

FREEDOM

SEASONS'S
GREETINGS
TO ALL OUR
READERS

ANARCHIST MAGAZINE

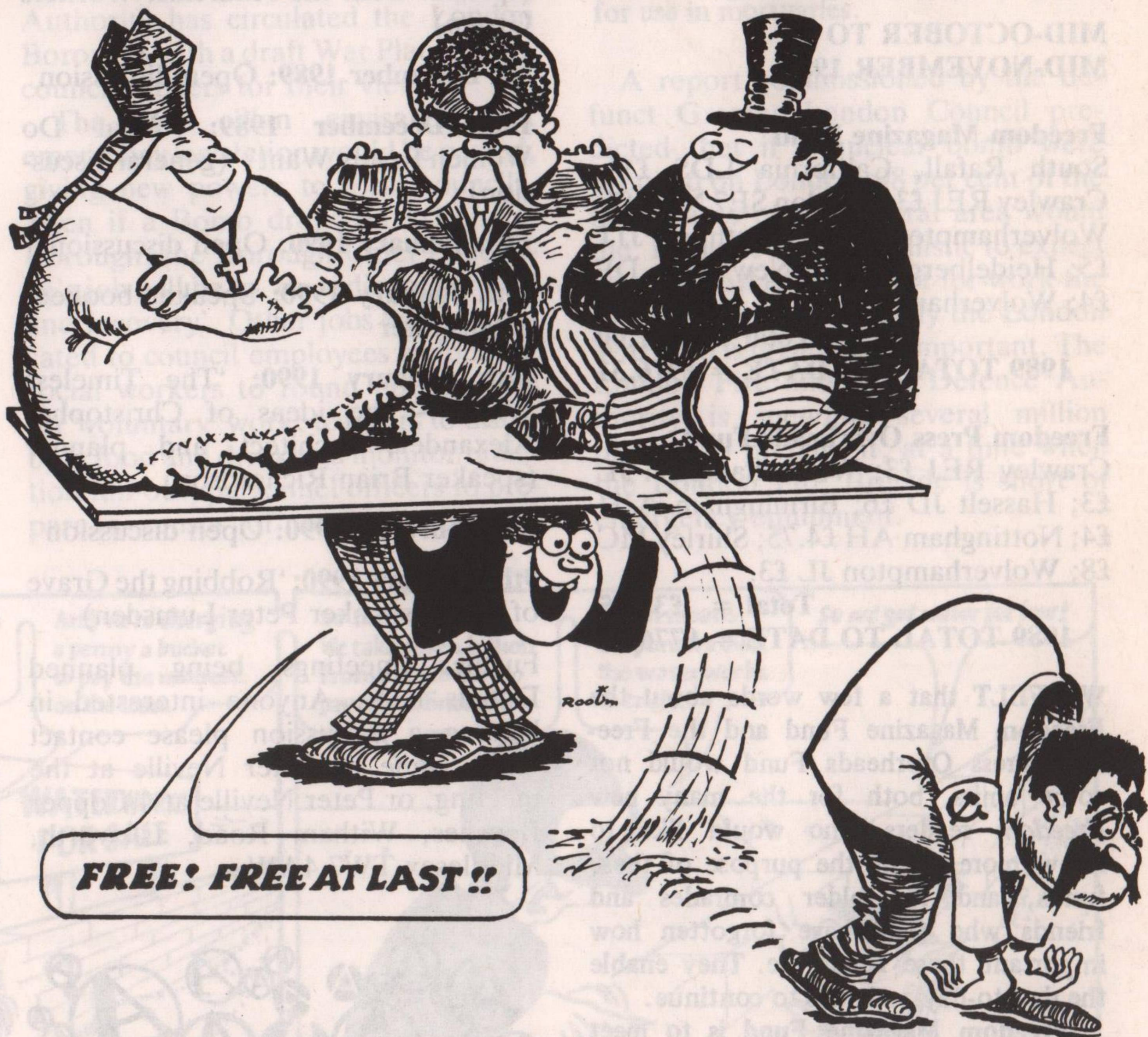
Volume 50 Number 12 December 1989 50p

MEGASTATE OF EUROPE?

THE pictures of East and West Berliners dancing round the Brandenburg Gate left hardly a dry eye in the house. When a microphone was thrust between a couple dancing on the wall the situation was summed up for many 'this is the end of World War Two'. Whether true or not, it certainly felt like it. Cheerful anarchy was in the air (ITN 3am news).

But where do we go from there, what will happen when the party is over and the authoritarian hangover lingers on? A United States of Europe seems a realistic possibility. Germany, a nation based on a federation of regions, could slowly fuse its identity, and the materialism of the Impossible Party of the west will suck the other culturally compatible eastern nations into the fold. The economic crisis of the West would be solved by the new markets of the deprived East, the debts incurred ensuring their future conformity *a la* Britannia. The queues would remain in Russia and everyone would be happy. NATO and the Warsaw Pact would swap toys and become the Euro Defence Union and everyone will deal in ECUs. (Or ECUDEs, european currency unit dollar equivalents, since Japan will actually pay for merging Europe but will have to pretend it is America. America will have to go along with this, although doing so will push it further into the paddy field, since it cannot yet admit to the loss of world supremacy).

How should anarchists view the possibility of a Euro Mega State? As I see it the horror of the prospect is tempered by more hope than is evident in the current arrangements. If Germany merges politically it will be on the basis of proportional representation, which would allow those in the east to retain their socialist or communist regional identity within the enlarged federation. The prospect of the former serfs of Stalin living in a more democratic regime



than that afforded to those still oppressed by the malignant mother of all parliaments would inevitably have a positive knock on effect throughout the enlarged EEC. Whatever the pace of change it is hardly likely that those nations undergoing change would opt for a system of feudal representative democratic monarchy, no matter how hard Hilda tried to handbag them into the British belief that this is what freedom is all about.

Paradoxically the move towards an enlarged european political community could provide a more direct route to regional and ethnic devolution than seeking the same ends within parochial nation states. This is the view expressed by Plaid Cymru and the Basques. Of

course it is still democracy, it is still authoritarian social structures, and it is not revolution. But it is evolution, and I believe this is the only means compatible with anarchist beliefs. Revolution after all involves not only sweeping away the rulers/bosses/capitalist/bureaucrats etc etc, but also those people who, however misguided, may wish to express their freedom in some form of slavery to those institutions. In the final analysis a belief in universal freedom is incompatible with classical revolution.

The evolution of a wider european culture, and eventually a global culture, will also paradoxically allow the diversity of regional cultures to flourish

continued on page 3

FREEDOM

anarchist magazine

volume 50 number 12

December 1989

published by

Freedom Press
(in Angel Alley)
84b Whitechapel High Street
London E1 7QX

ISSN 00 16 0504

typeset by

Mum's the Word

printed by

Aldgate Press
London E1 7QX

distributed to bookshops by

A Distribution

DONATIONS

MID-OCTOBER TO
MID-NOVEMBER 1989

Freedom Magazine Fund

South Rafall, California LDS £11;
Crawley REJ £3; London SE7 NSR £2;
Wolverhampton JL £2; Southport JJT
£5; Heidelberg RS £8; New York DF
£4; Wolverhampton JL £2.

Total = £37.00

1989 TOTAL TO DATE = £976.31

Freedom Press Overheads Fund

Crawley REJ £3; Wolverhampton JL
£3; Hasselt JD £6; Birmingham AJH
£4; Nottingham AH £4.75; Shirley MC
£8; Wolverhampton JL £3.

Total = £31.75

1989 TOTAL TO DATE = £776.99

WE FELT that a few words about the Freedom Magazine Fund and the Freedom Press Overheads Fund would not come amiss, both for the many new *Freedom* readers who would like to know more about the purpose of these funds, and for older comrades and friends who may have forgotten how important these funds are. They enable the day-to-day activities to continue.

Freedom Magazine Fund is to meet the deficit incurred when printing and postage costs exceed income and subscriptions (or if donations exceed the deficit, to expand the circulation by sending free copies to enquirers and others who may be interested, and perhaps advertising).

Freedom Press Overheads Fund is for rates, insurance, heating, telephone, advertising and all postal and other overheads incurred in running an office which deals with all mail orders, subscriptions to *Freedom* and *The Raven* as well as enquiries. None of these overheads are charged to either *Freedom* or the Bookshop. Aldgate Press the printers — another creation of the FFP — who have made such a success of the enterprise, share with Freedom Press the major items.

London Anarchist Forum

ANARCHIST FORUM: Fridays at 8pm, Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, Cosmo Street (off Southampton Row), London WC1.

10th November 1989: 'Summerhill and Libertarian Education' (speaker John Griffin)

17th November 1989: 'Self-Discipline and Anarcho-Pacifism' (speaker Marten Low)

24th November 1989: Open discussion

1st December 1989: 'The Role of the Anarchist Political Organisation' (speaker from the Anarchist Workers Group)

8th December 1989: Open discussion

15th December 1989: 'What Do Women Really Want?' (general discussion)

12th January 1990: Open discussion

19th January 1990: Speaker booked, details later

26th January 1990: 'The Timeless Way' — the ideas of Christopher Alexander, architect and planner (speaker Brian Richardson)

2nd February 1990: Open discussion

9th February 1990: 'Robbing the Grave of God' (speaker Peter Lumsden)

Further meetings being planned. Details later. Anyone interested in leading a discussion please contact Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meeting, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW.



RAVEN 8
ANARCHIST
QUARTERLY
ON REVOLUTION

112 pages

£2.50 post free

FREEDOM PRESS

84b Whitechapel High Street
London E1 7QX

ANARCHISTS AGAINST
THE POLL TAX
WEEKEND CONFERENCE!!!
ALL CLASS STRUGGLE
ANARCHISTS ARE
WELCOME!!!
IDEAS FOR WORKSHOPS
WELCOME!!!

Dayschool on 9th December at the Gatefield Social Club, 536 Abbeydale Road, Sheffield, 11am to 5pm.

Workshops include: Women and the Poll Tax, Left Groups and the Poll Tax, etc.

There will be an opportunity to swap information, ideas and tactics.

On Sunday, there will be a discussion on anarchist propaganda and the Poll Tax, hopefully resulting in the production of some good stuff.

Accommodation (floorspace mainly) can be provided — please let us know in advance.

More information can be obtained from the following address:

Class Struggle Anarchist
Network, c/o Black Star, PO Box
446, Sheffield S1 1NY

A group of the Anarchist Communist Federation is being set up in Tower Hamlets. If you are interested please contact ACF, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.



Freedom Bookshop Party

SATURDAY
16 DECEMBER
12noon to 6pm

Bring a bottle if you can afford
one, if not come anyway.



MEGASTATE?

continued from front cover

as progressive devolution towards regional and local autonomy is pursued. A thin matrix of global culture is necessary if we are to solve the environmental problem. It need be no more than is necessary to address the survival needs of the planet. Within the framework of natural limitations, those factors both capitalism and communism/socialism have difficulty accepting, freedom would be possible.

Of course that freedom would require definition. It is in this area that I see the greatest danger in German reunification. An anecdote will illustrate the process which will generate the danger. Some years after the Danes sensibly abolished censorship the Germans observed that the world had not come to an end, indeed, as far as the Danes were concerned, it seemed to be moving along a little better. The Germans decided to move in the same direction. Pornography, they declare ist nicht anymore verboten. What, some citizens asked, is pornography? So pornography was thoroughly and methodically defined. Some months later a publisher was arrested for publishing pictures of people doing something with each other which was not, according to the thorough and methodical definition, pornography and was

therefore clearly against the law. For some time in Germany there was pornography, available at the corner shop, and *pornography*, available under the counter.

The danger is that in welcoming those from the East to our smug affront of freedom, that freedom will be defined. And like pornography, once defined anything outside the definition, that is real freedom, will become proscribed and therefore as meaningless as it is now in the states of Europe. Rela-

tive freedom may be preferable to those deprived of its relative advantages; but true freedom is an absolute tempered only by responsibility in its use. We should welcome those coming through the holes in the wall with the news that if they really want freedom the west is only a transit camp. Our surviving political vehicles stalled short of the goal of freedom some two hundred years ago. Welcome, comrades, perhaps you could give us a push start?

Colin Johnson

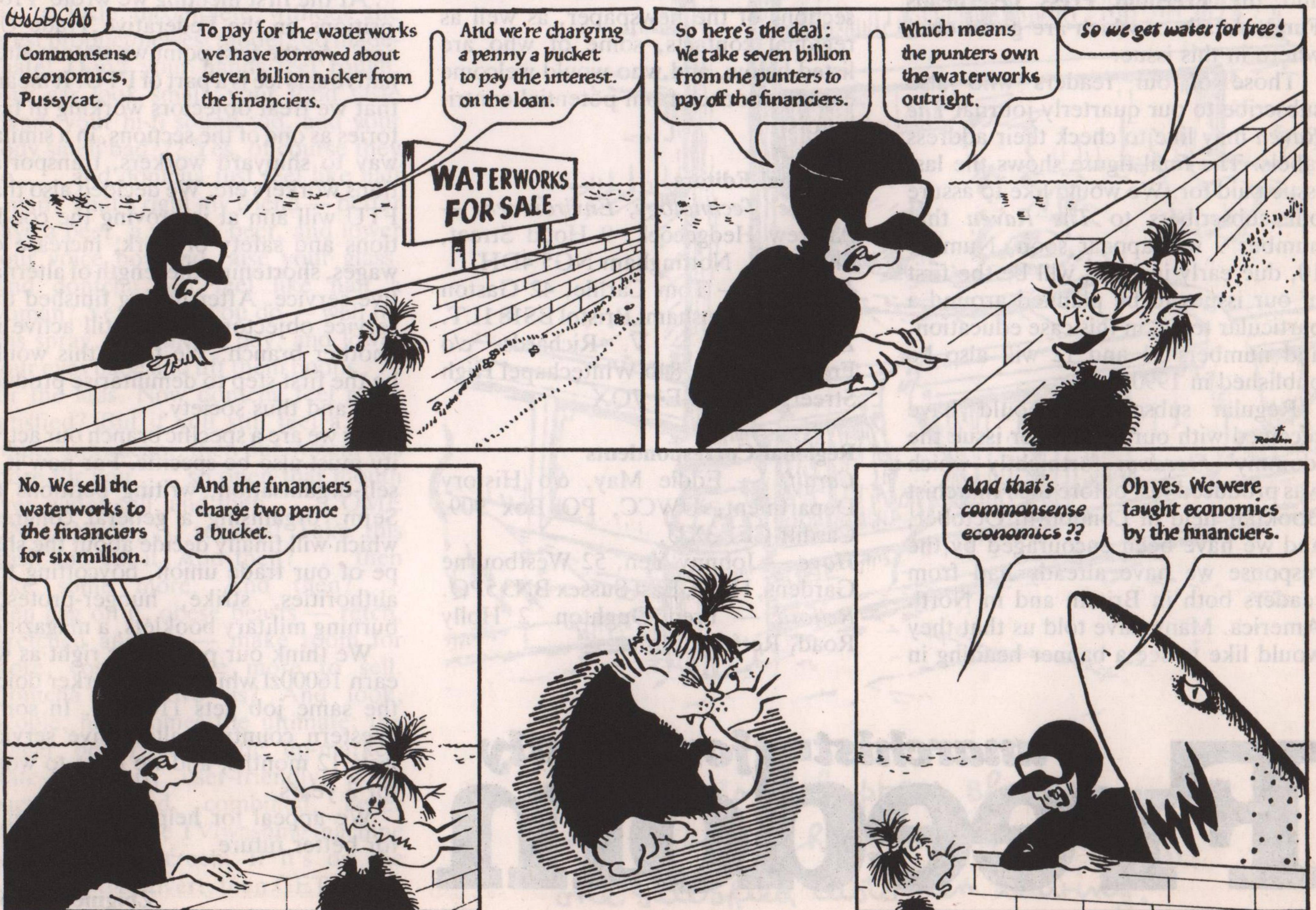
When the bomb drops

THE Cold War may be ending, but preparation for nuclear attack continues. The London Fire and Civil Defence Authority has circulated the London Boroughs with a draft War Plan, asking council officers for their views.

The War Plan envisages that emergency legislation would be passed, giving new powers to local councils. Then if a Bomb drops on a London Borough, the Borough Chief Executive's job will be to 'co-ordinate survival and recovery'. Other jobs will be allocated to council employees as follows: social workers to round up survivors for 'voluntary' work; teachers to distribute food and drink and monitor radiation fall-out; personnel officers to prepare a census of survivors; housing

officers to set up fallout shelters; builders to cordon off contaminated areas; refuse collectors to seize deep freezes for use in mortuaries.

