefully.

• Interfering With Production •

The IWW believes that workers should govern their own affairs--and psychologists

point out that when they do, productivity goes up. While working within the present society the IWW attempts to gain as much control over the workplace as possible, but management often gives up massive gains in productivity in order to have a little more control (this is best shown in Robert Howard's *Brave New Workplace*).

Loss of production blamed on unionism is usually caused by management's refusal either to deal with the workers fairly, provide an appropriate salary and reasonable working conditions, or to give even the slightest amount of on-the-job control to the workers.

• The Modern IWW •

While the IWW was a colorful union, with its famous Free Speech fights and its Little Red Songbook, its "color" came from practical needs. Without free speech and the right to hold meetings, organizing was nearly impossible. When early IWW organizers held outdoor meetings, Salvation Army bands would often try to drown them out; organizers made up parodies to be sung to their music, creating the "singing IWW." Strategic tactical innovations and flexibility have always been characteristic of Wobbly struggles, and never have these qualities been more relevant--or more necessary--than they are today. As one Wobbly recently wrote: ". . . the free society will remain a dream until the great mass of humanity, the working class of the world, wrests control from the planet-destroying capitalist class and starts to make the dream come true.

"To expand the consciousness of working men and women; to draw them out of their passivity and fear; to multiply their self-confidence and autonomy; to unbend their backs and open their eyes; to help them break the chains that bind them to a death-oriented civilization; to promote their self-activity and solidarity; and to inspire them with the possibilities of a new life: *That is what the IWW is all about. . .*"

To the bitter dismay of bosses, militarists, skeptics, pie-cards and rumor-mongers the world over, the IWW is more alive and militant in its demands than in several decades, with membership branches, groups and job shops throughout the United States, Canada, Australia, Great Britain and all points in between, encompassing workers in every field from professional child care to printing, and from music-making to mining.

Interested? Let us hear from you! Write to us today. . . don't wait!

IWW

3435 N. Sheffield #202
Chicago, IL 60657
(312) 549-5045

I threw a brick in Cable Street

A RIPPLE of applause swept the nation when Princess Anne kicked out Captain Mark Phillips because, for a few days, it drove the anniversary/celebration/horror of the outbreak of war fifty years ago out of the national media. A surfeit of anything does tend to pall the palate but at the same time let us grant those ancients who took part their moments of glory, for they and I believed then and now that it was a just cause that had to be fought. Within the White Hart pub in the solemnity of drinking, the question is asked 'fifty years later what is the result?' and I gaze into the bottom of my empty beer glass and know that I have no prophetic answer.

Between the wars when Mosley's uniformed Blackshirts marched the streets, Hannan Swaffer the media mouth of the nation said the answer was to call Blackshirts Mickey Mouses and the ridicule would destroy them, while God via Soper in a post-war interview said that as a pacifist he would simply give invading troops and the SS cups of English tea that would stop them in their tracks. It is a valid cliché that generals and those who oppose war always fight the last war. The generals with cavalry charging machine guns and the anti-war people calling upon troops to climb out of their 1914-1918 trenches and give each other Christmas puddings while they sing Holy Night. Maybe I wrong them but I always have in my mind the ancient media photograph of a small pathetic girl peering through the doors of a railway carriage that is taking her and others to be legally murdered in a factory-built gas oven. I ask when the troops marched into Denmark with SS Extermination Squads with them to round up a gypsy encampment to transport the people for legalised State authenticated murder what does one do? Creep out at night and scrawl slogans on a wall? When the trumpets of the barbarians are heard beyond the hills and when their dust is seen on the horizon does one call for a meeting the following week? I have no use for the pacifist or the one who will not kill as it might impair their soul's eternal salvation for they will sacrifice the lives of the innocent for their own scabby salvation. Wars are always fought for the same reason but they are forced to change with changing technology. The 1914-1918 war was the last great set piece fought out in Napoleonic fashion and I hold that if the British government had stayed out the German army would have won, then goose-stepped through Paris, the German monied boys would have taken the French colonies and Frenchmen would have sat outside the cafes weeping over