A report commissioned by the defunct Greater London Council predicted that if a nuclear bomb were dropped on London, 98 per cent of the inhabitants of the central area would die. It seems a bit unrealistic to expect council workers to report for work the following day. But clearly the London War Plan is regarded as important. The London Fire and Civil Defence Authority is spending several million pounds to prepare it, at a time when the London Fire Brigade is short of emergency equipment.



anarchist fortnightly Freedom

The New Freedom

THE next issue of *Freedom* will be dated 13 January 1990, the first of the 'new look' fortnightly. We are hoping that it will be a co-operative effort by a large number of our friends and comrades. We welcome articles, letters, book reviews and relevant photographs (but please no poetry). We need more readers, and depend on comrades and friends introducing our paper to possible new readers. We will gladly send specimen copies to any address.

And of course we need money! As a start, with this issue of *Freedom* a large number of subscriptions are due for renewal. Reminders are included with this issue and early attention will help our finances as well as save us having to send further reminders. But we also need donations to our two funds, the **Freedom Magazine Fund** and the **Freedom Press Overheads Fund**, details of which are given elsewhere in this issue.

Those of our readers who also subscribe to our quarterly journal *The Raven* may like to check their address labels: The final figure shows the last issue paid for. We would like to assure our subscribers to *The Raven* that number 9 will appear soon. Number 10, due early in 1990, will be the first of our issues to be planned around a particular topic, in this case education, and numbers 11 and 12 will also be published in 1990.

Regular subscribers should have received with our November issue the 'dummy' *Freedom* fortnightly which was produced just before the Anarchist Bookfair held in London in October, and we have been encouraged by the response we have already had from readers both in Britain and in North America. Many have told us that they would like to see a banner heading in

the centre pages and that is what we intend, as well as improving the typography and layout. But most important of all is the contents of the paper.

With *Freedom* fortnightly we shall be looking for new readers who are not anarchists but who are on the left and are despairing of the political parties. If they are to make sense of anarchism we must show them that the anarchist approach to the day to day problems makes sense, and how it differs from the capitalist press as well as the various social democratic periodicals.

We intend the new paper to cover all the issues which affect people's daily lives — technology, the environment, industry, health, education, transport and so on, as well as covering the major international and national political news from an anarchist viewpoint. To do this we are building a team of editors who will be responsible for the various sections of the newspaper, as well as regional contacts, some of who are listed below, and who would welcome correspondence from potential contributors.

Sectional Editors

Science, Technology, Environment — Andrew Hedgecock, 9 Hood Street, Sherwood, Nottingham NG5 4DH.

Industrial — Tom Carlile, 42 Gaston Avenue, Keynsham, Bristol BS18 1LT.

Land Notes — V. Richards, c/o Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

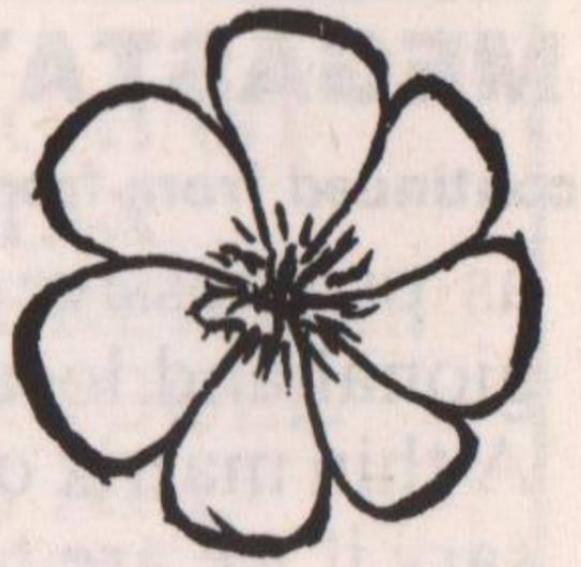
Regional Correspondents

Cardiff — Eddie May, c/o History Department, UWCC, PO Box 909, Cardiff CF1 3XU.

Hove — Johnny Yen, 52 Westbourne Gardens, Hove, East Sussex BN3 5PQ.

Retford — Fred Oughton, 2 Holly Road, Retford, Notts.

COs
Trade
Union



Polish conscientious objectors doing alternative service in factories, have started a trade union

IN JULY 1989 we founded together with our friends from Szczecin, the Federative Trade Union. Most co-founders of our union are in the alternative military service. We are convinced about the necessity of a trade union that would struggle for the welfare, shortening of the working time to 6 hours, and dignity of man and citizen. The only way to achieve this is strike, then each authority, including even the one which is at present shaping itself in our country, will have to reckon with the demands of the people. This includes the right to live in welfare and freedom. It is a stage to overtaking the means of production by society. Now, all factories are in the hands of elite, the state. This is going to change soon — ex-state functionaries, official trade unionists, Solidarity activists, individuals and corporations from the West will become the owners of the factories. They will constitute a new elite.

At the first meeting we wrote 'Propositions on the Federative Trade Union'. As the first point we stated: alternative service is a part of FTU. It means that we treat objectors working in factories as one of the sections, in a similar way to shipyard workers, transportations workers etc. We decided also that FTU will aim at improving the conditions and safety of work, increase of wages, shortening the length of alternative service. After having finished the service objectors can be still active in another branch. We think this would be the first step to demilitarise production and thus society.

As we are a specific branch our activity must also be specific. For now it is self-organisation, writing petitions to Sejm, organising a general congress which will finally decide about the shape of our trade union, boycotting the authorities, strike, hunger-protests, burning military booklets, a magazine.

We think our purpose is right as we earn 16000zl while a civil worker doing the same job gets 11000zl. In some Western countries alternative service lasts 12 months, and we have to work for 3 years.

We appeal for help in our struggle for better future.

For IOC FTU
Zbigniew Stybel

anarchist fortnightly Freedom

Hell, it's Christmas

CONSUME, consume, consume. It's that time of year again. Gaping mouths gape wider, gorging on consumer goods unlimited, devouring durables like they won't last, consuming commodities for the sake of it — fooled by the spectacle.

Yes, it's that time of year again. And if we consume like crazy during the rest of the year, then come Christmas we are positively possessed with purchasing power — credit card or cash. Bright lights and tinsel time. Tasteless, instant, ephemeral ecstasy. All in a strange way to celebrate the supposed birth of someone who, like many other sincere souls throughout the centuries, was later put to death for espousing the virtues of peace, equality and compassion. Odd indeed. And a tragic irony is that while some will be indulging in celebrations of greed, others will be starving in the humiliation of need.

But still we shall consume. We have access, let's go for excess — a grand orgy of gluttonous, glutinous guzzling. Open wide. Whether the food is fast and junk, rich in colouring and chemicals, or pumped full of hormones till it's pulp, the adverts say we NEED it, needed it so baaaadly. Surely they wouldn't lie? Insidious seducers that they are with their messages: 'Yes people, you need this . . . dontcha just feel a little incomplete without the latest product/newest model? So inadequate! Don't your hands feel rough, your car look small, your food taste bland, your hi-fi sound sad, and your body smell bad??? Yes, of course they do . . . and dontcha just feel like half a man? That's right my friend — better have a beer, a macho beer, and lower your voice boy and raise your glass. And dontcha just feel like half a woman? Yeah, sure you do — well try this spray, six times a day, and lower your eyes babe and lift them boobs . . . for the lads. Now dontcha feel more satisfied? But if you still feel a little empty and vacant, then our system has more for you . . . so open that mouth even wider still, and then . . . COME ON DOWN . . . suckers! Take this trash and eat it. And then? . . . then take some more. And then? . . . then gag on it, obese beasts — retch, wretched animals — make room for more, cost we have more to sell. Dontcha just love us? And look, people, here comes the ultimate: the bigger, better, automatic, up-market, state-of-the-art, user-friendly, compact, unpacked, combined, never mind, two-in-one TV/washing machine — watch the screen. If it's on the screen, in the advert, then GET it. Get

the right attitude. You need the right image. Conform. IMAGE. Lift the image from the screen. Live a freeze-framed, cliched life my lovelies. You too can be a plastic doll, a headless hero, a psychotic sex symbol. Images.'

America the movie — England the video. We pay our money, and definitely pay a price, consumed as we are by consumer society, stripped of individuality, isolated in a crowd, merely surviving instead of living, unless . . .

In a corner of the room a television buzzes with inane chatter, helping the nation celebrate seasonal insanity.

The television changes picture and for a few minutes it ceases to be an opiate of irrelevance. It begins to serve a useful purpose. It shows images of Africa: a heavy heart — millions starving — dry bones — dusty land — emaciated bodies — cracked earth — empty skins — waterless country — sad eyes, hurt pride, bitter resignation. In a

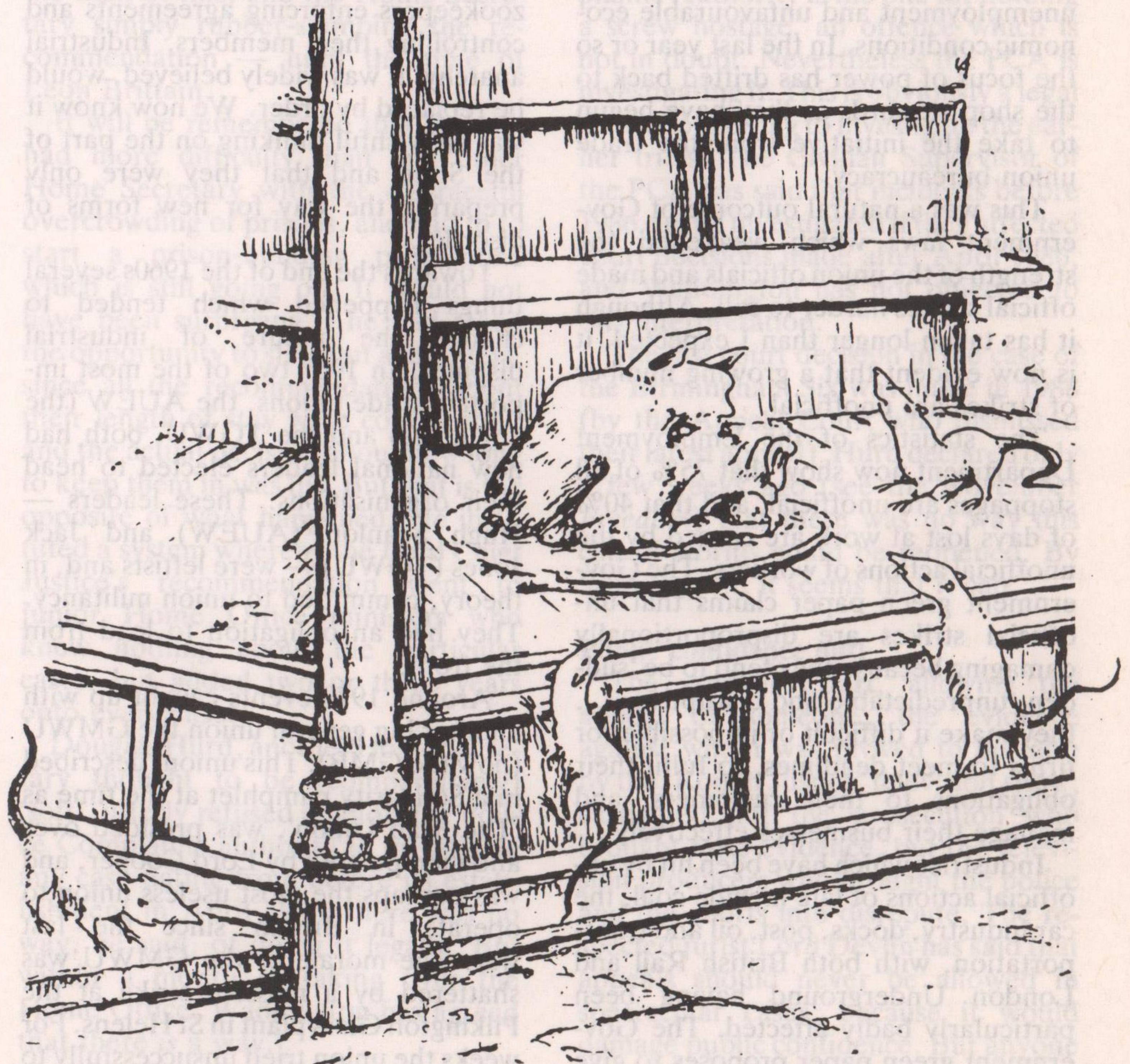
world of plenty the continent of our creation lies in want.

A light heart: in the distance an aircraft flies over, dropping supplies and provisions. In numerous eyes a glimmer of life replaces the weight of death. Hundreds rise to their feet and run eagerly towards the food. At the rear of the running mass, a boy slowly walks carrying a young sick child in his arms. In that life and death situation, in that rush for a few possible morsels of food, the starving boy still has the compassion to remember his brother, still has the tenderness not to leave his brother behind, and risks his own existence in the process. Now there is a lesson for the present world of plenty, a lesson for the greedy. That is an example that could do us all a favour. And that is a debt that deserves to be repaid — repaid perhaps with the wealth and technology that we've abused and been imprisoned by, when it could be used constructively and creatively where it is needed.

Now there's a future.

Ian Bell

TONY EARNSHAW'S VIEW FROM THE BACK OF TOWN



*Two window shoppers slavering,
one bargain hunter rummaging,
one satisfied customer leaving.*

The Wildcats Return

UNOFFICIAL action formed the typical strike when I ended my apprenticeship in the early 1960s. From after the last war until almost 1970, unofficial strikes (strikes without union backing) represented up to about 90% of all strikes.

I was reminded of this when I read the recent Government green paper 'Unofficial Action and the Law' about their plans to crack-down on 'wildcat strikes'. The problem which underlies all previous Government legislation on the unions, industrial action, and industrial relations is that its success in curbing trade union power at the top, and the cunning tactic of handing union decision making back to the members, has left the informal shopfloor organisation intact. Despite the clamp which Thatcherism has placed on the union leaders, the traditional trade union power base on the shopfloor and in the shopsteward's movement has until now remained relatively untouched by the law and has only been hampered by unemployment and unfavourable economic conditions. In the last year or so the focus of power has drifted back to the shop stewards as they have begun to take the initiative from the trade union bureaucracy.

This was a natural outcome of Government laws which weakened the strength of the union officials and made official strikes harder to call. Although it has taken longer than I expected, it is now evident that a growing number of strikes are unofficial.

The statistics of the Employment Department now show that 75% of all stoppages are unofficial, and that 40% of days lost at work are caused by the unofficial actions of workers. The Government green paper claims that unofficial strikes are disproportionately damaging because they tend to be 'sudden, unpredictable and disruptive . . . they make it difficult or impossible for firms to meet deadlines, to fulfil their obligations to their customers, and manage their businesses effectively'.

Industries which have been hit by unofficial actions of late include coal, the car industry, docks, post, oil and transportation, with both British Rail and London Underground having been particularly badly affected. The Government green paper proposes to give the bosses the legal right to sack wildcat strike leaders, and to force unions either to repudiate unofficial strikes or to hold a strike ballot. Many commentators are doubtful as to if such legislation can successfully clobber unofficial strikes.

A history of strikes

What we need to consider is the recent history of the unofficial stoppage — its decline and its resurrection as a tool of shopfloor power.

Throughout the 1940s, '50s and '60s the unofficial strike was the characteristic British strike (see article on 'Unofficial Strikes and Syndicalism' by Phillip Sansom in *Freedom*, February 1949*). Such strikes were usually small, of short duration and mostly spontaneous. They were often successful in getting results and suited the unions because no strike pay was required.

The key figure in most industrial struggles was the shop steward rather than the union official. This stimulated the Labour Government in the 1960s to set up an inquiry (the Donovan Report) which made proposals about how the centre of trade union power may be shifted from the shopfloor to the union office, from the steward to the 'responsible union boss'. The hope was that the union bosses would act as zookeepers enforcing agreements and controlling their members. Industrial anarchy, it was widely believed, would be replaced by order. We now know it was all wishful thinking on the part of the State and that they were only preparing the way for new forms of disorder.

Towards the end of the 1960s several things happened which tended to change the nature of industrial disputes. In 1967 two of the most important trade unions, the AUEW (the engineers) and the TGWU, both had new national leaders elected to head their organisations. These leaders — Hugh Scanlon (AUEW) and Jack Jones (TGWU) — were leftists and, in theory, committed to union militancy. They had an obligation to lead from the front.

Around 1970 events caught up with another big general union the GMWU (now the GMB). This union, described in a Solidarity pamphlet at the time as 'The Scab Union', was presided over and manipulated by Lord Cooper, and was perhaps the most useless union to operate in Britain since the last war. The morale of the GMWU was shattered by a massive strike at the Pilkington Glass plant in St Helens. For weeks the union tried unsuccessfully to break a huge unofficial strike by its own members. This led to a serious attempt by the striking glass workers to form a breakaway union. This strike had a deep psychological impact on all unions and the message sank in that British trade unions could no longer be in-

different during strikes by their members.

Changes in style by the Wilson and Heath Governments accelerated the trade union trends in the late 1960s and early '70s. Greater Government interference, legislation on incomes (wage freezes, etc.) and incorporation of union chiefs into State decision making all helped to shift power to the union head officials. Strikes became bigger and national disputes dominated the 1970s. This was the age of the all powerful union boss. The so-called political strike replaced the wildcat strike in newspaper demonology. And the high profile union baron wielding industrial muscle became the media arch-fiend, somewhat displacing the steward's committee — those tightly-knit bodies of faceless men in Harold Wilson's 1965 phraseology.

Frontiers of control

Although the Thatcher Government hasn't smashed the unions, her administration has deflated this myth of centralised union power. Legislation forcing unions to hold secret ballots before calling strikes and making union funds vulnerable to civil prosecution has made it harder for the union headquarters to whistle out their members without reference to the rank and file. Official strikes have thus become more cumbersome and complicated to mount, and the wildcat strike is again coming into vogue.

It is the realisation of this that has now led to the Government green paper on unofficial strikes. But attempts to outlaw unofficial strikes is rather like attempting to ban black markets, impose prohibition, or eradicate the oldest profession — a difficult task for any Government.

What we have been experiencing in the last half of the 20th century are shifts in the frontiers of control both on the shopfloor and within industrial society. Thatcherism, by putting a straightjacket on the union bureaucrats, has decentralised industrial struggle placing the frontline trenches back on the shopfloor.

The Government green paper plans to give bosses the right in law to victimise individual strikers, rather than have to sack all the strikers for contractual breach as is presently the case. Some bosses and journalists have warned that this practice could create martyrs and possibly lead to sympathy strikes widening the original dispute. The attempt to get unions to police their members, and repudiate un-

Home Office Crimes

Life sentences and police investigations

CABINET Ministers are obviously similar in having the ambition and resources to become Cabinet Ministers, but there are many ways in which they can have different personalities, and even among Ministers of the same party, different political ideas. Tory Home Secretaries probably have different personal attitudes about the appropriate treatment of citizens, the contradictory-sounding 'liberty of the subject'. However it is not easy to find out what their attitudes are.

Leon Brittain and Douglas Hurd are often assumed in media commentaries to be 'soft' in comparison with the present Home Secretary Peter Waddington, presumably because Brittain and Hurd have voted against the restoration of capital punishment, and Waddington for it, in the House of Commons. But the record seems to show Waddington as the 'softest' of the three.

Until the 1960s there was a mandatory death sentence for murder, pronounced by a solemn judge wearing a preposterous square of black material on top of his ridiculous wig. But in more than half the cases the sentence was subsequently commuted to one of 'life' imprisonment, which meant in some cases that the murderer was released after about four years. It seems that after the death sentence was passed, the sentencing judge would write privately to the Lord Chief Justice,

→ continued from page 6

official strikes by their members, may drive a further wedge between the union bureaucracy and the membership, leading to a less controllable workforce.

Yet, this switch in the industrial struggle back to the workshops and the stewards does not guarantee that this more decentralised form of conflict will bring a more direct demand for workers control of production. It may merely mean more demarcation disputes, more leap-frogging wage demands between different trades. Shopfloor solidarity, as all militants must recognise, is not easily accomplished in Britain. But it is something we must work for in a practical and realistic way.

Brian Bamford

* Included in the new Freedom Press publication *Neither Nationalisation Nor Privatisation: an anarchist approach* (£1.95 post free).

saying whether he thought the sentence should be carried out, and if not, how long the convict should be kept inside. The Lord Chief Justice then decided what to recommend to the Home Secretary, and the Home Secretary acted on the Lord Chief Justice's recommendation.

When the death sentence was abolished, the mandatory sentence for murder became 'life'. Recently there has been a proposal to have no mandatory sentence, but to allow the judge to pronounce a fixed term of imprisonment, so that 'life' might regain its fearful reputation as the longest possible sentence. In connection with this, the House of Lords has set up a Select Committee on life imprisonment, to ask civil servants and others how 'life' sentences are administered in fact.

The Select Committee has learned that a variation of the 'death' sentencing continued, with the trial judge giving a private opinion, the Lord Chief Justice making a recommendation in the light of this, and the Home Secretary simply rubber-stamping the recommendation — until the time of Leon Brittain.

It will be remembered that Brittain had more difficulty than any other Home Secretary with the disgraceful overcrowding of prisons, and had to start a prison-building programme which is still going on. It would not have been surprising if he had taken the opportunity to sling out a few lifers, since all the recommendations about their length of stay were confidential, and the actual decision about how long to keep them in was his. But that is the opposite of what happened. He instituted a system whereby the Lord Chief Justice's recommendation went to junior Home Office ministers who knew nothing about the particular cases, but added two or three years onto every case!

Douglas Hurd, another Home Secretary thought to be (comparatively) 'soft', utterly refused to allow the Police Complaints authority to investigate any case dating from before its establishment in April 1986; there was no way, he said, of doing it legally. But within a month of taking over the Home Office, Waddington has agreed that there *is* a way.

Foran case to be investigated

The case of Martin Foran has been energetically taken up by the Anarchist Black Cross group, as well as the lawyers' society Justice and the National Council for Civil Liberties. It has been mentioned in *Freedom* before,

several times. Foran was convicted of three robberies in 1977, protesting that the prosecution evidence consisted of fake confessions and identification by witnesses who had been told who to pick out (by members of the now discredited West Midlands serious crimes squad). One of the men robbed knew Foran personally and declared in public that he was not the robber, but this man was not called as a witness at the trial.

Making his point, Foran staged a hunger strike and a record-breaking, seven-week sit-down on the roof of Nottingham gaol. In 1984, a year after his release, he was convicted of another robbery, on an allegedly forged confession. In prison in 1986, he held a prison officer hostage for nine hours demanding medical attention (which he needed and got), and for this he was sentenced to an additional six years in 1987.

The only Foran trial which falls within the time remit of the Police Complaints Authority is the one for holding a screw hostage, an offence which is not in doubt. Nevertheless the PCA is investigating it. This is obviously a legal device for getting to investigate the earlier trials. The Civilian Supervisor of the PCA has said that incidents before 1986 can be investigated if they affected court decisions made after April 1986, and Waddington has not objected to this interpretation.

The last court decision in the case of the Birmingham Six was made in 1988 (by the Appeal Court who dismissed their latest appeal). Hurd declared only a few weeks ago (see the November *Freedom*) that there was no way this can of worms could be reopened. By Waddington, it seems that it can.

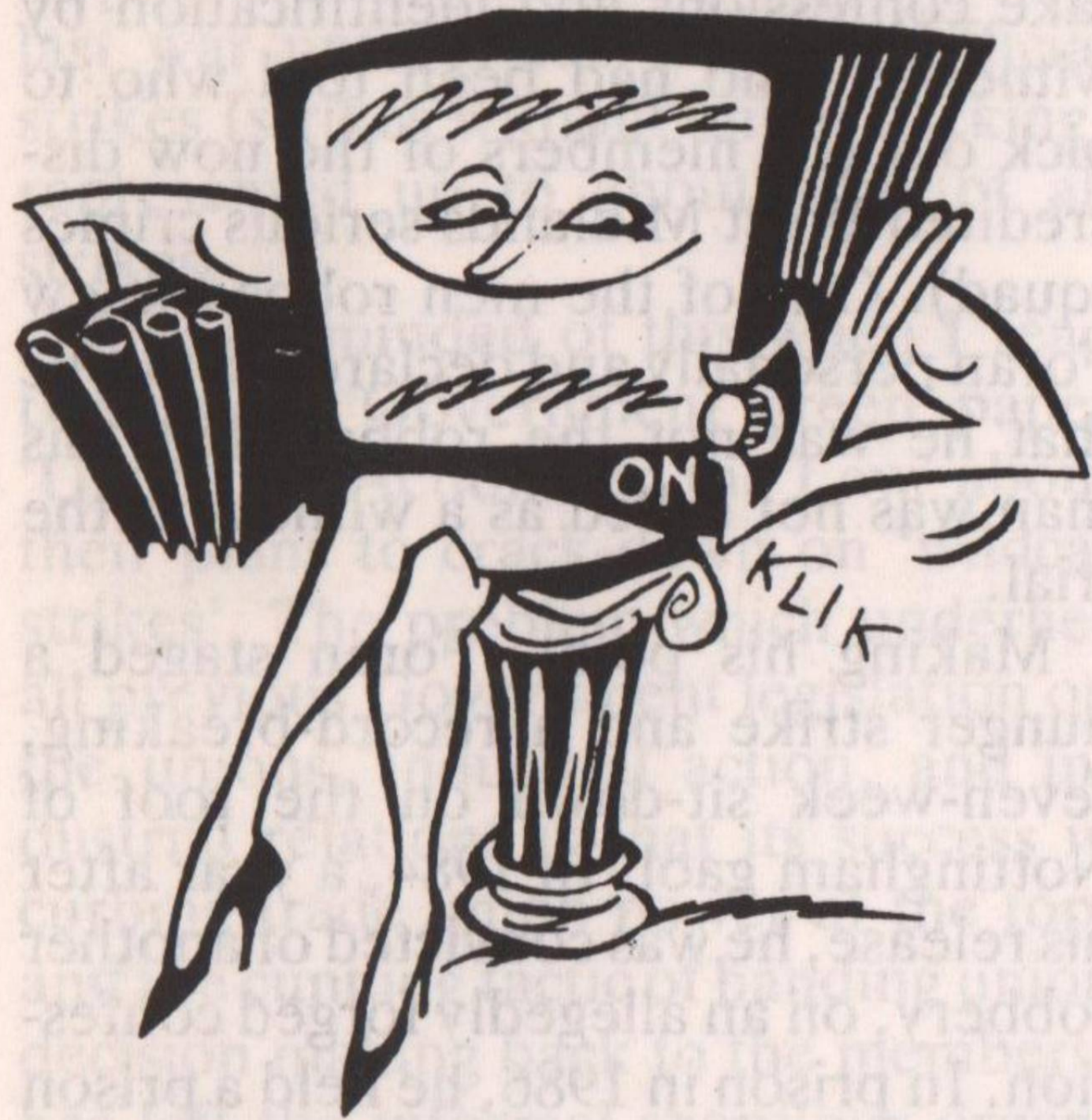
Public confidence out!

The Appeal Court, allowing the appeal of someone, the evidence against whom was proved to be false by the 'Rough Justice' television show, castigated not the prosecution who brought false evidence, but the television producers who brought the police and the courts into disrepute. The respected jurist Lord Devlin has said that appeals should never be allowed in spectacular cases, because it would damage public confidence. But anyone concerned for the 'liberty of the subject' must regard public confidence in the police and courts as a menace.

The price of (even comparative) freedom is eternal vigilance, and there is no incentive for vigilance if there is no suspicion.

DR

Feminists Against Censorship



A NEW group called Feminists Against Censorship has been formed for the purpose of fighting censorship whether advocated by the right or by the feminist groups. Feminists Against Censorship will offer an alternative feminist position in favour of eliminating constraints upon the production of sexually explicit material.

Feminists Against Censorship opposes legislation against pornography which would invest judges, the police and other established bodies with the power to impose more censorship. Feminism has always been committed to working for freedom and sexual self-determination for all women. To support censorship, as some feminist groups — notably the Campaign Against Pornography — have done, is a retrograde step and distracts attention from other more pressing feminist concerns.

Feminists Against Censorship supports the ready availability of sexually explicit material and open and safe communication around sexual matters. It objects to the reduction of all women's oppression to pornography.

Feminists Against Censorship includes feminist publishers, AIDS workers, lesbian and gay activists, sex workers and women active in civil liberties campaigns, women's refuges and the media.

Feminists Against Censorship will:

- lobby against repressive legislation;
- disseminate information on censorship and its dangers;
- monitor attacks on the freedom of the press and other media;
- encourage the production of sexually explicit material which is non-exploitative.

For further information contact:
**Feminists Against Censorship, c/o 38
Mount Pleasant, London WC1X 0AP.**

A Green Spectacle

IN RECENT months we have seen the unedifying spectacle of politicians of the left, right and centre and of the heads of industry private, state and multinational vying with each other to cover their nefarious activities with a 'Green' figleaf. They seek to persuade the rest of us consumers and electors that the vast political/military/ industrial complex they run has overnight become 'green', 'environmentally friendly'.

It appears that nuclear power is now okay since it doesn't produce CO₂ as a by-product. Cars are now 'environmentally friendly' since they can run on lead-free petrol. It is insinuated that if we merely switch to this or that 'green' product the whole western capitalist industrial show can go on as before and political programmes funded by economic growth can continue!

It is arguable that this development was prompted not out of any concern for the environment, let alone the human race, but by the 20% vote for the 'greens' in the June '89 European elections and the realisation that 'greenness' was a gift to the advertising industry needing a new angle to sell their products. Now we have Macdonalds taking full-page ads in *The Guardian* to assure us that they are not destroying the Brazilian rain forests, and *The Daily Telegraph* has appointed an 'Environmental Correspondent' who recently told his readers that they could be 'green' without the need to give up their cars.

Anarchists have for some time now been aware of ecological issues. The late Alan Albon wrote regularly on such themes in this journal. Writers such as Murray Bookchin were writing

articles in 1965¹ arguing that only an anarchist-type society based on decentralisation and appropriate technology could hope to be self sustaining, ecologically balanced and a rewarding environment for humans. Yet anarchists have also poured scorn on such ideas. Syndicalism in its traditional garb surely assumes the continuance of large scale, and therefore polluting industry. An article in *Freedom* in 1963 entitled 'Anarchist Economics' ridiculed those anarchists who took an ecological approach accusing them of ignoring problems of coordination and distribution within their vision of a 'green' economy: '... these problems do not exist for the more radical "back to nature" anarchists who would be too busy digging their own compost grown potatoes and weaving their own clothes, and at a more libertarian stage, rolling in the clover together to the accompaniment of folk songs to want to construct factories or railways...'²

Yet a 'green' vision of anarchism surely does not dismiss useful production of necessary goods in decentralised, worker-controlled/self-managed, clean, minimal waste producing factories, nor of efficient and clean transportation of goods and people by railway. The viewpoint expressed in that article is more in sympathy with George Orwell's views of anarchism which he stated implied 'a kind of primitivism'² than of an anarchism informed with a broad view of society and the world we now live in.

However, recent experiences of disasters such as Three Mile island, Chernobyl, the Alaskan oil disaster, aerosol damage to the ozone layer, the 'greenhouse effect', experience of local pollution, noise, bad housing, traffic, shoddy goods, hatred of 'work', knowledge of the wider world via the television screen, etc., have brought about an awareness of these and other problems and a shift in public opinion which 'our' anarchist propaganda has sought in vain to achieve for decades.

An awareness of such problems, however, is not the same thing as a significant growth in public knowledge of, or agreement with, anarchist ideas. To increase this awareness and our level of public support must remain our purpose, and now is the time to act! We need to assert our ideas in contrast to those of industry and the politicians with ever greater effectiveness.

JPS

1 *Ecology and Revolutionary Thought*, 1965.
2 *Selections from Freedom*, 1963, page 148.
3 *George Orwell: A Life* by Bernard Crick, page 343.



Freedom Press Bookshop

BOOKS IN STOCK JANUARY 1990

FREEDOM PRESS has been for the past 100 years publishers and distributors of the alternative social and political press. As well as *Freedom* monthly (founded 1886) and the new quarterly journal *The Raven* (1987), Freedom Press are publishers of more than thirty titles dealing not only with the philosophy of anarchism but with its practical application to the problems of modern society. Such titles as *Questioning Technology* by eminent American writers, *The Future of Technics and Civilization* by Lewis Mumford and *Anarchy in Action* by Colin Ward, address the problems of today and tomorrow.