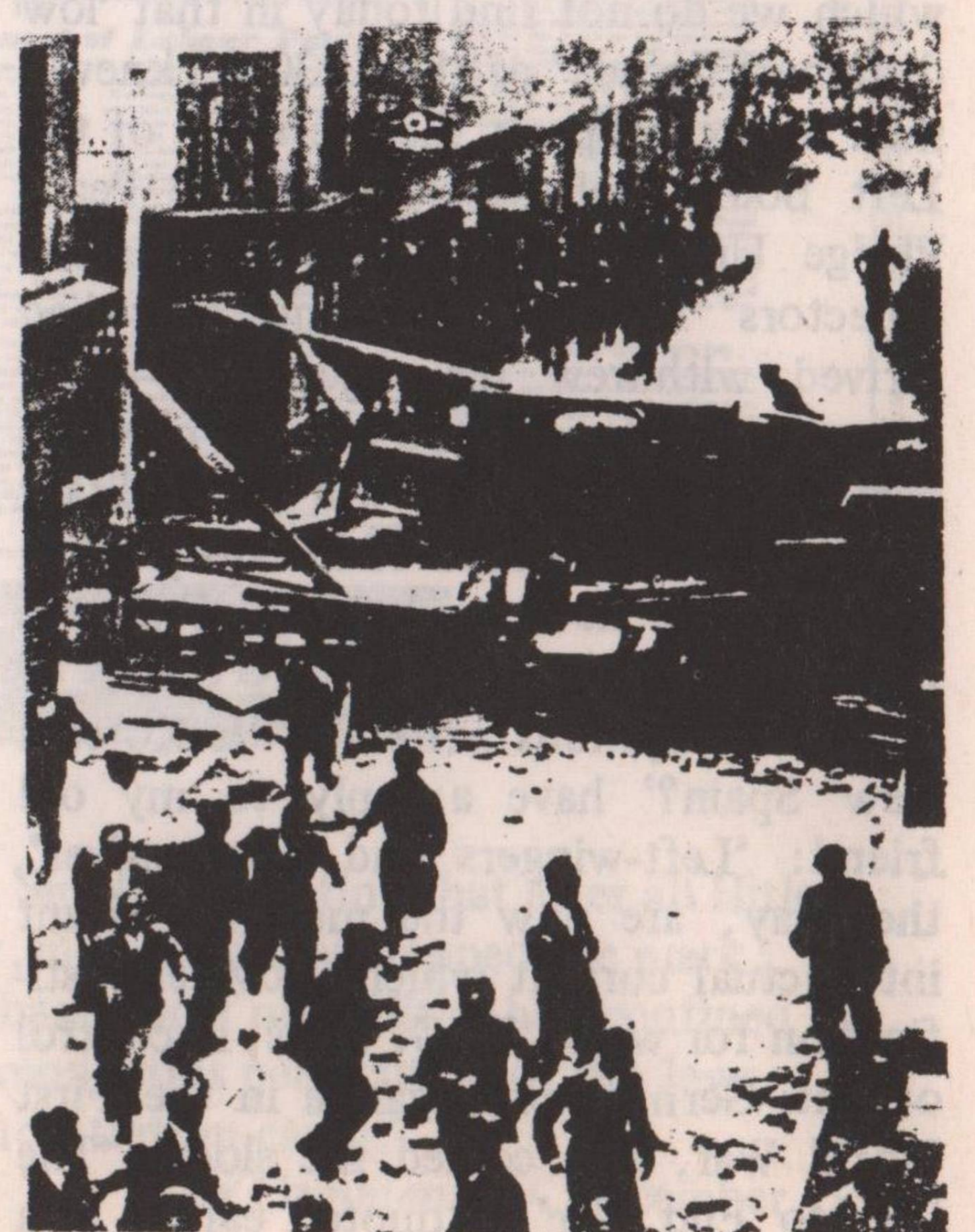
the lost honour of France and history would have recorded it as just another Franco-Prussian football supporters' brawl. With the Spanish civil war the curtain came down on the set pieces and the peasants of Vietnam demonstrated the new form of war when they destroyed the French and then the American armies. It was a war organised by politicians and not by generals and it was spawned by Hitler in his political usage of the German armies for his own political ideology. It was no secret for he spelt it all out in his book *Mein Kampf* and one borrowed one's copy from a London library and spokesmen in and out of office laughed it aside as the quaint ravings of the cartoonist Low's comic character Hitler. One read the Brown Book of the Hitler Terror circulated before 1939 and the blurred photographs of atrocities were dismissed as things in a distant country that did not concern our small island and one marched and shouted that 'Hitler means hunger and war' and the police charged with their batons. For the first time in the west, national genocide was being put into practice and with genocide there are no surrenders and no prisoners. Within the Warsaw ghetto every man, woman and child was slaughtered street by street and house by house and room by room, and does one turn to the victim at one's side saying this is not my battle. This year of 1989 Herr Karl Tepe, a Munster historian, states that about 3,000 children and babies were murdered in the Westphalian area under Hitler's 'Euthanasia Decree' and that decree became German law three days before the outbreak of war on September 1st 1939. This is not rampaging soldiers out of control but men and women in white clinical coats authorised by the State to kill, and behind them a bureaucratic army of clerks filling out forms and draftsmen, technicians and engineers planning and building the concentration camps and the gas ovens. It was our problem for Germany came within the lifestyle of the west and we shared a common culture and many common heritages. but in those evil years when uniformed private Nazi armies paraded through the streets of every capital in Europe, no one dare claim to have known of the inevitable tragedy. If an invading army had moved unresisted into Britain with its battalions of SS Extermination units, its draftsmen, its technicians and its bureaucracy for its State organised programme of racial and social purification, do we ignore it if it did not involve us as individuals for if we did then logic must demand that the people of Spain were wrong to take up arms against Franco just as the people

of Czechoslovakia, Hungary or the young people of China's Peking square, all who in their own fashion faced up to the Russian and Chinese tanks. Others have glib and facile answers honed over the years but there are situations that I do not know the answers to. I know that in any mass action there are those involved for their own particular self interest or political or ideological reasons of which I have little in common, but by the same token I take my place in line for my own personal reason.