Freedom Press Distributors are the European distributors of Black Rose Books of Montreal — publishers of authors such as Murray Bookchin and Noam Chomsky and a wide range of titles on sociological and political themes. Freedom Press Distributors are also distributors of the Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company of Chicago — the oldest independent labour publisher in the USA and founded, like Freedom Press, in 1886, publishers of the noted *Haymarket Scrapbook* and works supporting a libertarian and non-bureaucratic socialism. Freedom Press Distributors also distribute the titles of a number of small presses including Michael E. Coughlin of Minnesota, See Sharp Press of San Francisco, Elephant Editions, Hooligan Press and Rebel Press.

FREEDOM PRESS BOOKSHOP in Angel Alley
84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX. Telephone 01-247 9249. Open Monday to Friday 10.00am to 6.00pm, Saturday 10.00am to 4.00pm. Underground Aldgate East (Whitechapel Art Gallery exit), buses 25 and 253. Cheques accepted with a cheque card.

Prepaid orders by post

Inland: All Section 1 (FPD) titles supplied post free, other titles add 10% part postage and packing.

Overseas: All Section 1 (FPD) titles add 10%, other titles add 20% part postage and packing.

Periodicals: We are able to supply the periodicals in Section 3 subject to availability. Please add 20p postage *per copy* (except *Freedom* and *The Raven*) unless ordering with books. We regret that due to pressure of work we cannot handle subscriptions.

While every attempt will be made to supply titles at the published price, from time to time prices do go up (and even down) due to unavoidable circumstances, especially on imported titles.

Prices marked † indicate hardback.

Titles marked ★ — no specific author.

Trade terms available on titles from Section 1

Section 1: FPD Titles

| | | | |
|---|-------|---|--------|
| ABDEL-RAHIM, M. Strike Breaking in Essex (miners' pickets and police) | £2.50 | BLACK, B. The Abolition of Work | £0.60 |
| ADAMIC, Louis Dynamite: A Century of Class Violence in America 1830-1930 | £4.50 | BONANNO, Alfredo M. Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle | £0.50 |
| ADELMAN, W. Haymarket Revisited | £3.95 | From Riot to Insurrection | £1.00 |
| ALDRED, Guy. Pioneers of Anti-Parliamentarism | £0.50 | BOOKCHIN, Murray. The Limits of the City | £8.95 |
| Studies in Communism | £0.50 | The Modern Crisis | £8.95 |
| ALLEN, B. Germany East. Dissent and opposition | £8.95 | Post-Scarcity Anarchism | £8.95 |
| ALTGELD, John P. Reasons for Pardoning the Haymarket Anarchists (1893) | £2.50 | The Spanish Anarchists | †£8.95 |
| AMERINGER, O. Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam (political satire) | £2.75 | Remaking Society | £8.95 |
| ★The Angry Brigade 1967-84: documents and chronology | £1.20 | Towards an Ecological Society | £8.95 |
| ARDITTI, Rita (ed.) Science and Liberation | £5.95 | BRINTON, M. Authoritarian Conditioning, Sexual Repression and the Irrational in Politics | £1.50 |
| ARSHINOV, P. History of the Makhnovist Movement | £5.00 | The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control | £3.95 |
| AVRICH, P. Bakunin and Nechaev | £0.75 | BROMMEL, B. J. Eugene Debs: spokesman for labour and socialism | £4.50 |
| BABIN, R. The Nuclear Power Game | £8.95 | BROWN, G. Sabotage: a study in industrial conflict | £6.00 |
| BAKUNIN, M. God and the State (with introduction by Paul Avrigh) | £3.15 | BROWNE, L. When Freedom Was Lost: the Unemployed, the Agitator and the State | £8.95 |
| Marxism, Freedom and the State (edited with a biographical sketch by K. J. Kenafick) | £1.50 | BUFE, C. Listen Anarchist! (anarchist ethics) | £0.75 |
| On Anarchism (edited by Sam Dolgoff) | £9.95 | The Heretic's Handbook of Quotations | £7.95 |
| The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State | £0.30 | ★Cabaret 1980-88: an anthology of political buffoonery | £1.50 |
| BAY, C. and WALKER, C. Civil Disobedience, Theory and Practice | £2.95 | CARDAN, Paul (C. Castoriadis) History as Creation | £1.80 |
| BAYER, Osvaldo. Anarchism and Violence | £3.95 | Modern Capitalism and Revolution | £3.00 |
| BAXENDALE, L. The Encroachment (the usurpation of power) | £5.00 | Redefining Revolution | £1.00 |
| On Comedy: The Beano and Ideology | £5.00 | CARRINGTON, L. Down Below (surrealist, illustrated) | £3.50 |
| BEATON, L. Shifting Horizons (women in miners' strike) | £5.65 | CARWARDINE, W. H. The Pullman Strike | £2.95 |
| BENN, M. and WORPOLE, K. Death in the City (in police custody) | £3.95 | CERNY, Petr. Czechoslovakia 1968: What Socialism? What Human Face? | £1.50 |
| BERKMAN, Alexander. ABC of Anarchism | £2.00 | ★Ceylon: The JVP Uprising of April 1971 | £1.20 |
| The 'Anti-Climax' | £0.45 | ★China: The Revolution is dead — Long live the Revolution | £6.50 |
| The Russian Tragedy | £2.50 | CHOMSKY, Noam. After the Cataclysm: Post-war Indo-China and the Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology | £5.95 |
| What is Communist Anarchism | £3.00 | The Culture of Terrorism | £9.95 |
| BERNERI, Marie-Louise. Journey Through Utopia | £4.50 | The Fateful Triangle: Israel, the United States and the Palestinians | £8.95 |
| | | Language and Politics | £13.95 |

| | | | |
|---|--------|---|--------|
| CHOMSKY, Noam. On Power and Ideology | £8.95 | HARPER, Clifford. The Education of Desire (Illustrated) | £1.95 |
| Pirates and Emperors: international terrorism in the real world | £8.95 | HARRISON, Frank. The Modern State | £7.95 |
| Turning the Tide: the US and Latin America | £9.95 | ★Haymarket Heritage: The Memoirs of Irving S. Abrams (eds. Roediger and Bounes) | £6.95 |
| The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism | £7.95 | ★Haymarket Scrapbook (eds. D. Roediger and F. Rosemont) | £10.00 |
| CHRISTIE, Stuart. The Christie File | £4.50 | ★The Heretic's Guide to the Bible | £0.75 |
| Stefano della Chaie: Portrait of a Black Terrorist | £4.95 | HERMAN, E. S. The Real Terror Network: Terrorism in Fact and Propaganda | £8.95 |
| CHRISTIE, S. and MELTZER, A. The Floodgates of Anarchy | £3.95 | HEWITT, M (ed.) 1984 and After (trends in authoritarianism) | £8.95 |
| CLARK, J. The Anarchist Moment (on culture, nature and power) | £8.95 | HOLTERMAN, Thom. Law and Anarchism | £8.95 |
| Max Stirner's Egoism | £2.00 | HOME, S. The Assault on Culture: Utopian Currents from Lettrisme to Class War | £3.50 |
| COHEN, Y. Women and Counter-Power | £11.50 | HUCK, G. and KONOPACKI, M. Bye! American (150 US Labour Cartoons) | £5.50 |
| COUGHLIN, M. (ed.) Benjamin R. Tucker and the Champions of Liberty (a centenary anthology) | £5.50 | ★I, Claudia: feminism unveiled | £1.20 |
| COULTER, J. State of Siege (policing in miners' strike) | £3.50 | ★Ideal Home: survival edition (Alternative Housing Options) | £2.40 |
| DANA, C. Proudhon and his 'Bank of the People' | £3.50 | IGOR, Boy. And Yet It Moves (the realisation and suppression of science and technology) | £3.00 |
| DARROW, Clarence. Crime and Criminals (address to prisoners in Cook County Jail) | £1.50 | ★International Dockers' Struggles in the Eighties | £1.00 |
| DEBORD, Guy. Society of the Spectacle | £3.50 | ★IWW Songs — To Fan the Flames of Disenchantment | £1.75 |
| DEBRESSON, C. Understanding Technological Change | £10.95 | JACKSON, B. The Black Flag (Sacco & Vanzetti) | £2.95 |
| DE CLEYRE, Voltairine. The First Mayday: The Haymarket Speeches 1895-1910 | £2.40 | JONES. The Autobiography of Mother Jones (US labour organiser) | £4.75 |
| DION, R. Crimes of the Soviet Police | £6.95 | KAKU, M. and AXELROD, D. To Win a Nuclear War: The Pentagon's Secret War Plans | £10.50 |
| ★A D.I.Y. guide to the Liberation of Learning | £1.00 | KELLEY, F. The Autobiography of Florence Kelley (US labour organiser) | £5.50 |
| DOLGOFF, Sam. The Anarchist Collectives: Workers' Self-Management in Spain 1936-1939 | £7.95 | KERACHER, John. Wages and the Working Day | £1.00 |
| The Cuban Revolution | £5.95 | KNABB, K. Situationist International Anthology | £9.95 |
| ★Drugs | £0.30 | KOLLONTAI, Alexandra. The Workers' Opposition | £1.50 |
| ★Everything You Ever Wanted to Know About Anarchism But Were Afraid to Ask | £0.90 | KORNBLUH, Joyce. Rebel Voices (IWW anthology) | £12.50 |
| FABBRI, Luigi. Bourgeois Influences on Anarchism | £1.00 | KROPOTKIN, Peter Act For Yourselves! | £2.50 |
| ★Fighting the Revolution | | Anarchism and Anarchist Communism | £1.75 |
| 1. Zapata, Makhno and Durruti | £1.00 | Appeal to the Young | £1.75 |
| 2. Louise Michel and Peter Kropotkin | £1.20 | Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow | £4.00 |
| FLEMING, J. and WILSON, P. Semiotext USA (situationist, illustrated) | £10.00 | The Great French Revolution 1789-93 (2 vols) each | £3.95 |
| FLEMING, M. The Geography of Freedom | £9.95 | Memoirs of a Revolutionist (intro by George Woodcock) | £10.50 |
| ★France Goes Off the Rails (worker and student actions) | £1.00 | Mutual Aid (new edition) | £5.00 |
| ★Freedom: A Hundred Years, October 1886 to October 1986 (centenary edition) | £10.00 | Mutual Aid (introduction by George Woodcock) | £10.50 |
| FREEDOM PRESS CENTENARY SERIES | | The State: Its Historic Role | £1.75 |
| Vol 1 (Supp) Act for Yourselves: a selection of Kropotkin's articles in <i>Freedom</i> 1886-1907 | £2.50 | The Wage System | £0.25 |
| Vol 2 Selections from <i>Spain and the World</i> (forthcoming) (Supp) The May Days: Barcelona 1937 | £2.50 | KRUGER, Henrik. The Great Heroin Coup (drugs, intelligence and international fascism) | £7.95 |
| Vol 3 World War - Cold War: Selections from <i>War Commentary</i> 1939-1950 | £6.95 | LAFARGUE, Paul. The Right to be Lazy | £1.95 |
| (Supp) The Left and World War II: Selections from <i>War Commentary</i> 1939-43 | £1.95 | LAMB, David. Mutinies 1917-1920 | £1.50 |
| (Supp) British Imperialism and Palestine Crisis: Selections from <i>Freedom</i> 1938-48 | £1.95 | LANE, Joseph. An Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto | £0.80 |
| (Supp) Neither Nationalisation nor Privatisation: Selections from <i>Freedom</i> 1945-50 | £1.95 | ★Let's Sing in the National Interest (protest songs) | £0.50 |
| (Supp) Berneri, Marie Louise, Neither East nor West: Selected Writings 1939-48 | £4.50 | LEVAL, G. Collectives in the Spanish Revolution | £8.00 |
| Vol 4 Selections from <i>Freedom</i> 1951-1964 (forthcoming) | | LEYS, S. Broken Images: Essays on Chinese Culture and Politics | £4.50 |
| Vol 5 Ward, C. (ed), A Decade of Anarchy: Selections from <i>Anarchy</i> 1961-70 | £5.00 | The Chairman's New Clothes: Mao & the Cultural Revolution | £4.95 |
| Vol 6 Selections from <i>Freedom</i> 1965-1986 (forthcoming) | | ★Like a Summer With a Thousand Julys (the 1981 riots) | £1.50 |
| FREEMAN, J and LEVINE, K. Untying the Knot: Feminism, Anarchism and Organisation | £0.60 | LOOMIS, M. Alternative Americas (decentralism & anarchism) | £3.00 |
| ★From Beneath the Keyboard (stories and poems) | £2.00 | MACDONALD, O. Polish August: Documents of the Polish Workers' Rebellion | £3.00 |
| FUSFELD, D. The Rise and Repression of Radical Labor | £1.75 | MACLEAN, E. Between the Lines: How to Detect Bias and Propaganda in the News and Everyday Life | £10.95 |
| GILBERT, Amos. The Life of Thomas Skidmore (American revolutionary, 1790-1832) | £2.65 | MAILER, Phil. Portugal, the Impossible Revolution | £4.00 |
| GILPIN, T. On Strike for Respect: The Yale Strike 1984-5 | £3.50 | MALATESTA, Errico. Anarchy | £1.50 |
| GODWIN, W. The Anarchist Writings of William Godwin (ed. Marshall, P.) | £3.50 | Life and Ideas | £4.00 |
| GOLDMAN, Emma. Introduction to 'My Disillusionment in Russia' | £0.20 | MALRAUX, A. The Conquerors (Fiction) | £3.95 |
| GOMEZ CASAS, Juan. Anarchist Organisation: The History of the FAI | £10.95 | MARCY, Mary E. You Have No Country: workers' struggle against war | £2.95 |
| GORMAN, John. Lively as a Linnet: Selected poems | £1.00 | MARSHALL, P. William Blake: Visionary Anarchist | £2.00 |
| GRAFTON, Pete. You, You and You: People Out of Step with World War Two | £1.00 | MARSHALL, SCOTT and HUNTER. The Iran Contra Connection | £10.95 |
| GROSS, Bertram. Friendly Fascism: the new face of power in America | £9.95 | MARTIN, Brian. Uprooting War | £5.00 |
| GYORGY, A, and friends. No Nukes: Everyone's Guide to Nuclear Power | £7.95 | MASTIN, P. The Faction File (political cartoons) | £2.00 |
| HALDEMAN-JULIUS, E. The Meaning of Atheism | £0.75 | McKERCHER, W. Freedom and Authority | £9.95 |
| HALL, Covington. Dreams and Dynamite (poems) | £2.65 | METT, Ida. The Kronstadt Uprising | £1.50 |
| | | MICHEL, L. The Red Virgin: memoirs of Louise Michel | £6.00 |
| | | MILES, A. and FINN, G. Feminism: from pressure to politics | £10.95 |
| | | MITCHELL, H. L. Roll the Union On (a pictorial history of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union) | £5.50 |
| | | ★Moot Point (various issues debated by anarchists) | £1.00 |
| | | MORGAN, R. The Miners and Other Stories (fiction) | £3.00 |
| | | MOSELEY, Brian. Marxism versus Reality | £1.00 |
| | | MUMFORD, L. The Future of Technics and Civilisation | £3.50 |
| | | ★On the Poverty of Student Life | £0.75 |
| | | O'NEILL, C. Trapped in Spain | £6.00 |
| | | OPPENHEIMER, F. The State | £7.95 |
| | | PANNEKOEK, A. Workers' Councils: Parts 3 and 4 each | £0.50 |

| | | | |
|--|------------|--|--------|
| ★Paris May '68 | £1.50 | SPECTACULAR TIMES | |
| PARRY, R. The Bonnot Gang (French illegalists) | £4.95 | Animals | £0.90 |
| PATTON, C. Sex and Germs: The Politics of AIDS | £8.95 | Buffo! | £1.20 |
| PAZ, A. Durruti: the people armed | £7.95 | Cities of Illusion | £0.60 |
| PERLMAN, F. | | The Spectacle: A Skeleton Key | £0.60 |
| The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism | £0.99 | SPRING, Joel. A Primer of Libertarian Education | £5.95 |
| The Reproduction of Daily Life | £0.75 | ★Squatting in West Berlin | £2.00 |
| PIKE, D. Anarcho-Pacifism: Questions and Answers | £1.40 | ★Strange Victories: the anti-nuclear movement in the | |
| POTTER, Bob. Vietnam — Whose Victory? | £1.00 | US and Europe | £1.95 |
| ★Printers Playtime (the press barons and new technology) | £0.90 | STRONG, A-L. I Change Worlds (the life of radical | |
| PYM, Denis. The Employment Question and other essays | £2.00 | journalist Anna-Louise Strong) | £4.95 |
| ★Questioning Technology: a critical anthology (eds John | | SUTCLIFFE, L. Let Them Eat Coal (DHSS politics in the | |
| Zerzan and Alice Carnes) | £5.00 | miners' strike) | £1.95 |
| ★Quiet Rumours: an anarcho-feminist anthology | £1.80 | TEFLON, Z. A Manual of Pirate Radio | £1.00 |
| RABOY, M. and BRUCK, P. (eds) | | TELLEZ, Antonio. Sabate: Guerrilla Extraordinary | £2.95 |
| Communication: for and against democracy | £10.95 | THOMAS, Edith. Louise Michel | £7.95 |
| ★Radio is my Bomb (DIY manual for pirates) | £2.40 | THOMPSON, Fred W. | |
| ★The Raven: Volume 1 with index | †£18.00 | The IWW: First 70 Years 1905-1975 | £4.00 |
| REEVE, A. Notes from a Waiting Room: anatomy | | Joe Hill, IWW Songwriter | £1.50 |
| of a political prisoner | £1.20 | TODD, Nigel. Roses and Revolutionists: Clousden Hill | |
| REICH, W. Sexpol: Essays 1929-34 | †£12.00 | Free Communist and Co-operative Colony 1894-1902 | £2.79 |
| ★The Retort, 1942-51 (edited by Holley R. Cantine jr, | | ★Towards a Citizens Militia: anarchist alternatives to | |
| Match Historic Reprint series) | £1.50 | NATO and the Warsaw Pact | £1.50 |
| ★Revolutionary Self-Theory: a beginner's manual | £1.00 | TRAVEN, B. To the Honourable Miss S, and other stories | £4.00 |
| RICHARDS, Vernon. | | VANEIGEM, Raoul. | |
| The Impossibilities of Social Democracy | £2.00 | The Revolution of Everyday Life | £4.50 |
| Lessons of the Spanish Revolution (3rd edition) | £4.00 | ★Very Nice Work If You Can Get It: the socially | |
| Protest Without Illusions | £3.00 | useful production debate | £4.95 |
| RIEBE, Ernest. Mr Block (24 IWW cartoons) | £3.50 | WALKER, Martin. | |
| ROCKER, Rudolf. | | A Turn of the Screw (aftermath of miners' strike) | £3.95 |
| Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism (with a new | | With Extreme Prejudice: an investigation of police | |
| introduction by Nicolas Walter) | £1.25 | vigilantism in Manchester | £3.50 |
| Anarcho-Syndicalism | £2.50 | WARD, Colin. | |
| Nationalism and Culture | †£15.00 | Anarchy in Action | £3.00 |
| ROOUM, Donald. | | The Crisis of Socialism | £0.50 |
| Wildcat Anarchist Comics | £1.50 | A Decade of Anarchy (selections from Anarchy 1961-70) | £5.00 |
| Wildcat Strikes Again | £1.95 | Housing: An Anarchist Approach | £2.25 |
| ROSEMONT, F. (ed). Arsenal: Surrealist Subversion | £8.95 | Utopia (dreams of the good life) | £1.50 |
| ROUSSOPOULOS, D. (ed). | | WESCHLER, L. Solidarity: Poland in the Season | |
| The Anarchist Papers I (essays by prominent anarchists) | £6.95 | of its Passions | †£9.95 |
| The Anarchist Papers II (essays by prominent anarchists) | £7.95 | WHEELER, A. M. The Roads They Made (women in | |
| The Coming of World War Three Vol 1 | £8.95 | Illinois history) | £4.75 |
| The Coming of World War Three Vol 2 | £8.95 | ★Why Work? Arguments for the Leisure Society | £3.50 |
| The Radical Papers (1) and (2): alternative views | | WILDE, Oscar. The Soul of Man Under Socialism | £2.50 |
| on current affairs | each £7.95 | WILLIS, Liz. Women in the Spanish Revolution | £0.45 |
| The Radical Papers (2) | £6.95 | WITHAM, J. Hearts and Minds (women in miners' strike) | £4.95 |
| SALUSBURY, M. Thatcherism Goes to College: The | | WOODCOCK, George. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon | £8.95 |
| Conservative Assault on Higher Education | £4.95 | Aphra Benn: the English Sappho | £9.95 |
| SARGENT, L (ed). Women and Revolution: The | | Oscar Wilde: the double image | £9.95 |
| Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism | £7.95 | ★World Inequality: Origins and Perspectives of the World | |
| SAUNDERS, J. Across Frontiers: International Support | | System (ed I. Wallerstein) | £4.50 |
| for the Miners' Strike | £6.95 | ★Written in Flames (naming the British ruling class) | £1.50 |
| SHOR, I. Critical Teaching and Everyday Life | £6.95 | ★A Year of Our Lives: Hatfield Main, a colliery in the great | |
| SIMON, Henri. Poland 1980-1982 | £3.50 | coal strike | £2.40 |
| SINCLAIR, U. The Flivver King (a story of Ford-America) | £5.50 | ★You Can't Blow Up a Social Relationship: the anarchist | |
| SOLANIS, V. SCUM Manifesto | £0.75 | case against terrorism | £1.00 |
| SOUCHY, A. et al. The May Days: Barcelona 1937 | £2.50 | ZERZAN, J. Elements of Refusal (essays on power and | |
| | | domination) | †£5.95 |

Section 2: Other Titles

| | | | |
|--|---------|---|---------|
| ★Anarchism and Feminism: Women Workers and TUs | £0.35 | More Joy of Sex | £4.95 |
| ★Anarchism and Ireland | £0.90 | Tetrarch (fantasy) | £4.99 |
| ★The Anarchist Reader (ed. Woodcock) | £4.95 | CONSTANTINI, Flavio. The Art of Anarchy | £3.00 |
| AVRICH, Paul. | | CRICK, B. George Orwell: A Life | £6.95 |
| An American Anarchist (life of Voltairine de Cleyre) | †£25.50 | CROALL, J. Neill of Summerhill | £4.95 |
| Anarchist Portraits | †£17.95 | CROUCH, David and WARD, Colin. The Allotment: | |
| The Haymarket Tragedy | £6.25 | Its Landscape and Culture | †£13.95 |
| The Modern School Movement (anarchism and | | DE LIGT, B. The Conquest of Violence | £9.95 |
| education in the US) | £11.95 | DRINNON, Richard. Rebel in Paradise (biography | |
| BERKMAN, A. The Bolshevik Myth | £9.50 | of Emma Goldman) | £10.95 |
| BERTELL, R. No Immediate Danger: Prognosis for | | FERLINGHETTI, Lawrence. | |
| a Radioactive Earth | £5.95 | Endless Life (selected poems) | £5.65 |
| BLACK, B. The Abolition of Work and Other Essays | £5.95 | Pictures of the Gone World | £2.95 |
| BORKENAU, Franz. The Spanish Cockpit | £5.95 | FERNANDEZ, F. Cuba: The Anarchists and Liberty | £0.75 |
| BRAILSFORD, H. N. The Levellers and the English | | FISHMAN, William J. | |
| Revolution (2nd edition, 1983) | £6.95 | East End Jewish Radicals | £9.95 |
| BRENAN, Gerald. The Spanish Labyrinth | £11.95 | East End 1888 | £9.95 |
| BRETON, Andre. What is Surrealism? | £9.50 | The Streets of East London (illustrated) | £7.95 |
| BUHLE, P. et al (eds.) Free Spirits: Annals of the | | FONTENIS, G. Manifesto of Libertarian Communism | £0.60 |
| Insurgent Imagination | £5.95 | FOUCALT, M. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of | |
| CALDWELL, J. Come Dungeons Dark: The Life and | | the Prison | £6.95 |
| Times of Guy Aldred | £6.95 | FROMM, E. Fear of Freedom | £5.95 |
| COMFORT, Alex. | | GASCOYNE, D. A Short Survey of Surrealism | £5.95 |
| Authority and Delinquency | †£10.95 | GIBSON, I. The Assassination of Federico Garcia Lorca | £4.50 |

| | | | |
|---|------------|---|---------|
| GODWIN, William. Damon and Delia (ed. Peter Marshall) | ‡£14.95 | MORROW, F. Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain | £5.75 |
| Enquiry Concerning Political Justice | £6.95 | ★No Pasaran! Photographs and Posters of the Spanish Civil War | £5.95 |
| Caleb Williams, or Things As They Are | £4.95 | NEILL, A. S. Summerhill | £4.95 |
| GOLDMAN, Emma. Anarchism and Other Essays | £3.95 | NORDHOFF, C. Communistic Societies of the USA | £5.20 |
| Living My Life (autobiography, 2 vols.) | each £7.60 | OLIVER, Hermia. The International Anarchist Movement in Mid-Victorian London | ‡£19.95 |
| GOODMAN, Paul. A Message to the Military Industrial Complex | £0.50 | ★Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists | £1.50 |
| Hawkweed (poems) | £1.25 | OSTERGAARD, Geoffrey. Non-violent Revolution in India | ‡£19.95 |
| GOODWAY, D. (ed) For Anarchism: history, theory and practice | £12.95 | Resisting the Nation State | £0.45 |
| GRAHAM, M. Marxism and a Free Society | £0.50 | PAINE, Thomas. The Rights of Man | £3.50 |
| HA KI-RAK. History of Korean Anarchist Movement | £2.00 | PHILP, M. Godwin's Political Justice | £12.95 |
| HARPER, Clifford. Anarchy: A Graphic Guide | £5.95 | ★The Poll Tax (Anarchist Communist Federation) (Reprinting) | £0.30 |
| HASEK, V. The Good Soldier Svejk | £7.50 | PROUDHON, P.-J. General Idea of the Revolution in the 19th Century | £7.95 |
| HILL, Christopher. The World Turned Upside Down | £6.95 | PUENTE, I. Libertarian Communism | £0.75 |
| HOLLOWAY, Mark. Heavens on Earth | £4.95 | ★Red Years, Black Years: Anarchist Resistance to Fascism in Italy | £1.80 |
| HOLT, J. How Children Fail | £4.95 | RETY, J. A Song of Anarchy and other poems | £2.50 |
| How Children Learn | £4.95 | ROCKER, Rudolf. Anarcho-Syndicalism (with preface by Noam Chomsky) | £7.95 |
| HOPMAN, A. (ed) Digger Tracts 1649-50 | £2.00 | The Methods of Anarcho-Syndicalism | £0.50 |
| ILLICH, I. Deschooling Society | £3.50 | The Tragedy of Spain | £1.20 |
| Limits to Medicine | £3.95 | ROSEMONT, Franklin. Andre Breton and the First Principles of Surrealism | £6.00 |
| ★IWA: Principles, Aims and Statutes of the International Workers' Association | £0.50 | ROTHSTEIN, Andrew. The Soldiers' Strikes of 1919 | £3.95 |
| JOLL, James. The Anarchists (2nd edition) | £9.95 | SECRET, M. Salvador Dali, Surrealist Jester | £4.95 |
| KROPOTKIN, Peter. Memoirs of a Revolutionist (intro by Nicolas Walter, illustrated) | £8.95 | SHEPARD, O. (ed.). The Heart of Thoreau's Journals | £3.60 |
| Memoirs of a Revolutionist (abridged) | £6.95 | SHIPLEY, S. Club Life and Socialism in Mid-Victorian London | £3.50 |
| LE GUIN, Ursula. The Dispossessed (utopian fantasy) | £2.95 | SMITH, K. Free is Cheaper | ‡£7.95 |
| LONGMORE, C. The IWA Today | £0.50 | ★Spirit of Freedom: the war in Ireland | £1.00 |
| LOW, M. and BREA, J. Red Spanish Notebook (day-to-day picture of the revolution) | £5.50 | ★Squatters Handbook (9th edition) | £0.60 |
| MALET, M. Nestor Makhno in the Russian Civil War | ‡£35.00 | SZASZ, T. The Myth of Mental Illness | £3.50 |
| MARSHALL, Peter. Cuba Libre: Breaking the Chains? | £6.95 | TAYLOR, M. Community, Anarchy and Liberty | £8.50 |
| William Godwin | ‡£13.50 | THOMAS, Hugh. The Spanish Civil War | £8.95 |
| MASREEL, F. Passionate Journey: A Novel in 165 Woodcuts | £4.99 | THOREAU, Henry David. On the Duty of Civil Disobedience | £0.50 |
| MAXIMOFF, G. P. Programme of Anarcho-Syndicalism | £1.20 | Walden, and Civil Disobedience | £3.95 |
| Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution | £0.45 | THORPE, Dave. Doc Chaos: The Chernobyl Effect (illustrated fiction) | £2.50 |
| MELTZER, A. Anarchism: Arguments For and Against | £0.80 | TOMALIN, C. Life and Death of Mary Wollstonecraft | £5.95 |
| MELVILLE, A. and JOHNSON, C. Cured to death: the effects of prescription drugs | £2.50 | TRESSELL, R. The Ragged Trousered Philanthropist | £3.95 |
| Immunity Plus: How to Be Healthy in an Age of New Infections | £3.95 | VEYSEY, L. The Communal Experience (anarchist and mystical communities in twentieth century America) | £8.25 |
| MILLER, Martin A. Kropotkin | £6.95 | WALTER, Nicolas. The Anarchists of Chicago | £0.50 |
| MINTZ, Jerome R. The Anarchists of Casas Viejas | £8.75 | WARD, Colin. The Child in the Country | ‡£12.95 |
| MITCHELL, T. Dario Fo, People's Court Jester | £4.95 | When We Build Again | £4.50 |
| MOORE, A. Outrageous Tales From the Old Testament | £4.95 | WOLLSTONECRAFT, Mary. Vindication of the Rights of Woman | £3.50 |
| MOORE, J. Anarchy and Ecstasy: Visions of Halcyon Days | £2.00 | Mary, and the Wrongs of Woman | £2.75 |
| MORRIS, William. News From Nowhere (unabridged) | £5.95 | WOODCOCK, George. Anarchism | £6.95 |
| News From Nowhere (selected writings and designs) | £4.50 | A George Woodcock Reader (ed. Doug Fetherling) | £7.50 |
| William Morris's Socialist Diary (ed. Boos) | £3.50 | WINSTANLEY, G. Selected Writings | £6.00 |
| The Wood Beyond the World | £5.05 | YERRILL, P. and ROSSER, I. Revolutionary Unionism in Latin America: the FORA in Argentina | £1.50 |
| | | YOUNG, W. and KAISER, D. E. Postmortem: New Evidence in the Case of Sacco and Vanzetti | £8.50 |

Section 3: Periodicals

| | | | | | |
|---|-------------|-------|---|-------------|-------|
| ASYLUM For Democratic Psychiatry | Occasional | £0.75 | Federation) | Weekly | £0.75 |
| BLACK FLAG | Monthly | £0.30 | LIB ED (Magazine for the Liberation of Learning) | Quarterly | £0.75 |
| CLASS WAR | Monthly | £0.30 | OPEN ROAD (Vancouver) | Quarterly | £1.00 |
| DIRECT ACTION (Direct Action Movement) | Monthly | £0.30 | ORGANISE For Class Struggle Anarchism (Anarchist-Communist Federation) | Monthly | £0.30 |
| FIFTH ESTATE (Detroit) | Quarterly | £1.00 | OUR GENERATION (Toronto Anarchist Journal) | Biennial | £3.50 |
| FREEDOM (anarchist news and views) | Fortnightly | £0.50 | PEACE NEWS (For Nonviolent Revolution) | Fortnightly | £0.50 |
| GRAPEVINE | Quarterly | £0.70 | PROCESSED WORLD (Art and Technology mag —California) | Biennial | £2.00 |
| GREEN ANARCHIST | Quarterly | £0.50 | THE RAVEN (journal of anarchist thought) | Quarterly | £2.50 |
| GREEN LINE (Green Politics and Lifestyle) | Monthly | £0.60 | RESURGENCE (Radical Ecology Magazine) | Monthly | £2.40 |
| HERE AND NOW (Workers' Issues) | Occasional | £0.75 | RIVISTA ANARCHICA (Milan) | Monthly | £0.75 |
| INDEX ON CENSORSHIP | Monthly | £1.80 | SCRAM (Safe Energy Journal) | Monthly | £1.00 |
| INDUSTRIAL WORKER | Monthly | £0.30 | SOLIDARITY (Journal of Libertarian Socialism) | Quarterly | £0.80 |
| INSURRECTION | Quarterly | £1.00 | UMANITA NOVA (Italian Anarchist Federation) | Weekly | £0.70 |
| JEWISH SOCIALIST | Quarterly | £1.20 | VAGUE (Situationist) | Occasional | £3.50 |
| KICK IT OVER (Toronto) | Quarterly | £0.75 | | | |
| LE MONDE LIBERTAIRE (French Anarchist | | | | | |

Anarchism and the Environment

Debate at the Anarchist Bookfair, Conway Hall, 7 October 1989

THIS debate was the best supported fringe event of the day. Around fifty people went through the ritual preliminaries: for/against chairpersons (against) and smoking (against), before settling down to project a microcosm of the world environmental problem into the hall. There were too many people for an exploration of possibilities and we tended to squander irreplaceable resources (time and occasion). Statements were offered for acclaim or rejection, relying on shared assumptions in the absence of supportive evidence or critical questioning.