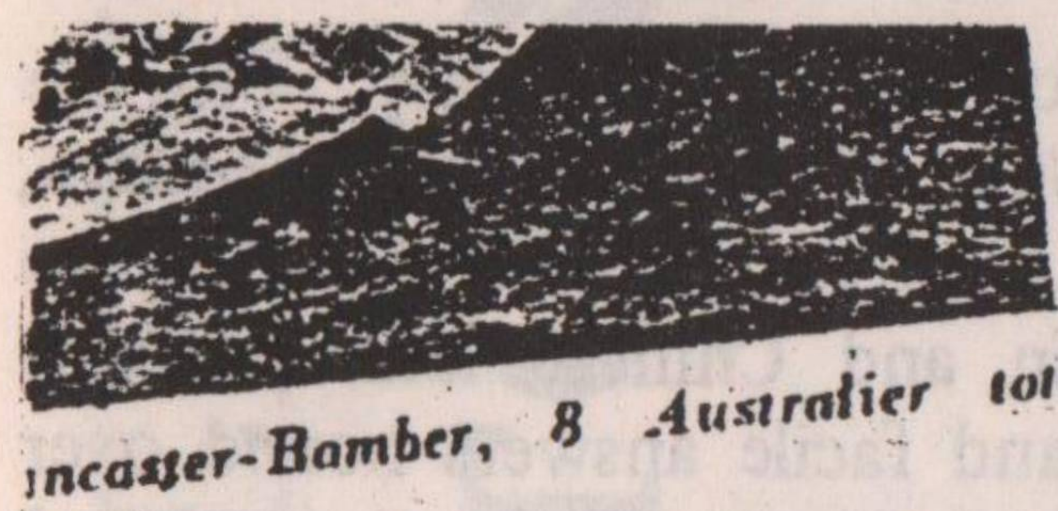
So be it. I know that in armed conflict the 'wrong people' are in charge and that needless sacrifices of the armed and the innocent take place and I have no answer. This I do hold, that in 1939 an armed conflict came into being that to my knowledge, for the first time every historian has now accepted was a necessary evil that had to be faced. And quote me Irving in contradiction. We are told by the well organised propaganda machine 'Take the troops out of Ireland' and let the bloodbath take place. We were told by the Left to 'Open the second front' for political reasons and by the Right to negotiate a 'peace' and take a share of the spoils and to ignore the continuing murder of millions of civilians. It was to be Danegeld for the civilised modern barbarians but for how long could we have paid human blackmail to murder. Unlike many others I have no facile answers to questions that will not die while we live.

But this I do know — that whenever I recall the face of that young girl child peering through the doors of a railway carriage on its way to the State concentration camp gas chamber, my lonely brick that I threw in Cable Street may have been poorly aimed but its flight was true for its cause was just.

Arthur Moyses



World War-Cold War



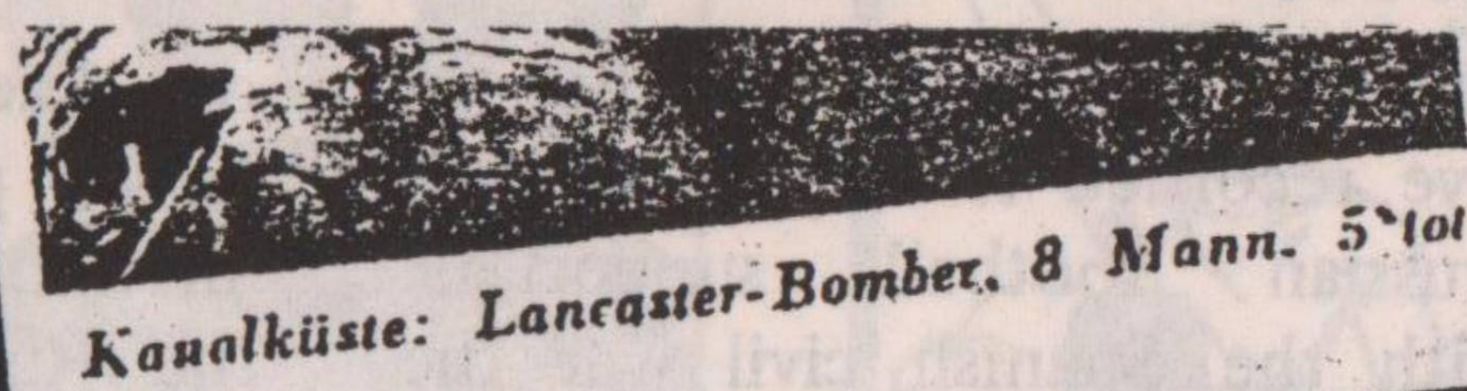
Kanalküste: Lancaster-Bomber, 8 Australier tot