Worse followed. The insistent volatile interjection of demands for a chairperson (from a female who claimed she would otherwise not be heard) revealed the presence of socialists suffering authority deprivation. Fortunately anarchist sense prevailed and an outbreak of democracy was nipped in its repressive bud. However, the cost of this victory proved high. The meeting was condemned at frequent intervals — or were the other bits the intervals? — to the class analysis of the environmental problem (and everything else) in its many monotonous forms.

The repetitious outbreaks of class boredom gave an example of the problem of dogmatic belief in human affairs. Whatever their basis, all dogmas have a common strand — they are locked in the past. The global environmental problem is a dynamic result of the effects of many aspects of past human belief. The solution, the transition from terminal to sustainable ways of living, will not be found in those cosily familiar historic roles or circumstances of the past. That they are favoured as shelter by so many, including Grunhilda Thatcher, naive socialists, and those earnest (part time) class warriors so reminiscent of the buffers who re-enact the Battle of Waterloo with toy soldiers, should give the game away. They and their beliefs are at best irrelevant, at worst an active part of the problem.

The 'environmental problem' is this: we need to create a sustainable future for the planet as a whole. Anarchism has much to offer as a suitable political philosophy for the future; but comrades, here we were with socialists (I should be free to do what I want and you should be free to deal with the consequences) and class bores (I don't want to think, I *know* it's the boss class's fault — whatever it is), so, trapped in the past, we had little chance to address the future.

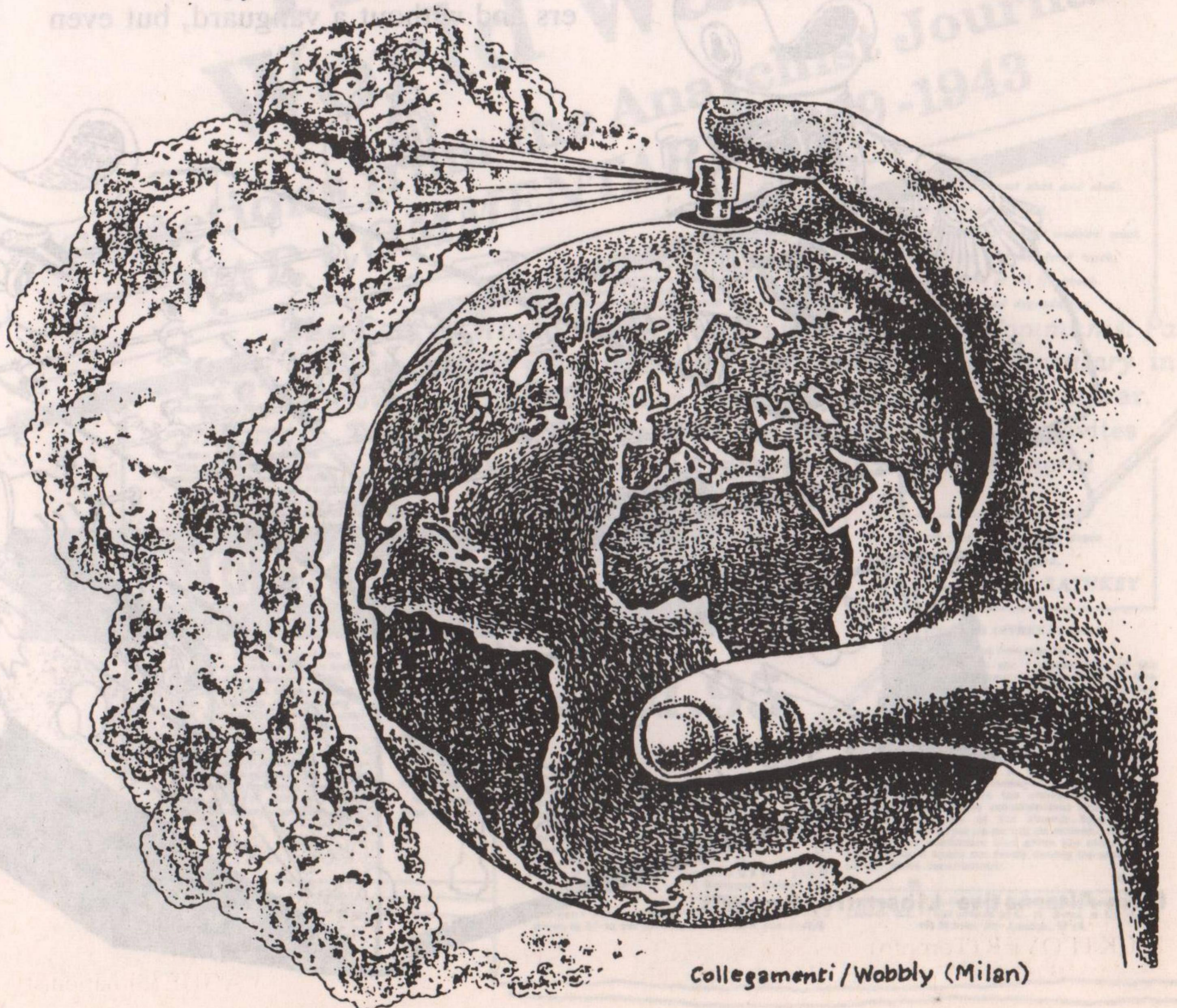
What, as they say, were the lessons of this piece of wet Saturday afternoon history? Little was learned about the environment, but much could be observed about humanity, and perhaps there was one valuable lesson for the future. We have to accept that, just like Lorentz's ducklings, humans are very susceptible to imprinting. Whatever their claimed dynamics, whether Conservative, radical or revolutionary, paradigms are sucked up from the past and, without recourse to reason, the grey past is perpetuated by the attempt to apply inappropriate answers to the present. Even if their historical mindset was appropriate to the problems, its application would fail because 'now' too rapidly becomes 'then'. To be serious about influencing events you have to get ahead, beyond the point of current commitment, to a situation where a different future can be created. A mindset solid as a brick and set firmly in the past is not much use for this.

So there we were, beating our heads, or having them beaten, against the old weathered walls of politics past. A streak of anarchism within me cried to demolish them as irrelevant, but at the same time green philosophy demanded that, no matter how irrelevant, these expressions of diversity should be encouraged (well, not discouraged) to survive. Why did philosophy prevail? Because if we are to succeed in the future we have to allow for the past and those who may be stuck in it.

A sustainable way of life within a stable (not static) environment in the future will require that much of the past is junked and left behind. Some things, like 'capitalism', 'class' and other features of the repressive dynamic of the present we may all agree should be junked. But not everyone will subscribe to the same list. Much which may seem inappropriate may be carried along. Like old bricks from a once solid wall, space will have to be provided in the green matrix of the future for much of human thought and invention of the past — even for that which directly opposes much of the future green ethic.

To deny this proposition would be a basic denial of freedom. And while those who demand freedom should also accept an equally unrestricted responsibility, there is little hope that those who are not responsible enough to become anarchists will ever be free enough to be responsible. Perhaps the obvious lesson of the debate was that when encountering a brick set in the past you should not bother to bang your head on it. More encouraging was the fact that in the context of change brought about by green concern for the future, anarchy has an opportunity to come into its own. But the opportunity will only be fulfilled if anarchists can abandon the subservient role of opposition, and direct their energies towards creating new models of future existence which encompass the freedom of all.

Colin Johnson



Collegamenti/Wobbly (Milan)

DDR government dead but standing

THE recent events in Central Europe brought to mind A.J.P. Taylor's wonderful little book *The Origins of the Second World War*. It's many years since I read it, but I remember the Preface started something like this: 'The First World War was fought to decide how Europe was to be remade. The Second World War was fought to decide whether that remade Europe should be allowed to continue.' I apologise if this is not word-perfect, but the gist of it is correct. Running through my mind over the past few days has been the thought: 'For what was the Cold War fought?' and, more to the point, who has won? Strangely, the winner does not seem to have been any of the main protagonists, the former Allied Powers. If anyone can be said to have won, it is the ordinary people of Eastern Europe. And if they are the winners, then who (or what) has lost?

At first, no-one believed the impossible had happened. Even now, those scenes of celebration in Berlin seem to hold a fairytale quality, as if it couldn't, really, be true, could it? But it has happened, and what happens next will probably be a whole lot less exciting. What happens next is also a question that worries NATO and the Governments of the USSR and Western Europe. Without a Cold War to fight, what use is NATO and all those GIs in Western Europe? Who are all those standing

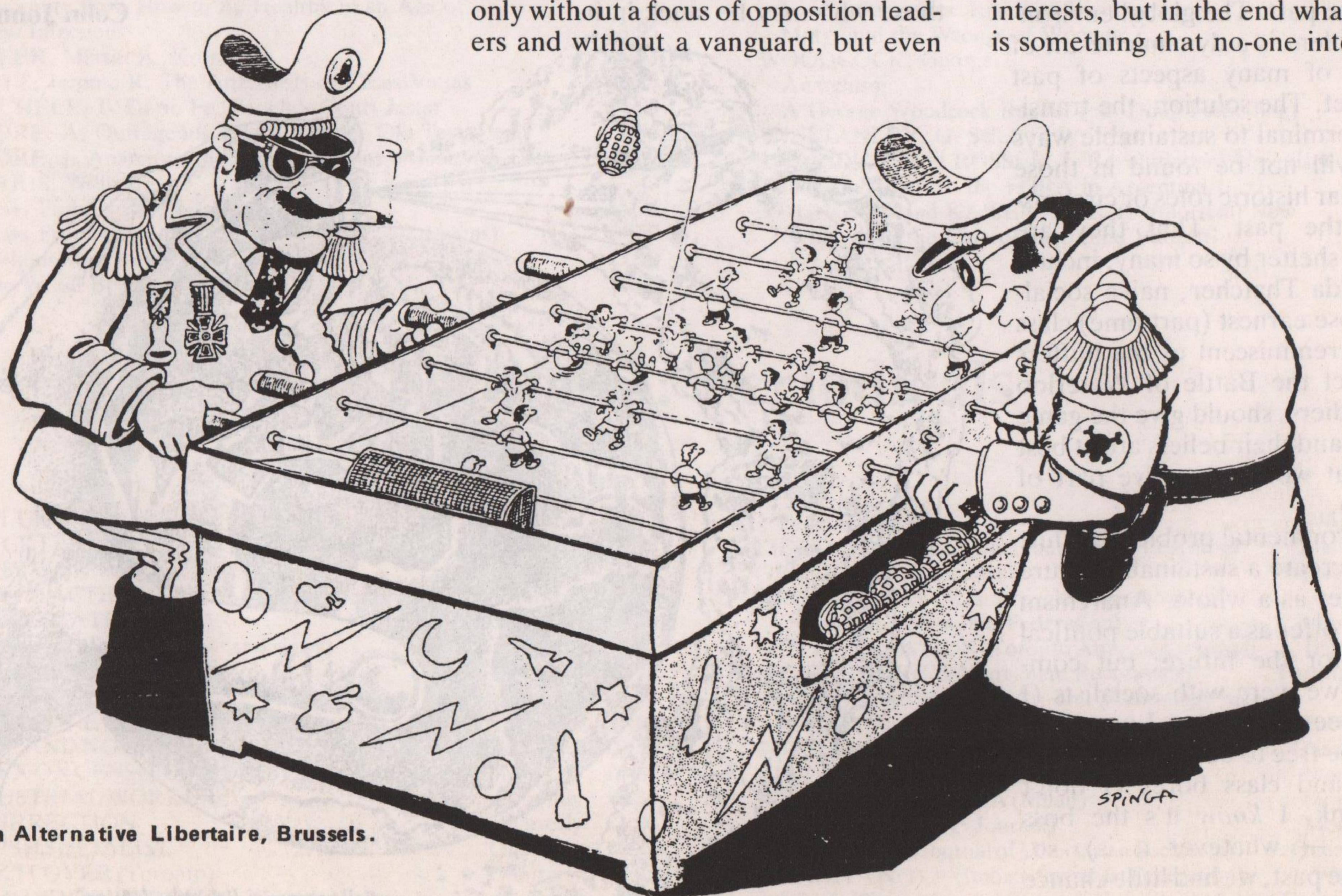
armies supposed to be fighting? The USSR is turning munitions factories over to chocolate production, whilst in Britain — the unsinkable aircraft-carrier — the USA reintroduces Cruise missiles in the guise of piloted aircraft and hardly anyone objects to the thorough thrall in which American 'culture', the American nuclear umbrella and American big business hold us. There is a long way to go yet before the people of Europe — all of us — are really free. But as events have shown, the fact it's a long way doesn't necessarily mean it will take a long time, and it may come in a sudden, unexpected way just like the crumbling of the Stalinist edifice in East Germany.

The pace of change in East Germany has been so fast and the power relationship between Government and people so rapidly overturned, that there was almost no organised opposition; the system had its bluff called and the Government abdicated almost without a fight. Indeed, one East German politician lamented on the day the Wall was opened that there was in fact no-one to negotiate with — the old anarchist joke about 'take me to your leader' had come true in the most unimaginable way.

It is amazing and exhilarating that the fall of the DDR's Government and the crumbling of the Iron Curtain between the two German states came about not only without a focus of opposition leaders and without a vanguard, but even

without any collectively organised intent. It has just happened, somehow, magically, wonderfully. It has been coming for a long time, of course, hence my insistence on going to Berlin to see the Wall in April despite my friends thinking me crazy to say it wouldn't be there in a year's time. But no-one could have predicted just how sudden the collapse would be there in a year's time. But no-one could have predicted just how sudden the collapse would be. Everything was so spontaneous. The mass exodus via Hungary after border controls were waived on 10th September was not an organised protest — just the response of individuals to an opportunity, carried out on a mass scale.

Spontaneity was the key to success. The DDR Government desperately needed to save itself by negotiating reforms, but there was no single opposition, no leadership or personalities, no-one to negotiate with. Mass demonstrations and mass emigration were not centralised, not directly led. The Neue Forum had issued demands for certain reforms, the Government responded to some of these to try to subdue the growing clamour for freedom, and thereby sealed its fate. Once the people got their foot in the door, it was easy not just to push it open but to pull it right off the hinges. If one might be forgiven for quoting Friedrich Engels in this context, 'Each one strives for his own interests, but in the end what happens is something that no-one intended'.



from *Alternative Libertaire*, Brussels.

The explosive force of 'people power' has created a heady sense of anarchistic freedom. Although the Government is still in existence, it is no longer in control, and without the threat of Soviet military force to back it up (on 7th October Mikhail Gorbachov told Erich Honecker to expect no help suppressing demonstrations) it cannot regain the grasp on power it has lost. Yet, life goes on much as usual in the East despite the parties and celebrations. There has been no rioting, no mass disorder. Apart from the suicides of three local Communist Party leaders the revolution has so far been completely bloodless. The people of East Germany have behaved in a disciplined and exemplary manner throughout.

But let's not get too cock-a-hoop over the momentous events of October 1989. For, although the Berlin Wall is now no more than a ragged series of concrete strips and exit visa restrictions have been greatly eased in much of the Eastern Bloc, the division of Europe still remains; and whatever about the prospect of a reunited Germany, so hotly debated in the British Press (well, journalists have to think up something to write about, I suppose), we are not likely to see this for a long time to come, if at all. Soviet troops remain in Eastern Europe and US troops remain in Western Europe, and what has happened has happened despite this twin occupation of the continent by the so-called 'Superpowers'.

'Yalta to Malta' is the watchword of the day. However, at Yalta the wartime leaders of the 'Great Powers' (Britain, France, USSR and USA) could sit down and divide Europe amongst themselves, like the earlier WWI decisions by Britain and France about the carve-up of German possessions in Africa and the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans and Middle East; but when George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachov meet on their battleships off Malta they will be mere observers on the sidelines, the two great guarantors of European disunity thrown into total disarray by the radical alteration of the balance of power in Europe — the balance, that is, not between East and West, nor even the traditional balance between the Central Powers and the Entente Cordiale, but a much more fundamental shift in power between the governors and the governed.

This shift in power is the result not merely of the 'Sinatra Doctrine' (the USSR's phraseology for letting Eastern Europe 'do it my way') which allowed relatively free elections in Poland and Hungary without fear of Soviet invasion, but of the growing realisation by the Governments of Eastern Europe that they and their ideology have been

shown publicly to possess no credibility with their own subjects and further could no longer in the age of *perestroika* hope to rule by force alone. Limited democracy with a semblance of popular control has become the only way the rulers can hope to hold onto any power; and after decades of state capitalism, corruption, secret police and oppression, that is an advance which can only be applauded.

The remade DDR Government has yet to achieve 'legitimacy' and to do so will hold elections. Diffuse opposition groups such as Neue Forum, which were themselves taken by surprise by events, can now — the Government hopes — turn into parties whose elec-

tion and participation in a ruling coalition will underpin the system. Meantime, all is in glorious disarray — the old apparatus is still in place, but no-one is taking much notice any more.

Once thousands of East German people began voting with their feet in August, the fossilised Stalinist structure of DDR State power had to give way. The emperor had been found naked, and once he himself realised this it was all over bar the shouting. The shouting has come for once at the right time. The seeds of revolt sown earlier have fallen on fertile ground, and suddenly a hundred flowers look set to bloom.

Katy Andrews

WAR COMMENTARY

Vol. 1 No. 2 Twopence
December 1939

1939 _____ 7

America Rule the World?

This is Not a War for Freedom!

THE battle of words shows no signs of abating and political confusion reigns supreme. Following pressure of public opinion the Government and the Labour Party stated their war aims. Apart from the fact that Herbert Morrison was more virulent in his attacks on Germany there was little to choose between his speech and the Prime Minister's. "Nazism," that is our enemy. Whereas in the past the Government stated that it was not in the least concerned with the "internal affairs" of any...

WAR

should result in
**Greater Demand
Higher Prices**
for
CRUDE OIL

of America's unemployed will obtain jobs by January if war brings large foreign orders and stimulates more intensive investment of private capital." The economic situation in America can hardly be called bright at the present time. She needs new markets for her products; the New Deal has not met with the success hoped for and the war just bring the "increase"...

The Left & World War II

Selections from the Anarchist Journal

WAR COMMENTARY 1939-1943

Watch India! By Reg Reynolds

The "Contents

of the devil out of jail,
And cheat and boast whilst widows' wail.
To blindfold, gag and handcuff 'truth,
And rob the world of all its youth.
To breed disease and degradation

The Left & World War II begins with the article *Communist Party Politics Exposed* which was in the first issue of *War Commentary* in November 1939 and goes on to savagely analyse the Left at war. Trades Unions, Eire, Pacifism, the ILP and the Stakhanovites are the main topics dealt with, ending with the *Funeral of the Third International*.

The author also re... as "a revolutionary... that it will be transform... revolutionary war for union... done he frankly does "not... we can hope to secure final victo... And judging by his own too that...

To pour all pledges down the drain
And start rearmament again.
W. A. RATHKEY

FREEDOM PRESS

The author also re... as "a revolutionary... that it will be transform... revolutionary war for union... done he frankly does "not... we can hope to secure final victo... And judging by his own too that...

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
(continued from page 12)
"anarchy" and the "degeneration of the iron... not as the inevitable outcome of the iron... with its consequent suppression of opposi... within, as well as outside, the party, and the... adying, any mentality it encourages; instead these phenomena are attributed to the evil genius of one man—Joseph Stalin. Trotskyism merely promises socialism by adopting the same methods, and mistakes, which have produced Stalinism. The necessity for the total destruction of the state, and all its instruments, and the organising of the revolution with special care to prevent the emergence of a new privileged class; these considerations find no place in the programme of the Fourth International. Libertarianism forms no part of its outlook. One cannot feel any confidence that given the same power and control, it would not follow exactly the same road as the Third International. J. H.

£1.95

not in the least... this (amazingly... one has the last... WILLIAMS wrote... does not throw... be heaved a sig... himself and the... poor Home... statement of the... slight shade to... power in the... in Britain.
Mr. Williams... good use the re...

Huddersfield: A... 2/6
Bristol: J. S. R... 3/-
Wembley: L. S... 10/-
(per T.B.)
York: H. S... 2/6
Nottingham: H. M... 1/-
Leeds: M. F... 2/3
London: M. L. R... £1/0/0
and V.R.

L. N... 3/-
A group of... (per L.N) £1/5/0
T. B... 5/-
J. H... 5/-
Detroit (U.S.A.): £4/4/0
"I Refratar Group" (per L'Adansat)

attention: The contribution from J.P. of Cana. (U.S.A.) shown as 1/- in our last issue, should have been £1/0/0.

Should Anarchists vote Labour?

WITH the economic crisis hitting the Tories hard, and Thatcher now reckoned to be one of the most unpopular British prime ministers of all time, there is a very real prospect that Neil Kinnock's Labour Party could win the next General Election. Indeed, the Party is quite euphoric at the prospect. Even Kinnock's biggest critics inside the Party over the years are rallying round. Clair Short and another left-winger, Paul Boeteng, have settled their differences with Kinnock enough to get a place on the Party's Front Bench. Ken Livingstone, Tony Benn and Dennis Skinner, all celebrated left figures, at the end of all their criticisms offer nothing more than the call to vote Labour. Militant, Tribune and all of the other left-wing factions of the Labour Party will be united in an effort to see Kinnock at Number 10. Even the countless Leninists, Trotskyists and assorted Marxists, having slammed Labour's shift to the right, will nonetheless urge us to 'Vote Labour without illusions' and 'build the fighting socialist alternative'. Even if their politics differ from Labour, they all end up arguing we trot down to the polling booth to get the Tories out!

By contrast, anarchists take a different position. If workers hate the Tories and vote Labour then that is all well and good, but voting Labour will not solve the problems that humanity faces. The solution is far more difficult than that. We recognise that swapping one set of Government Ministers for another will not help. Those anarchists who are sometimes tempted to use this as a tactic or who believe that a Labour Government will attack living standards any less than the Tories should remember previous Labour Governments that have used troops to break strikes, introduced the Prevention of Terrorism Act against Irish people, brought in racist immigration laws, etc, etc.

Of course, we are not naive enough to believe that there is no difference at all between Labour and the Tories. People vote for Labour for generally different reasons than voting Tory. People join the Labour Party for different reasons than those who join the Tories. Labour was founded on the belief, albeit a naive one, that the interests of the workers could be advanced in the House of Commons. The Tories have always existed to represent the ruling-class's interests. It would be hard to imagine a Tory manifesto ever even promising what Labour promised (and promptly ignored) in 1973/4
' . . . a massive and irreversible shift

in the distribution of both wealth and power in favour of working people and their families.'

Anarchists have never called for a vote for Labour; not because we think that the leadership is right-wing (which it is) but because it CANNOT put power in the hands of ordinary people. The power of people to control their own lives cannot co-exist with the power of the ruling-class and their capitalist system. Either it lies with the tiny minority that is wealthy and privileged, or it lies with the majority working class, collectively. Labour has always tried at best to bridge the gap, to combine the two. It cannot be done which is why, unlike the left, we do not believe that better Party leaders will solve this problem. Labour, even at best represents a socialism from above. For anarchists there is only one concept of socialism — socialism from below.

Many anarchists have responded to the bankruptcy of the Parliamentary electoral system by urging people, 'Don't Vote!'. Unless this is backed up with a concrete alternative to voting for one of the pro-capitalist Parties, as it was in Spain in the 1930's where a mass anarchist movement existed, such a call will fall on deaf ears. It becomes merely negative and demoralising. If anything it sows the illusion that if no-one voted then the government would just cease to exist! In a similar way it actually says that the election is far more important than it really is. Whilst this approach was the more dominant one in the 1987 General Election, the larger anarchist organisations put forward more realistic propaganda. For example, the posters of the Anarchist-Communist Federation told us that, 'Whoever you vote for, the bosses always win'.

If an abstention campaign is out, should anarchists take sides in General Elections? If as anarchists we understand that whilst Labour is a pro-capitalist Party it nevertheless attracts mass working class support, and that part of its attraction is the apparent lack of any concrete political alternative to pull workers away from reformism, what of the slogan, 'Vote Labour without illusions', and 'Vote Labour but build a fighting socialist alternative'? After all, as anarchists we also have no illusions in Labour and we too recognise the need for a fighting socialist alternative.

The Socialist Workers Party to whom these slogans belong do this on the basis of Lenin's argument that calling for a vote for the Labour leader as a communist, would get British communists a hearing so that they could

argue a revolutionary alternative to Parliament. But this misses the point. Workers will never be won to revolutionary ideas simply by asking them not to have illusions. It is the confidence to carry through these ideas in struggle that will break reformism. Reformist ideas require illusions in the capitalist system. You can't have reformism without illusions of some sort unless you see the revolutionary alternative. If anything, calling for a vote for Labour whether with illusions or without them, merely fosters illusions.

Of course this is not to ignore or write off Labour voters. Nevertheless, it is important that we as anarchists do not fall into the trap of pandering to workers' illusions whether these illusions are popular or not.

Anarchist ideas, indeed all revolutionary ideas are marginal at the moment. There are no easy ways of getting our ideas accepted.

The future General Election will be an opportunity for anarchists to forward *anarchist* ideas and *anarchist* criticisms of the present bourgeois electoral system. Unlike the non-Labour left, we will be arguing clearly that power does not lie in Parliament but with big business finance capital, the upper civil service, judges, police, military. It cannot be defeated through its Parliament via a Labour government. What anarchists must emphasise is that until workers throw out the rotten and crumbling capitalist system, human needs will never be satisfied.

If the price to pay is to be called 'ultra-leftist' by Labour and its cheerleaders then it is a small price to pay for arguing the revolutionary alternative to reformism, sell-out and compromise that the Labour Party represents.

To those of the left who traditionally tell anarchists that we are not taking sides at election time, we must be clear. We *are* taking sides. We side *with* the interests of workers in the overthrow of capitalism, and we side *against* the open collaboration of the Labour Party with the boss-class that the Tories represent.

Anarchists should *not* call for a vote for Labour. If the Tories are in trouble it is up to the working-class to sink them. It is not for us to pretend that Labour can do it for us.

David Luton

(David Luton is a member of the Anarchist Workers Group but writes in his personal capacity. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the AWG or the *Freedom* editors.)



Anarcho-Regionalism

S. R. DENNIS'S apology for nationalism in the 'Anarcho-regionalism' article in November's *Freedom* just isn't good enough.

Just because I was born in a particular region, indoctrinated with a certain religion and culture and told I belong to a certain country, it does not mean I have to be tied down to these things all my life. New technology and the massive upheavals taking place in the world today are creating possibilities for people to rebel against culture and tradition of previous generations and create new revolutionary alternatives of their own. An individual's community does not have to be defined in terms of regional culture. Take a computer hacker, for example, who can communicate via cable and satellite with other hackers thousands of miles away (the computer may even translate from one language to another). Meanwhile, the person living next door could be the local bank manager whose computer has just been hacked into! So who does this computer hacker have more in common with? The person who lives next door or fellow hackers around the world? Today community is determined more by material interests and desires and by the particular role a person plays in the system. A person's place of birth, their cultural and religious background is no longer able to restrict what people can do or what they may become.

The system we live in is moving increasingly towards a global integrated capitalist market ruled by money and the Berlin Walls and national boundaries pulled down to make way for the free flow of capital. Retreating into isolated regionalism and nationalism is worse than useless. Moves towards a global integrated capitalist system will have to be opposed by a global class struggle.

Movements for national and cultural renewal in their soft forms offer a commodity parody of what culture once was. The idea of 'traditional culture' is actually a modern invention, in its own time traditional culture was of course new culture. In extreme forms these movements, such as the IRA or religious fundamentalists, are a device for spreading terror and division among proletarians and forcing them to take sides with various leaderships and

bourgeois factions. See how the strike wave in the mines and railways across the Soviet Union has come under attack from the divisive aims of the fake political opposition — nationalist groups and religious groups. If the re-awakening anarchist movement in the Soviet Union simply repeats in parrot fashion old anarchist slogans about decentralisation and federalism, they will be playing straight into the hands of such groups.

All that S. R. Dennis's article has to offer is the same old nationalist rubbish in a new packaging. Instead of narrow-minded regionalism and nationalism we should be calling for the coming together of mass struggles and for international solidarity. Forward to global human community! **Paul Petard**

World War Two

IN YOUR October issue Arthur Moyses writes: 'I have no use for the pacifist or the one who will not kill . . . for they will sacrifice the lives of the innocent for their own scabby salvation'.

Arthur describes how a little girl on a train bound for the Nazi gas chambers. In order to save such innocent lives, he says, it may be 'a necessary evil' to go to war and kill other people. Does that make sense?

Even Arthur admits: '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'.

What then is he telling us? Go to war when you can predict that more innocent lives will thereby be saved than destroyed? How could anybody ever make such a prediction?

Doesn't violence breed further violence? Can good come of evil? And if Arthur knows he can't answer such questions why is he so hard on those who say: 'For God's sake don't kill another human being'?

Over forty wars are going on as I write this letter. Untold billions are spent on armaments while a third of mankind starves. Callous and wanton destruction of the innocent is a matter of routine, and those who take part in all this madness, if you ask them why, will very likely say: 'To save innocent lives'.

Arthur asks: 'When the troops marched into Denmark with SS Extermination Squads with them to round up a gypsy encampment . . . what does one do?' One doesn't know — now. One only knows at the time, but whatever one does, one doesn't go and exterminate the people of Dresden, or Hamburg.

Such a question is just an evasion of the issue. The real problem is our whole competitive, brutal, idiotic way of life, which leads inevitably to war. The barbarians are not beyond the hills, they are ourselves.

Part of our barbarity is a form of tribalism called nationalism, or patriotism. The world is divided into over 130 nations, each with its petty little government and flag. Isn't that utterly childish, immature? Don't we all belong to the same species? Doesn't this division create antagonism, conflict and war?

Had there been no separate nation, would the Nazis ever have been heard of? Is it intelligent to think in terms of separate nations? Except as an idea in confused minds, does 'my country' exist?

Nationalism or patriotism is a form of stupidity which causes havoc throughout the world. It has now brought us to the verge of extinction. For my part I intend, for whatever time remains, to live peacefully and avoid killing.

Francis Ellingham

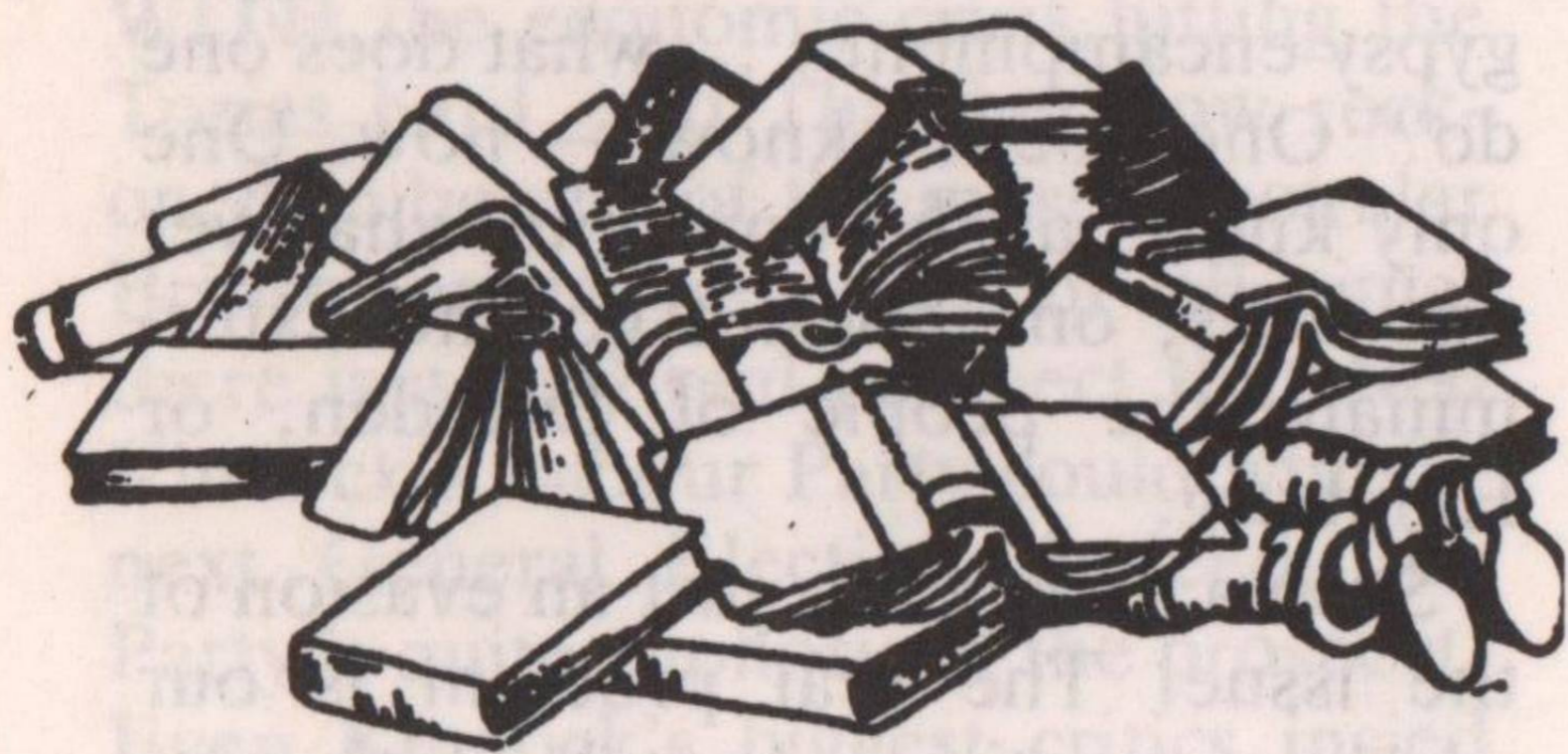
Blinding

BRIAN Bamford's 'Blinding us with Science' (*Freedom* 'dummy' issue) should be re-titled 'Confusing scientific method with scientists'. You do not have to be a qualified (i.e. state recognised and rewarded) PhD to have a scientific approach to life — an electrician or a housewife can employ scientific method to advantage. Even a Communist electrician, despite his political quirk, could employ scientific method at the workplace. Scientific method is the only reliable *means* toward finding answers to problems. That it is prostituted by national governments and multinational consortiums for evil ends is no invalidation of the method.