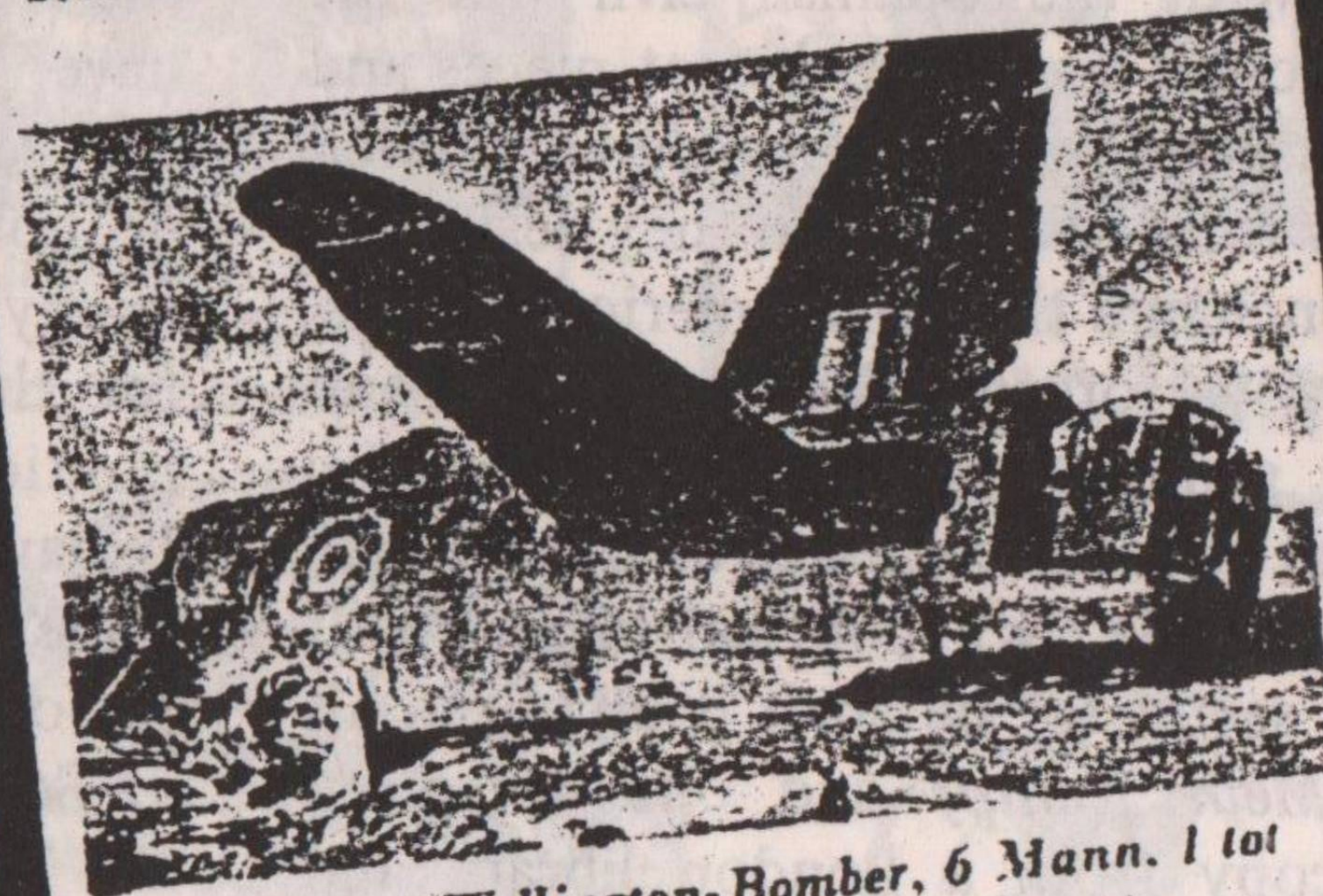
Kanalküste: Liberator-Bomber, 10 Mann tot



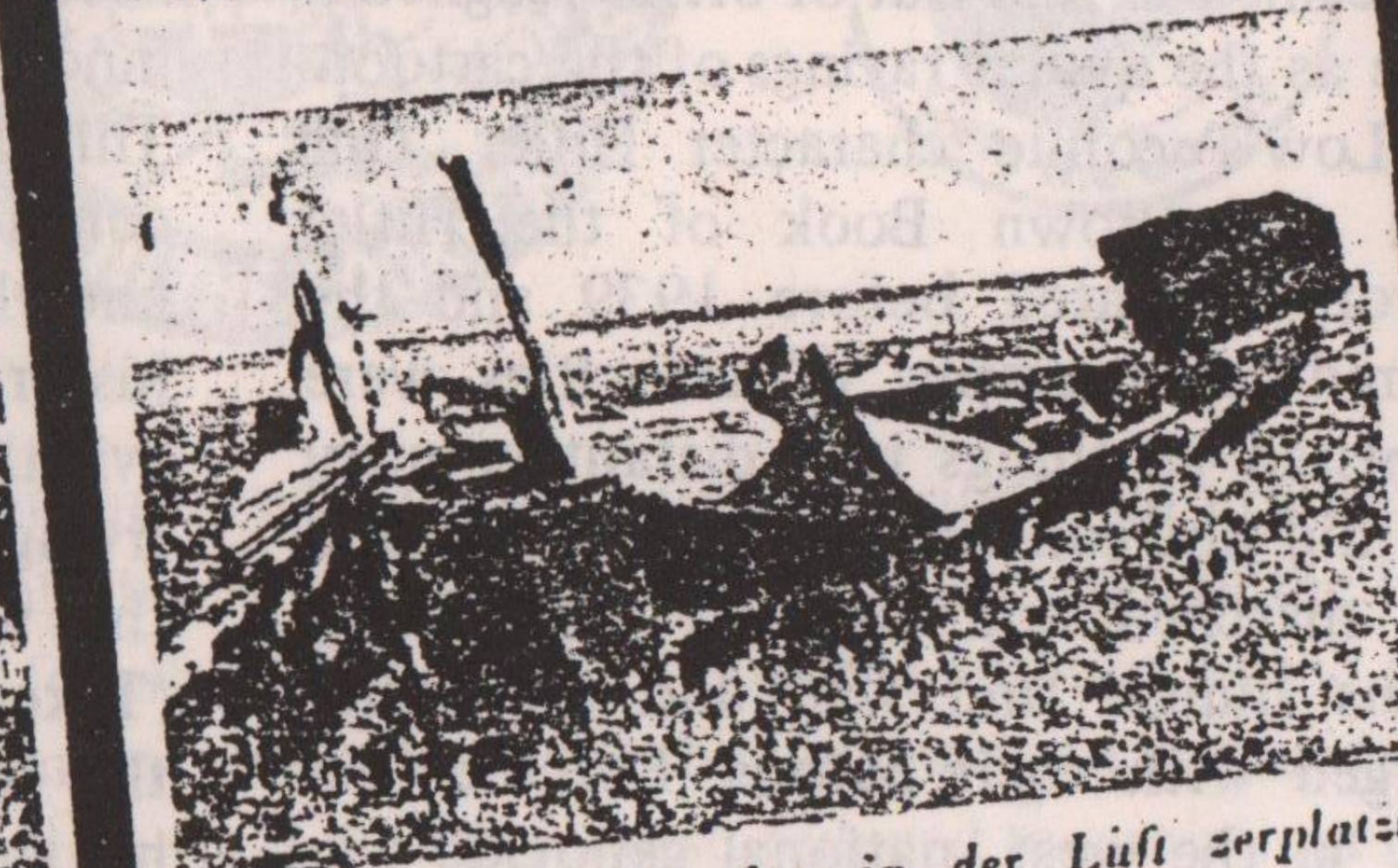
Hamburg: USA-Bomber, 10 Mann, 9 tot



Kanalküste: Lancaster-Bomber, 8 Mann, 5 tot



Hamburg: Wellington-Bomber, 6 Mann, 1 tot



Hamburg: Britenbomber, in der Luft zerplatzt



Ami-Kanal: Liberator-Bomber (U.S.A.), alle tot



Nordfrankreich: U.S.A.-Bomber, alle Mann



Kan

World War – Cold War: selections from the anarchist journals 'War Commentary' and 'Freedom' 1939-1950
Freedom Press, 422 pages, £6.95 (post free)

MANY sincere anti-fascists supported the Second World War. Would it be untrue to say that there was a kind of idealism which we do not find today in that 'low dishonest decade' of the 1930s? I knew a man brought up on the literature of the Left Book Club who joined the Peace Pledge Union, attended a conscientious objectors' tribunal, but once war had arrived withdrew his objection – war being a reality, he too would play his part – he went on to win the Military Cross. I was reminded of his story when reading this new book from Freedom Press.

The anonymous writers of 'Is Korea a New Spain?' have a reply to my old friend: 'Left-wingers and progressives', they say, 'are now the most important intellectual current which provides justification for wars'. H. G. Wells, in control of anti-German propaganda in the First World War, who coined the slogan 'The War to End War', is quoted earlier in a

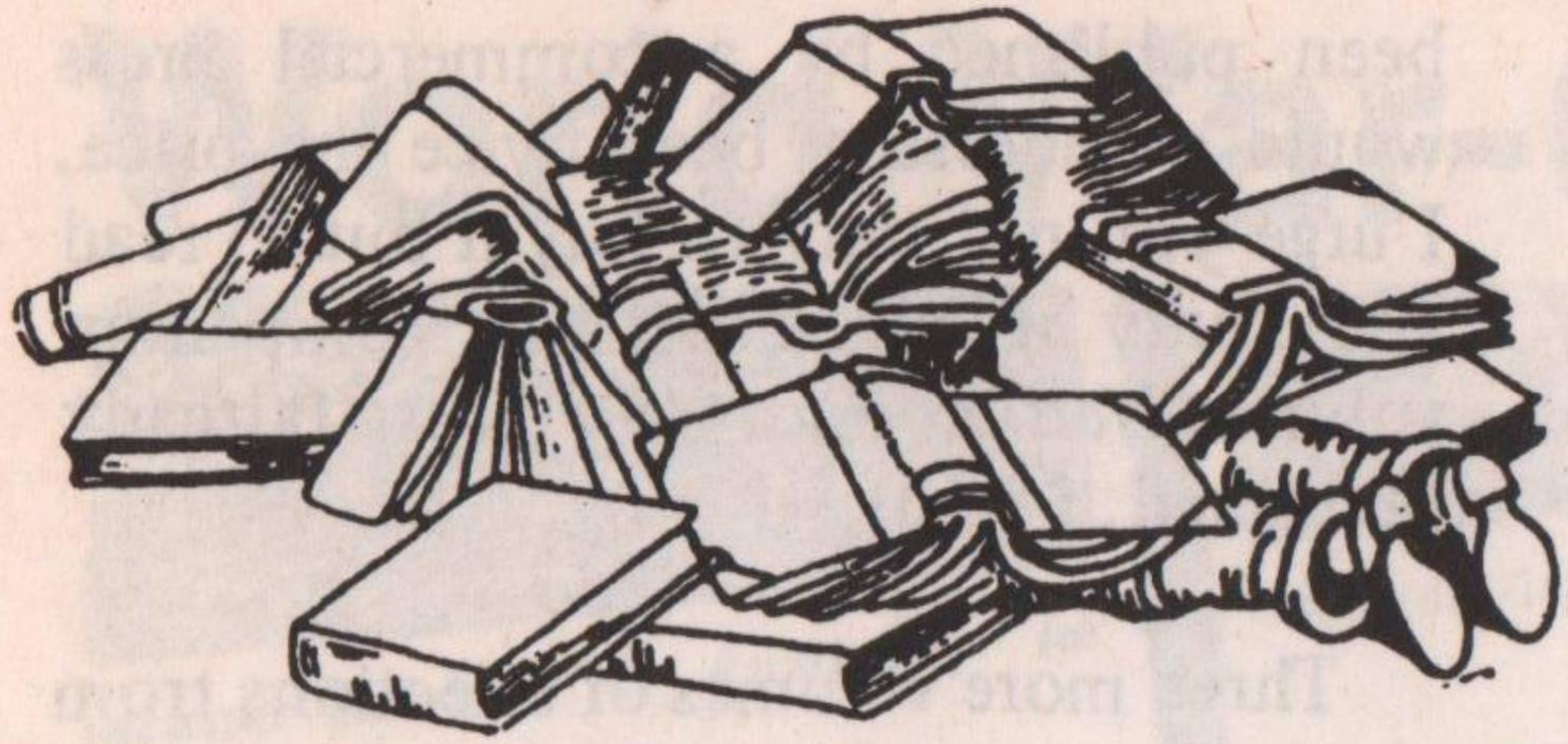
good series of articles 'Behind the Slogans' as saying he was 'tricked' by the Foreign Office, 'but', say the editors of *War Commentary*, 'the democratic capitalists are going to be fooled again'. To revert to the previously quoted article, 'the post-1918 no-more-wars feeling was more effectively swept away by the anti-fascists of the Left Book Club, literary figures like Spender (not Spenser as printed) and Auden – and we must not except Orwell and Koestler – than by frank warmongers'. Hence the Left can persuade themselves that the last war was 'worthwhile' and take sides in ideological disputes which, argue the anarchists, are not the causes of war. Therefore the left can be anti-appeasers, and call for us to have a strong deterrent. Written in 1950 but how true today.