Scientific method is used to our benefit in weather forecasting, and to our detriment in pollution of the atmosphere, the latter case having as its *end* the amassing of wealth for a privileged few. Anyway, what is Brian's method for finding answers to problems — anything goes?

Finally, Brian's analogy between Christianity and Science is a false one: Christianity has no validity whatsoever in any of its forms. **EFC**

REVIEWS



The Nuclear Mentality: a psycho-social analysis of the arms race

Edited by Lynn Barnett and Ian Lee
Pluto Press (1989) £7.95

ANARCHISTS are only too aware that here and in other countries there are people who have the power to make decisions that affect many aspects of our lives and at times determine whether we shall live or die. They are the politicians who constitute our governments and the military who advise on, influence and, not uncommonly, dominate the decision-making process. We may be less familiar with those who study them: academics who research the decision-making processes; psychiatrists, psychoanalysts and sociologists who examine their motives; and even some politicians who have changed sides and now campaign against their former colleagues. On the basis that information is always a good thing, a monster's parasites must be on our side, mustn't they?

This book is based on the proceedings of a conference last April of the Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons (MCANW) organised by the Study Group on Psychosocial Issues in the Nuclear Age (SPINA) and attended by over 150 members of the medical profession. It contains fuller versions of the papers presented and much additional material. The speakers, defence experts, a media specialist, a diplomat and a military man (both retired), psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, psychologists, sociologists and a Russian contributor sit somewhat uneasily together in these pages, but the format is in keeping with the present trend towards multi-disciplinary events.

The conference, and therefore this book, addressed the question: why do political leaders pursue policies of escalating the nuclear arms race and plan for a nuclear war that could destroy civilisation when there is little support for such policies among the general public?

Frank Barnaby sets the scene by detailing the world's nuclear arsenals and their expansion and shows how the existing policies of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) are breaking

down with the development of tactical nuclear weapons and the present NATO policy of flexible response which includes a first use of nuclear weapons option. The US claims to develop a first strike capability in the 1990s, which creates an appalling vision of American generals tempted to use their strategic nuclear advantage before the USSR acquires the same capacity. This chapter provides useful information for a CND activist.

I would recommend turning next to Part II Chapter 7, in which a study by the Independent Oxford Research Group is described. They interviewed, amongst others, nine anonymous people who are among the handful in this country who make the decisions involving the creation and deployment of nuclear weapons. This was in an attempt to identify the assumptions on which these decisions are based. They turned out to be: decision makers on both sides are rational; nuclear weapons have prevented war in Europe; nuclear deterrence is a stable state; the USSR is a threat but NATO is not. One even suggested that this threat will be greatest when internal problems threaten the collapse of the Soviet Empire.

It is then enlightening to turn to the earlier chapters. Norman Dixon, who lectures to the military on stress, leadership and decision-making, asks the question: why do leaders mislead? Political power attracts power-seekers not particularly endowed with moral sense, who by their nature will be more concerned with keeping power than considering the well-being of people. He identifies their capacity for self-deception, deceiving others, lying, making empty promises and being secretive (passive lying) as conferring a sense of power and concludes that they are not safe to be left in charge of weapons of mass destruction. Well, he should know. Morris Bradley supports this view with evidence that if decisions are made when anxiety levels are high, awareness of risk is suppressed and the possibility of a nuclear strike being unleashed by accident, as a result of misinformation or due to a psychotic reaction to stress, becomes in the long run a probability.

Alastair Mackie, who served 26 years in the Air Force, finishing up as Director of Air Staff Briefing in the Ministry of Defence before changing sides and joining CND, is able to give us a glimpse of the military mind from the inside. In examining the government's and NATO's pathetic nuclear policy he identifies shared characteristics of the military mind as discipline, uniformity, conformity and hierarchical rule. His understanding of

discipline deserves to be quoted: 'manifest for most of us in the tribal ritual of the trooping of the colour and heel-clicking and saluting . . . the only known way of making a man stick a bayonet in the guts of another, drive a frigate at full speed through a sea of drowning people, or hold a bomber steady and deliver its load while it's disintegrating and someone's dying noisily in the back'.

The most interesting contributions come from the psychoanalysts who have the task of trying to understand why people delegate power to these stressed psychotics. Anton Obholzer argues that people need to join groups to reduce personal anxieties and this provides membership fodder for ideologies, political parties and nationalistic beliefs, so maintaining hierarchical and authoritarian social structures in which the members want to leave the decision-making to the leaders. Hanna Segal points out that although we are social animals and need to belong to a group, and indeed several groups, 'we must struggle against the disabling and dangerous effects of group structures, the fetters of group thinking. We must not delegate our feeling and thinking to the dominant group because that makes us thoughtless and truly helpless. We become potential cannon fodder in a war with no survival.'

Both these contributors stress the dangers of allowing our political thinking to be controlled by the group, e.g. the nation state to which we belong. As Anton Obholzer puts it: 'The authority to act in the service of what one believes to be true is derived solely from within oneself and has to be maintained under pressure of critical group processes'. A constructive point he makes is that working in small groups of around 15 members avoids the individual becoming submerged in the group and ready to become subservient to a charismatic autocratic leader. We can be co-opted into a mindless large group without the need for direct physical association by the activities of the news media, and John Eldridge, a member of the Glasgow Media Group, describes how the media can be used to manipulate public opinion.

Other contributors include a speaker from the Soviet embassy who uses his arsenal of platitudes to explain that the USSR has only peaceful intentions, and a former Dutch diplomat who gives us a Christian message on the need to convince our military and political leaders that they must change their nuclear policy to one of mutual assured security involving multilateral nuclear disarmament and co-operation instead of confrontation.

The book also includes an analysis of studies of children's reactions to the threat of a nuclear war and an account of an exchange visit to the Soviet Union by some young people from Hackney and how it affected them. The bibliography lists a useful 102 items.

All the speakers at the conference were no doubt intelligent, educated and well-informed, and yet there is an underlying naivety detectable in the attitudes of many of them, the belief that leaders in positions of power can be persuaded to change direction and lead us into a peaceful future paradise when the real problem is a political system which places such devastating power in the hands of a small group of self-selected autocrats. Nevertheless, the book contains much information on the ineptness of these decision-makers, the mishaps and near disasters that have occurred and how technological development drives military policy — the trigger pulling the finger. The way forward is outlined in the contributions of the two psychoanalysts: when people stop accepting the authority of the political and military leaders who control the state then their power will disappear.

Pluto Press and the two editors are to be praised for overcoming the difficulties of getting out a book with so many contributors within six months of the conference. It deserves to be widely read.

HPS

The Godwins & the Shelleys

William St Clair

567 pages Faber £20.

NOT only does this biography bring newly discovered literary material to light in a three dimensional focus, but also the everyday life in the mid-eighteenth century. The age is brought alive with its social horrors, hypocrisies, and menaces which were being perpetrated by the virtually continuous Tory governments in power from 1770 to 1830. It was the latter half that Dickens as a boy took for his material.

That William Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, published in 1793, reached the reading public at all was due to William Pitt's advice that 'a three guinea book could never do much harm among those who had not three shillings to spare'. But those without three shillings clubbed together to purchase it. (The price was actually £1/16/-.)

Two months before *Political Justice* appeared Thomas Paine was alerted by William Blake just as he was about to be picked up and taken to the scaffold as author of *The Rights of Man*

Paine's rebuttal of Burke's ideas, together with the early days of the French Revolution with its euphoria among Jacobins, spurred Godwin into action to express the ideas he himself had been developing for social reconstruction. Godwin's political justice diffuses government power into decentralised communities where everyone is known to everyone else; such communities confederated into districts. A community would be composed of individuals, each one 'perfectible, or in other words susceptible of perpetual improvement'. Able to 'rest on his own nature, and consult his own understanding' with philosophic detachment which would ensure the 'Necessity of human actions' to be for the common good. In other words, to regard circumstances impartially.

Political Justice ran into three editions and was a bestseller. Godwin became a celebrity. He realised though that people generally were not ready for his illuminations, and he diluted his content accordingly for the second and third editions. (The third is available today.) Events in France were watched with increasing anxiety as the revolutionary situation deteriorated into violence, and the Tory government clamped down as it prepared for war. Godwin was fearful that he would be arrested, as many of his friends were.

At the height of his success he married Mary Wollstonecraft. St Clair touches poignantly the pathos of the 'blazing sun in the firmament' joining with the brilliant moon. But by marrying Mary Wollstonecraft he was, in the public's eye, marrying a fallen woman, and in his followers' eyes was going against his own principle that marriage was 'the most odious of all monopolies'. Godwin however had evoked his own scrupulous Necessarian reasoning to marry her.

He met opprobrium on all sides, and when she died after giving birth to their daughter Mary it was seen by society to be God's judgement on her. St Clair follows the precedent set by Godwin in his frank memoirs of her by including in this book 'Godwin's sexual relationship with Mary Wollstonecraft' in an appendix with a detailed chart. In Godwin's case his revelations were met with horror, and even friends deserted him. Thereafter Godwin lived with her portrait on his study wall.

World famous poets came into Godwin's orbit who had been influenced by *Political Justice* and include Blake, Southey, Lamb, Keats, Shelley and Coleridge. Coleridge re-opened in Godwin what Mary Wollstonecraft had awakened, the need for the fusing of feeling with intellect, and sharpened the need. Godwin even started writing

Coleridge's biography. And Coleridge invited Godwin to join himself and Wordsworth in the Lake District.

But a voice was to call from an adjoining balcony, 'Is it possible that I behold the immortal Godwin?', or to call over the wall, 'You great Being how I adore you', and commenced the chain of events which led to Godwin's second even more Necessarian marriage. Godwin's second marriage is treated with considerable sensitivity and show that Godwin was happy with his wife. Mary Jane Clairmont brought two daughters into the Godwin household, one of whom was to accompany Godwin's daughter Mary when she eloped with Shelley.

The Godwins & the Shelleys presents Godwin's rise to prominence followed by steady decline into public abhorrence and a largely anonymous existence. It is the work of a sleuth, and a great achievement. Financial worries left Godwin constantly fearful for the future. His output of novels and plays was considerable, but never enough. He opened a children's bookshop with Mary Jane in an attempt to gain stability. If he couldn't reform adult society he would start with the children, anonymously.

Percy Bysshe Shelley came into his life thirty years after *Political Justice* was published and, Godwin thought, largely forgotten. Godwin's hopes for and of his extraordinary disciple were repeatedly dashed. When the already married Shelley and Godwin's 16 year old daughter fell in love it was the last straw. It is an extraordinary story presented with sympathetic understanding and vividness.

It was being said that Godwin had sold his two daughters, Mary and Mary Jane's Claire, to Shelley, on account of the loans which Shelley was able to arrange for him. What we are told is a story of financial intrigue which St Clair has made into a fascinating study of the human condition. Godwin emerges true to his Necessarian philosophy through the most despairing times to the end, and so does Shelley in as far as he was able. Ironically, Godwin ended his days as Usher (in charge of fire appliances) at the House of Commons. He was at the theatre when fire broke out there.

Godwin never described himself as an anarchist, but his works proclaim him to be the founder of English anarchism. *Political Justice* and his novel *Caleb Williams* are still in print as Hazlitt suggested they would be. He also said they would read as classics in 150 years time. It's nearly 200 years now! Thank you William St Clair for reminding us.

Rodney Aitchey

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

SUBSCRIPTION RATES 1990

The price of the fortnightly *Freedom* will be unchanged at 50p and *The Raven* (96 pages) £2.50 per copy. The first issue of *Freedom* will be dated Saturday 13 January 1990, and fortnightly thereafter, except that there will be no issue on 25th August and 29th December, making a total of 24 issues in 1990. We are introducing a six months' subscription to *Freedom* for the benefit of readers who cannot afford to pay a whole year's subscription in advance.

American and Canadian subscribers who wish to pay by dollar cheques should bear in mind that it costs a lot of money to encash them and we must ask them to add \$1.00 for that purpose. For European subscribers payment through the Girobank is probably the most economical way of making payment in sterling. Freedom Press has a Girobank account number 58 294 6905.

| | inland | abroad surface | abroad airmail* | | inland | abroad surface | abroad airmail* |
|---|--------|----------------|-----------------|---|--------|----------------|-----------------|
| Freedom (24 issues) half price for 12 issues | | | | Joint sub (24 x Freedom, 4 x The Raven) | | | |
| Claimants | 8.00 | — | — | Claimants | 15.00 | — | — |
| Regular | 12.00 | 15.00 | 23.00 | Regular | 20.00 | 24.50 | 37.00 |
| Institutional | 20.00 | 23.00 | 31.00 | Institutional | 30.00 | 34.50 | 47.00 |
| The Raven (4 issues) | | | | Bundle subscription for Freedom (6 months) | | | |
| Claimants | 8.00 | — | — | 2 copies x 12 | 10.00 | 11.50 | 15.00 |
| Regular | 10.00 | 11.00 | 16.00 | 5 copies x 12 | 20.00 | 22.50 | 30.00 |
| Institutional | 12.00 | 14.00 | 19.00 | 10 copies x 12 | 40.00 | 45.00 | 60.00 |
| | | | | other bundle sizes on application | | | |

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

To FREEDOM PRESS in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

- Please renew my subscription to *Freedom* for issues
- Please renew my joint subscription to *Freedom* and *The Raven*.
- Please make my subscription to *Freedom* into a joint subscription to *Freedom* and *The Raven*, starting with number 9 of *The Raven*.

I am not yet a subscriber. Please start:

- Freedom* (single copy). *Freedom* copies per issue.
- Joint subscription to *Freedom* and *The Raven*.
- I would like the following back numbers of *The Raven* at £2.50 per issue post free (numbers 1 to 8 are available).

I enclose £:..... payment.

I enclose £..... donation to Freedom Magazine Fund / Freedom Press Overheads Fund.

Cheques should be made payable to FREEDOM PRESS.

I enclose £..... payment

Name

Address

.....

..... Postcode



CONTACTS

- ACF Anarchist Communist Federation Nat Sec, PO Box 263, Sheffield S1 3EX
- 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 Anarchist Group, PO Box 239, Glasgow G5 0LW
- 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
- A Distribution, ACF, Rebel Press, Spectacular Times, Organise, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street E1 7QX
- 121 Centre, 121 Railton Road, London SE24
- Greenpeace (London), 5 Caledonian Road, N1
- Lesbian & Gay Freedom Movement, BM Box 207, WC1N 3XX
- Solidarity, c/o 123 Lathom Road, London E6
- Polytechnic of North London Anarchists, c/o PNL SU, Prince of Wales Road, London NW5
- 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
- SHEFFIELD A's, PO Box 441, Sheffield S1 1NY
- 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