In the late nineteenth century both socialists and anarchists were unanimous about the causes of war; power politics, vested interests, slumps, causes which existed long before Stalin or Hitler. But the First World War changed the view of socialists, and for them government and not socialism became the end, with force as its primary argument, and the anarchists became the sole opponents of

the Second World War; not on pacifist grounds – indeed they refer to the pacifist movements of the 1930s as 'providing blinkers which effectively prevent a rational attack on the causes of war' – but as social revolutionaries, which makes this a unique book.

The anarchists recognised the World War from first to last as an imperialist war. 'We knew that those who pretended that Nazism (or Germany) alone caused the war would have in fact supported the war in any case, whatever the cause and against whomever it was waged. The evil things in Germany were merely useful from a war propaganda point of view: they certainly were true, but did not occasion the war. The war was caused by rivalries between imperialisms.' The horrors of Nazism are not denied, but it is insisted that the struggle against Nazism should be a revolutionary struggle.

The point is made very clearly that the Allies had their path made smooth by the resistance movements in Europe and that the first aim of the conquerors was to deprive the resistance movements of their arms. 'As in 1917 their fear is that the workers will turn their arms against their real enemies and unite across the artificially created frontiers which serve only the interests of the exploiting class'. The call to the workers to 'hold on to your arms' is accompanied by the reports of the CID raid on the Freedom Press offices in 1944 – could it have been this kind of material appearing which led to the raid and subsequent trial of comrades? As Vernon Richards has written elsewhere, 'one has only to go through the files of



General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon

Pluto Press, paperback, £7.95

The Conquest of Violence

Bart de Ligt

Pluto Press, paperback, £7.95

THESE are two more items in the Libertarian Critique series of reprints edited by David Goodway and published by Pluto Press.

Proudhon was, of course, one of the founders of the anarchist ideology, though he was by no means a consistent anarchist. *The General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century*, which is one of his most confusing books and is far indeed from anarchism, was first published in 1851. John Beverley Robinson's abridged translation, which was first published by Freedom Press in 1923, now appears in a facsimile paperback reprint with a long introduction by the Canadian academic Robert Graham. This says nothing new, and relies on material in English, but gives a fair summary of Proudhon's life and work and of the contents and significance of this particular book. It says nothing about John Beverley Robinson, an American individualist anarchist (not even mentioning that he had his translation printed in Germany at his expense), and it fails to show how far Proudhon's ideas are relevant to ideas about revolution in the twentieth century.

Bart de Ligt was a Dutch anarchist pacifist who played an important part as a theorist and an activist in the international anti-militarist movement between the two world wars. *The Conquest of Violence* was an expanded version of a French version of a book first published in Dutch in 1935, which was translated by Honor Tracy and introduced by Aldous Huxley, and was published in 1937 at a critical time for the movement. It immediately became a classic of anarcho-pacifist thought, and now appears in a facsimile paperback reprint with an introduction by Peter van den Dungen, who teaches Peace Studies at Bradford University. This gives a useful summary of De Ligt's life and work, and shows the importance of the book, but avoids the problem that most of its detailed contents have only historical interest after more than half a century.

MH

Oscar Wilde: The Double Image

George Woodcock

Black Rose, Freedom Press, paperback
£9.95

Aphra Behn: The English Sappho

George Woodcock

Black Rose, Freedom Books, paperback
£9.95

THE Canadian libertarian publishers, Black Rose, are producing a retrospective edition of George Woodcock's books, with new introductions by him. These two are reprints of a couple of his early critical works.

Aphra Behn and Oscar Wilde were remarkable figures in English literature whose defiance of sexual convention both in their conduct and in their writings got them into trouble during their lives and damaged their reputations after their deaths. *The Incomparable Aphra* (1948) and *The Paradox of Oscar Wilde* (1949) were refreshing and readable studies which set out to rehabilitate them and also to illuminate their ages. But both books have been superseded by later work, as Woodcock rather reluctantly acknowledges, and even with new introductions (and new titles) they seem rather old fashioned after forty years.

Aphra Behn has a place in history as the first woman in Britain who earned a living by writing, producing successful plays and novels in the 1670s and 1680s (the best-known being *The Rover* and *Oroonoko* respectively). Woodcock gives a clear if dull account of her life and work, both of which have subsequently been studied in much more detail, especially in the feminist context. Woodcock mentions one contribution to this activity — Maureen Duffy's biography *The Passionate Shepherdess* (1977), recently reprinted in paperback — which at last established Aphra Behn's real identity (Eaffrey Johnson, born in Kent in 1640), but he is unaware of other later developments. He described several plays as never being produced which have had successful recent revivals. He claims the Aphra Behn originated the tradition of the Noble Savage, when it was already in existence a century earlier (in Montaigne's essay *On Cannibals*), and the actual phrase was used by her friend John Dryden (in his play *The Conquest of Granada*) before she wrote anything on the subject. And so on. So this is a pleasant but rather unsatisfactory book.

Oscar Wilde has a much firmer place in history, producing successful writings of all kinds in the 1880s and 1890s, then being destroyed in a homosexual scandal in 1895, but now being generally rehabilitated and widely read. Woodcock's book was a brave attempt to take him seriously at a time when he was out of fashion, so it has its own place in history. It is a series

of essays on various contradictory aspects of his life and work rather than straight biography or criticism, and it remains a fair introduction to Wilde, though it is rather fulsome and repetitive.

Again, a great deal has been added to the study of the subject during the past forty years, and again Woodcock mentions one contribution to this activity — the recent biography by Richard Ellmann (whose name he misspells) — but again he seems unaware of much else. The book also contains several minor errors which should have been corrected. Like nearly everyone, Woodcock misquotes the Marquess of Queensberry's insulting card which precipitated Wilde's fall. He supposes that the law against Wilde's homosexual activities was abolished by the Sexual Offences Act of 1967. Since most of Wilde's partners were under 21, however, he would still be liable to blackmail and prosecution today. Woodcock cites Shaw's story of Wilde revisiting William Morris when he was dying. Since Morris died well over a year after Wilde was sent to prison, this must be yet another Shavian fantasy. Woodcock says they *De Profundis* was first published in full in 1949. That edition was still not complete, and the full version appeared only in 1962. And so on.

Woodcock's edition of Wilde's political essay *The Soul of Man Under Socialism* (1891), which he published as the first Porcupine Pamphlet in 1948, is included in the book as an appendix without any explanation of its presence or past. Unfortunately, it isn't a very good edition, with an unreliable text and inaccurate notes, but the essay is still marvellous to read. Unfortunately, again, it reminds us that what Wilde wrote is much better than anything written about him.

So this, too, is a pleasant if rather unsatisfactory book.

AF

For Anarchism: History, Theory and Practice

edited by David Goodway

Routledge, £30 and £12.95

THE History Workshop movement which began at Ruskin College, Oxford, more than twenty years ago has always been predominantly Marxist (and also increasingly feminist), but it has occasionally given some time to anarchist topics. David Goodway, who has long been involved in the movement, founded the Anarchist Research Group in 1984 and has organised anarchist sections at the annual History Workshops since 1985. *For Anarchism*, the first book in the Routledge History Workshop series which has emerged from this development, is an

expensive collection of ten essays based on papers given at the Leeds meetings in 1985 and 1986.

The book is as varied as a History Workshop programme or current research into anarchism in general. It is divided into three parts, though they overlap to some extent. Under History, Carl Levy surveys the Italian movement from its beginnings to its suppression by Mussolini, and Nick Rider describes the Barcelona rent strike of 1931. Under Theory, Daniel Guerin repeats his call for a synthesis of anarchism and Marxism, Peter Marshall discusses anarchist ideas about human nature, Robert Graham discusses anarchist ideas about contract, and Alan Carter proposes an anarchist theory of history. Under Practice, Geoffrey Ostergaard describes the post-Gandhian movement in India, Michael Smith describes Kropotkin's educational ideas, Tom Cahill relates the new co-operative movement to anarchism, and Murray Bookchin repeats his libertarian analysis of the new social movements.

Everyone will find something unfamiliar and interesting somewhere, and there is much good material here, but it isn't all good. Levy's paper is a long (50 pages) but inevitably compressed account of a national movement over half a century, and it has some odd features — such as repeated references to Malatesta as 'the leader' (*duce?*) of the movement and even to 'the anarchists under Malatesta', which would have shocked him as much as us. Rider's paper is convincing in its detailed narrative but not so much in its general comments. Guerin is, as always, stirring but not persuasive. Marshall's paper is credible so long as one accepts the assumption that Godwin, Stirner and Kropotkin are representative anarchists. Graham's paper is similarly credible so long as one accepts that Godwin and Proudhon are representative anarchists. Carter's paper is not so much a statement of an anarchist theory of history as a critique of the Marxist one. Ostergaard's fascinating paper will already be familiar to readers of *The Raven 2*, where it appeared two years ago, though there is no indication of the fact. Smith's paper is a timely reminder of the continuing relevance of anarchist ideas about education, but it is rather restricted in scope. Cahill's paper is similarly a timely reminder of the continuing relevance of co-operatives to anarchism, but it is rather dismissive of the old movement. And Bookchin is, as always, long on rhetoric and short on analysis.

Goodway has edited the book so that it reflects the variety of current concerns in anarchist research (though the theoretical contributions are distinctly less impressive than the historical or practical ones), and also so that the style and accuracy are rather better than usual in

anarchist (or any) academic work nowadays (though the striking cover illustration has not been credited to the artist, Carlo Carrà).

Goodway has also provided a long introduction which discusses not just the book but the whole field of anarchist thinking in the English-speaking world. This is certainly challenging but frequently challengeable. He is fond of unnecessarily and sometimes absurdly dogmatic remarks; he exaggerates the novelty and significance of recent developments in anarchist thinking and research; he exaggerates the defects of traditional anarchist historiography and the virtues of populist social history; he is unfortunately prone to revive the cult of personality, which did so much damage to Kropotkin and other figures of the past, for such figures of the present as Colin Ward and Murray Bookchin. Some of his statements are very odd — such as the claim that Freedom Press produced no 'journal of ideas' between *Anarchy* in 1971 and *The Raven* in 1987, when the *Freedom Anarchist Review* appeared every fortnight from 1975 to 1982. Finally, he implies that the title of the book is original (though it symbolically echoes similar titles of several Marxist books); but twenty years ago the French edition of my pamphlet *About Anarchism* was called — *Pour l'anarchisme*.

So this is a bit of a curate's egg. Parts of it are good, but parts are not so good, and it will be hard for most readers to distinguish between them — which is always a problem with collections of essays by different people on differing topics. But it is good to see anarchism taking its place at the History Workshops and now in the History Workshop series.

NW

Slaves by Choice

Etienne de La Boétie

Runnymede Books, Egham, paperback £3.95

ONE of the earliest libertarian classics is the *Discourse of Voluntary Servitude*, an essay written in the mid-sixteenth century by the French politician Etienne de La Boétie, who was the best friend of the great essayist Michel de Montaigne.

It is well known in the French-speaking world, and there have been many editions of it. The latest, which was published in Switzerland in 1987, was produced by Malcolm Smith, who teaches at the Royal Holloway & New Bedford College in Egham. It is little known in the English-speaking world, and until very recently there have been only two translations — a good one published in Britain in 1735, and a bad one published in the United States in 1942. An abridged version of the former was included in *Anarchy* 63 in 1966. Both later appeared in unsatisfac-

tory new editions in the United States — the former as *The Will to Bondage* (1974), and the latter as *The Politics of Obedience* (1975). However, a completely new translation by Malcolm Smith was published by his college in 1988 as *Slaves by Choice*.

There is a long introduction, concentrating on the author and the composition of the essay and virtually ignoring its later importance, and there are some notes and a bibliography — all more cursory than in the 1987 edition of the text, and none very satisfactory. There is a translation of Montaigne's essay *On Friendship*. And there is the translation of the best manuscript of La Boétie's essay, taking up only about one-third of the book. It is written in good current English, but it loses the confident elegance of the 1735 translation without gaining in fidelity to the original French, as indicated by the choice of title (a literal equivalent would be *Willing Slavery*). However, for anyone who simply wants an acceptable modern translation of the full text, this is now the cheapest and handiest edition.

NW

Anarchism and Ireland

Workers Solidarity Movement, Dublin, 90p

'ANARCHISM has no real history or tradition in Ireland', says the introduction to this pamphlet, which is intended as a short introduction to anarchism for Irish rather than British people — and one must give credit to the Workers Solidarity Movement, launched four years ago, for their achievement in building an activist organisation where none existed before.

They aim to 'convince as many as possible that the solution to the problems around us will not be found in electing a socialist government to the Dail or any other parliament', and set out the case for 'socialism from below', explaining the differences between anarchists and the (Irish) Workers Party (Marxist-Leninist), and anarchists and Sinn Fein, rejecting the idea of 'National liberation'.

The second half of the pamphlet is about anarchism in action, with reference to the Russian and Spanish revolutions, making it a good short outline for those Irish people who have not come across these ideas before. What would be of great interest to British readers would be the expansion of the section on 'The National Question' into a pamphlet on its own. There are other tantalising references to Irish history which are not expanded on. They mention that 'in the early 1920s creameries, farms, Cork harbour and Kilkenny gasworks were taken over and run as soviets'. I would have liked to know more about these events. I hope the foundation of the Workers Solidarity Movement is the start of a new chapter in Irish history.

CC

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